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## The Chasquis of Liberty: Revolutionary Messengers in the Bolivian Independence Era, 1808-1825

Caleb Garret Wittum

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THE CHASQUIS OF LIBERTY: REVOLUTIONARY MESSENGERS IN THE BOLIVIAN  
INDEPENDENCE ERA, 1808-1825

by

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on a group of South American revolutionaries and the ways they shaped and challenged the precepts of the Age of Revolutions that rocked Latin America, Europe, and the Atlantic World in the early nineteenth century. Specifically, it investigates revolutionaries like Vicente Pazos Kanki, an indigenous journalist and diplomat, who traveled throughout South America, the United States, and Europe in an effort to form republican governments that brought together indigenous, African, and European citizens into multiethnic republics. I call these revolutionaries the chasquis of liberty. A chasqui was the rapid-traveling foot messenger of the Andean prequest and colonial worlds. I use this metaphor to illustrate the ways revolutionaries connected disparate struggles for independence and made hemispheric republicanism a reality by forming alliances with other nation states' luminaries, like the U.S. politician Henry Clay. More than simple messengers, the chasquis of liberty envisioned an inclusive republicanism that stood in contrast to other republics in the Atlantic World that defended slavery and racial exclusion.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

On the 9 February 1818, Vicente Pazos Kanki, an indigenous man from what is today Bolivia, stood before the Congress of the United States of America, readying a speech to promote South American liberty. After the congressmen took their seats, Pazos Kanki began recounting the things he had seen during his winding path from a small indigenous community in South America to his lectern in Washington, D.C.. He recalled spending years fighting alongside ardent defenders of “the cause of liberty and independence” in Alto Peru, he recounted the debates over republican ideals he had fought in the press culture of Buenos Aires, Argentina, he mentioned the time he served as a diplomat for the South American Republics in London, and he defended his actions as leader of a short-lived project to wrest the provinces of Florida from Spain.<sup>1</sup> It was this final independence project that brought Pazos Kanki to the U.S. capital and would dominate his speech. The U.S. government had forcefully repressed Pazos Kanki and the multi-ethnic revolutionaries, from South America, Europe, and Haiti, who had tried to liberate Florida, and Pazos Kanki, in response, came to the U.S. capital to offer his “exposition, remonstrance, and protest” to the national leaders of the U.S. On that

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<sup>1</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, commissioner on behalf of the republican agents established at Amelia Island, In Florida, under the authority and in behalf of the Independent States of South America*, (Philadelphia, 1818).

February day, Pazos Kanki outlined an inclusive vision of citizenship and chided the U.S. legislatures for not following the political creed that all men were created equal.<sup>2</sup> From his political pulpit in D.C., Pazos Kanki passionately defended the Amelia Island revolutionaries and outlined his vision for an independent Florida and America. Pazos Kanki explained to the Congress that he and his followers had attempted to emancipate Florida from Spain, starting with Amelia Island, in order to establish an example and “school, where the patriots would have been taught to imitate the heroic conduct” of other republics in the Atlantic World like those in the US and France.<sup>3</sup> After the revolutionaries had taken Amelia Island by force in 1817, they organized elections and wrote a constitution. Pazos Kanki described the Amelia island republic, which, brought together people of indigenous, African, and European decent under the shared belief that the democratic and egalitarian precepts of the Age of Revolutions (1750-1850) applied to people of all backgrounds, with Pazos Kanki professing to US congressmen that “individuals of different origin, united under the same laws, form but one nation.”<sup>4</sup>

Pazos Kanki offered a scathing critique of and challenge to the republicanism he saw in the United States. He started by asking U.S. officials if the project on Amelia

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<sup>2</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, commissioner on behalf of the republican agents established at Amelia Island, In Florida, under the authority and in behalf of the Independent States of South America*, (Philadelphia, 1818).

<sup>3</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, commissioner on behalf of the republican agents established at Amelia Island, In Florida, under the authority and in behalf of the Independent States of South America*, (Philadelphia, 1818).

<sup>4</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, commissioner on behalf of the republican agents established at Amelia Island, In Florida, under the authority and in behalf of the Independent States of South America*, (Philadelphia, 1818).

Island and the U.S. did not embrace the same ideological principles—liberty, self-determination, republicanism, and the equality of all men. Pazos Kanki continued inquiring why the national leaders of the U.S., a nation who, with the American Revolution in 1776, had helped to spark the Age of Revolution and inspired like-minded dreamers around the globe to pursue similar paths, would repress a similar project in Florida. He asked the elected officials if “the interests of the New World seem to enjoin the union of all Americans” why had the U.S. prevented the liberation of Florida, boldly suggesting that the U.S. politicians feared “some political contagion spreading” into their territory.<sup>5</sup> The United States, who was in the midst of its own debates about the future of slavery and extent of citizenship following the aftershocks of the Haitian Revolution, was not eager to have a multiethnic republic on its Southern border. At the cutting edge of republican thought, Pazos Kanki and the Amelia Island Republic challenged U.S. politicians blueprint of Independence—one that allowed slavery and republicanism to uneasily coexist.

Pazos Kanki’s protest fell on deaf ears and the U.S. congressmen instead rejected his petition and began taking steps to purchase Florida from Spain, but the Amelia Island independence initiative and Pazos Kanki’s speech offer a keyhole glimpse into the evolving meaning of the Age of Revolution in the early nineteenth century. Similar to Pazos Kanki, other revolutionaries from what is today Bolivia traveled throughout the Americas promoting their vision for a Republican America that was defined by

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<sup>5</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, commissioner on behalf of the republican agents established at Amelia Island, In Florida, under the authority and in behalf of the Independent States of South America*, (Philadelphia, 1818).

republicanism, multi-ethnic citizenship, and political independence, in effect, pushing the goals of independence processes well beyond the boundaries of comfort for contemporaries in Latin America, the United States, and broader Atlantic World. This dissertation investigates the writings of revolutionaries like Pazos Kanki, court cases involving the itinerant revolutionaries, and Spanish colonial records in order to identify their political ideology and their contributions to the Age of Revolutions which rocked the United States, Latin American, and the Atlantic World from 1750 to 1850.

Beyond just messengers or isolated nationalists, Pazos Kanki and other revolutionaries like him outlined their own unique vision of liberty. These men served as the *chasquis of liberty* during the Age of Revolutions. A chasqui was the rapid-traveling foot messenger of the Andean pre-conquest and colonial worlds, connecting multiple nested communities. Pazos Kanki and his peers served a similar role by uniting disparate struggles for independence and facilitating the exchange of ideas that gave rise to republicanism in Bolivia and the broader Americas. They advocated for democracy throughout the Americas via their publications, speeches, and correspondence. Within Bolivia, the chasquis pushed for radical social change including the abolition of indigenous tribute and land reform for their region's majority native population.<sup>6</sup> During their travels, chasquis like Pazos Kanki chided U.S. politicians for not abolishing slavery, and challenged US Representatives to fulfill his nation's discursive commitments to republican government and the equality of all men. The chasquis proposed an alternative

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<sup>6</sup> Andres Resendez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016); Enrique Tandeter, *Coercion and Market: Silver Mining in Colonial Potosi 1692-1826*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993).

and more egalitarian form of nationalism which criticized other nations that were defined by racial exclusion and protected the practice of slavery. The chasquis of liberty served as the vanguard of republican thought during the early 1800s, as their vision for an independent America continents was defined by multi-ethnic republics that brought people of all backgrounds into a republican confederation.<sup>7</sup>

## Historical Literature

This study of the chasquis of liberty intervenes in broad historiographical discussions on the Latin American independence era, the Age of Revolutions in the Atlantic World, and indigenous political history in the Americas. This dissertation offers contributions to these literatures by fore fronting the political actions of indigenous and African revolutionaries in the production and development of Republican thought. It flips U.S. and Latin American relations on its head, showing how Latin American thinkers grappled with and influenced political debates in North America and Europe. Finally, it connects two historiographical traditions that are rarely in dialogue—indigenous historiography and Age of Revolutions literature.

Building off a nearly two-century-long discussion, this work grapples with Latin American independence and its broader meaning for the men and women who participated in the hemispheric struggle to sever ties with Spain and found new political collectives. Over the last two centuries, scholars have created a profound body of scholarship that outlines the military, political, social, and intellectual context for independence. They have helped uncover heroic and tragic tales of the independence era

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<sup>7</sup> James Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

and have helped to define the *padres de la patria*, or founding fathers, of their respective nations. In addition, these scholars have helped develop theories that cogently explain the causes and effects of the political transition from colony to independent republics and have opened up debates about the significance of independence.<sup>8</sup>

Shortly after gaining independence from Spain, early historians throughout Latin America began crafting narratives which glorified the political and military campaigns by Latin Americans in their struggle to end Spanish colonialism. This generation of scholars typically employed political, military, or intellectual approaches to history, using a source base of political proclamations, constitutions, and declarations to glorify the success of the wars for independence that destroyed much of Spain's three-century-long American empire. These early works, like Bartolome Mitre's biography of Manuel Belgrano, enshrined a group of political and military heroes in the national pantheons of newly the newly formed republics of South America, championing men creoles revolutionaries, like Manuel Belgrano and Manuel Ascencio Padilla, as the *padres de la patria*.<sup>9</sup>

For the Bolivian case, Gabriel Rene Moreno's *Ultimos dias coloniales en el Alto-Peru* is both paradigmatic of this first wave of literature, and yet Moreno's magnum opus

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<sup>8</sup> Manuel Maria Urcullu, *Apuntes para la historia de la Revolucion del Alto-Peru*, (Sucre, 1855); Bartolome Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano y de la independencia Argentina*, (Buenos Aires, 1857); Bartolome Mitre, *Historia de San Martin y de la emancipacion sudamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1887); Charles Arnade, *The Emergence of the Republic of Bolivia* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1957); Jose Macedonio Urquidi, *Bolivianas ilustres: Las guerrilleras de la independencia*, (La Paz, 1967); Jorge Siles Salinas, *La independencia de Bolivia*, (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); Estanislao Just, *Comienzo de la independencia en el Alto Peru: los sucesos de Chuquisaca, 1809* (Sucre: Editorial Judicial, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Bartolome Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano y de la independencia Argentina*, (Buenos Aires, 1857); Bartolome Mitre, *Historia de San Martin y de la emancipacion sudamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1887).

transcends most of his contemporary's publications for his historical methodology and academic rigor. Rene Moreno's work details the causes that spurred the lettered doctors and lawyers of Alto Peru to begin their break from Spain. The work tracks the political and intellectual origins of the Bolivian nation to Chuquisaca, as he suggested that Chuquisaca's doctors and lawyers developed a line of argument that led to a demand for American self-determination: the Syllogism of Chuquisaca. In Moreno's formation, the leading figures of Chuquisaca reasoned that the Americas were supposed to be the domains of the king of Spain, but since the King Ferdinand VII was unable to reign due to the Napoleonic invasions in the Metropole, that Americans could then govern themselves. Moreno underscored the role of the elite as the primary political actors in the independence movement. Moreno's thesis has inspired and challenged Bolivian historians to search for the intellectual origins of the Bolivian nation, leading to a debate on whether revolutions in Chuquisaca or La Paz have a better claim to the foundational moment of independence.<sup>10</sup>

Moreno's thesis, for all its sophistication, came under renewed inspection during the second historiographical wave on the Latin American independence wars. As the 150 year anniversary of independence came, scholars returned to re-evaluate the meaning of political independence. The academy was then influenced by new methodologies that

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<sup>10</sup> Jorge Siles Salinas, *La independencia de Bolivia*, (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); Estanislao Just, *Comienzo de la independencia en el Alto Peru: los sucesos de Chuquisaca, 1809* (Sucre: Editorial Judicial, 1994); Jose Luis Roca, *1809: La revolucion en la Audiencia de Charcas en Chuquisaca y en La Paz* (La Paz: Plural, 1998); José Luis Roca, *Ni con Lima ni con Buenos Aires: la foramacion de un estado nacional en Charcas*, (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2007); Javier Marion, "Indios Blancos: Nascent Polities and Social Convergence in Bolivia's Ayopaya Rebellion, 1814-1821," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Fall 2006).

eschewed older political and intellectual history and looked to social history—the study of popular classes—to understand the era. This wave helped to re-interpret independence in two ways: First, scholars revealed that women, indigenous, mulatto, and black revolutionaries participated in the independence era. For example, René Danilo Arze Aguirre’s *Participación popular en la independencia de Bolivia* inserted the popular classes into the grand political narratives of Bolivia, showing in hundreds of examples how the popular classes were also involved in the political debates of the era, and they were foundational to the creation of the Bolivian republic.<sup>11</sup> In effect, this new wave of scholarship helped to start the process of expanding the historical discussion to include many groups—women, indigenous, and African—who were left out by the early histories of independence that defined politics narrowly.<sup>12</sup>

In their second major contribution, this wave of scholars began to question the glorified accounts of the wars for independence, and they suggested that, for most people in Latin America, the wars for independence failed to live up to its many promises of liberty, equality, and democracy. Using social history approaches—court testimony, census data, letters, newspapers—scholars showed how many indigenous, mestizo, and Afro-Latin Americans, along with women, were excluded from citizenship and saw limited benefits in the new nations. For example, Sarah Chambers’ study of Arequipa,

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<sup>11</sup> René Danilo Arze Aguirre, *Participación popular en la independencia de Bolivia*, (La Paz: Organización de los Estados Americanos, 1979).

<sup>12</sup> Jose Macedonio Urquidi, *Bolivianas ilustres: Las guerilleras de la independencia* (La Paz, 1967); René Danilo Arze Aguirre, *Participación popular en la independencia de Bolivia* (La Paz: Organización de los Estados Americanos, 1979); Tristán Platt, *Estado Boliviano Y Ayllu Andino: Tierra Y Tributo En El Norte De Potosí* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982); Brooke Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550-1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).



Peru revealed that many male, working-class Peruvians were able to claim a limited form of citizenship through appeals to the concept of honor, however, women were largely excluded from the benefits of citizenship.<sup>13</sup> These scholars, like Chambers, read the trials of the mid-to-late nineteenth century back into the independence era and argued that the defining characteristic of the wars for independence was not revolutionary transformations, but remarkable continuities between the colonial and national periods of Latin American nation states.<sup>14</sup>

Nearly all current scholarship has advanced the idea that indigenous and African communities fought over and shaped the political debates of the era, but scholars disagree over what indigenous communities desired politically. Many of the most current monographs suggest indigenous communities fought during the wars for independence but sided with the royalists, or fought for an Inca monarch, in order to continue gaining patronage from the crown.<sup>15</sup> Another interpretation is that indigenous communities

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<sup>13</sup> Sarah Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru 1780-1854*, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

<sup>14</sup> Sarah Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru 1780-1854* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nationmaking: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>15</sup> Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Tristan Platt, *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Adino : Tierra y tribute en el Norte de Potosi*, (Lima: IEP, 1982); Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *“Oppressed but not Defeated”: Peasant Struggles Among the Aymara and Qhechwa in Bolivia, 1900-1980*, (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1987); Hernando Armaza Perez del Castillo, *Libertarse de Sus Propios Libertadores*, (La Paz:

fought for local autonomy and their project was co-opted by creole leaders who formed modern nation states.<sup>16</sup> I suggest that indigenous communities also mobilized for political independence with their own goals, motivations, and vision for the future. In contrast to much of the recent scholarship which suggests they wanted only local autonomy, I argue they had a much larger vision of an independent America. Their vision was one that reflected many of the tenants of the Age of Revolutions—an expansion of political voices, a movement towards an egalitarian society, and societies defined by constitutional representation—while also envisioning a place that contained elements of communal democracy with local leadership and political sovereignty. Their vision was loosely organized and affiliated with other regions and territories and resembled an inclusive and flexible federal governmental agreement.

A second major aim of this dissertation is to contribute to a broader discussion on the political history of the Age of Revolutions through a foregrounding of indigenous and African-descended revolutionaries. In recent years, scholars began investigating political and intellectual connections between revolutionary movements in France, the United States, and in other locations in the Atlantic World. They noticed that these revolutions shared major tenants— including anti-monarch stances, republican ideals, and the use of

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Plural Editores, 2014); Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*, (New York: Verso, 2007).

<sup>16</sup> Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Peter Guardino, “Connected Communities: Villagers and Wider Social Systems in the Late Colonial and Early National Periods,” in Paula Lopez Caballero and Ariadna Acevedo-Rodrigo eds., *Beyond Alterity: Destabilizing the Indigenous Other in Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018); Marcela Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution: Reform, Revolution, and Royalism in the Northern Andes, 1780-1825* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

egalitarian language—and scholars have suggested that we should study the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century as an era of revolutionary dialogue and exchange that often crossed political borders.<sup>17</sup> These works have demonstrated how revolutionaries in the United States, Europe, and Latin America embraced similar precepts and began a dialogue on how to create a society that was more representative and better suited the social and political needs of citizens. By expanding their analytical scope beyond local or national politics, Age of Revolution scholars have shown transnational trends that made the era a period of social upheaval and political possibilities.<sup>18</sup>

However, the existing scholarship has also privileged some revolutionary movements and excluded other regions and groups. Throughout the Age of Revolutions scholarship there is a trend of focusing on revolutions in the North Atlantic region and overlooking other revolutionary movements. The earliest works on the era, like Eric

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<sup>17</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1973); Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2018); Caitlin Fitz, *Our Sister Republics: The United States in an Age of American Revolutions*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016). Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1967); Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750-1804*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016); Matthew Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).

<sup>18</sup> Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995); Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); James Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Ernesto Bassi, “The ‘Franklins of Colombia’: Immigration Schemes and Hemispheric Solidarity in the Making of a Civilised Colombian Nation,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 50 (November 2017).

Hobsbawm's *The Age of Revolutions*, focused on the influence of the United States' Wars for Independence in 1776 and the French Revolution in 1789. In this formulation, the revolutionary thinkers in the US and France created republican precepts that were then exported and employed by other revolutionaries around the Atlantic World.<sup>19</sup> This analysis, however, depicted a unidirectional diffusion of revolutionary thought and explained revolutions in Haiti, Mexico, and South America as imitations of early movements in the North Atlantic. Even the most recent literature continues to provide more information on the role of the United States in the struggle to create other revolutionary movements in the South America.<sup>20</sup>

Recent scholars, myself included, challenge this diffusion model, and flip the North-to-South exchange on its head. Beginning with the Haitian Revolution, scholars argued that revolutionaries outside of Europe and North America created their own political thought and made original, and often radical, contributions to the Age of Revolutions.<sup>21</sup> Like this most recent line of scholarship, this dissertation contends that

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<sup>19</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1973).

<sup>20</sup> Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2018); Caitlin Fitz, *Our Sister Republics: The United States in an Age of American Revolutions*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016). Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1967); Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750-1804*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016); Matthew Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).

<sup>21</sup> Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995); Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); James Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Ernesto Bassi, "The 'Franklins of Colombia': Immigration Schemes and

Latin Americans contributed original thought to the Age of Revolutions dialogue. Revolutionaries like Pazos Kanki did not dogmatically follow previous revolutionary thought and often offered critiques of republics in the north Atlantic. In the early nineteenth century, South American revolutionaries were the most vocal proponents of the equality of mankind and were at the vanguard of political debates.

My research on the chasquis of liberty outlines an indigenous vision for an independent America and more egalitarian version of nationalism defined by a loose republican confederation, and therefore my research intervenes in current discussions on indigenous political history. Early historians treated indigenous communities as apolitical agents that rarely got involved in the important political developments in history.<sup>22</sup> If they included them in their grand political narratives, historians depicted indigenous men and women as mere cannon fodder or as revolutionaries of the stomach—rising up during food shortages only to return to their villages after their hunger pains were satisfied. They appeared fleetingly in the grand narratives, and their actions were always depicted as collective. This early scholarship overlooked multiple indigenous political initiatives and contributions, or left them out of historical accounts.

Following Vine Deloria Jr's call to move beyond a "cameo" theory of history, which simply inserted indigenous people as a colorful aside into a traditional political narrative, a revisionist wave of social and cultural historians used new theoretical concepts to emphasize the political consciousness of indigenous groups. To move beyond

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Hemispheric Solidarity in the Making of a Civilised Colombian Nation," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 50 (November 2017).

<sup>22</sup> John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions 1808-1826*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1973);

this cameo model of indigenous history, scholars have studied whether indigenous communities developed alternative visions for their political future. They determined that indigenous communities that worked alongside creole revolutionaries were akin to manipulation and that indigenous groups were gulled into the hegemony of the creole elite and nationhood. Scholars, instead, focused their gaze on rural communities which had previously been depicted as apolitical and detached from long duree political events—revolutions, constitutional debates, and civil wars—and studied their political ideologies and consciousness and determined these groups were politically engaged and had their own, distinct agenda, which scholars began to detail with new analytic concepts.<sup>23</sup>

Within US literature, scholars have employed the framework of tribal sovereignty to illustrate the political motivations of indigenous groups.<sup>24</sup> In a manner similar to

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<sup>23</sup> Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Tristan Platt, *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Adino : Tierra y tribute en el Norte de Potosi*, (Lima: IEP, 1982); Rene Danilo Arze Aguirre, *Participacion Popular en la Independencia de Bolivia*, (La Paz: Organizacion de los Estados Americanos, 1979); Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002)

<sup>24</sup> Within this literature, Scholars emphasize different degrees of indigenous sovereignty or influence: Some suggest that indigenous societies set the terms of engagement, see Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2007); Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2007); Pekka Hamalainen, *The Comanche Empire*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous & Atlantic Slavery in New France*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Others claim that indigenous and Europeans dialogically constructed new worlds, but indigenous communities retained some degree of cultural and political sovereignty see Richard White, *Middle Ground*, Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and*

trendswithin Latin American historiography, scholars have relied on the concept of community autonomy to show the importance of indigenous groups within political communities.<sup>25</sup> This wave of scholarship has helped to advance the historiographical discussion, and their findings outlined the complexity of indigenous political thought, replacing the cameo theory of indigenous history with one that suggested that indigenous communities had their own political motivations that lay outside the political history of the individual nations. While the terminology differs in the two regions, both groups of scholars have largely confined indigenous political contributions locally within a tribe, ethnic group, or region. In contrast, I argue that the chasquis of liberty had their own vision of an independent America that connected different ethnic, racial, and national groups in a common republican confederation that transcended a local setting. By placing indigenous political participation within a hemispheric frame, the contributions of indigenous communities during the Age of Revolutions comes into focus, as the chasquis

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*Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

<sup>25</sup> Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Tristan Platt, *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Adino : Tierra y tribute en el Norte de Potosi*, (Lima: IEP, 1982); Rene Danilo Arze Aguirre, *Participacion Popular en la Independencia de Bolivia*, (La Paz: Organizacion de los Estados Americanos, 1979); Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *"Oppressed but not Defeated": Peasant Struggles Among the Aymara and Quechwa in Bolivia, 1900-1980*, (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1987); Hernando Armaza Perez del Castillo, *Libertarse de Sus Propios Libertadores*, (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2014); Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*, (New York: Verso, 2007).

<sup>25</sup> Rebecca J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba After Slavery*, (Cambridge: Belknap University Press, 2005); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

of liberty employed and deepened the meaning of liberal republicanism by implementing multiethnic republics during an era of limited citizenship.

Indigenous men, like Pazos Kanki, envisioned a future that would bring the American hemisphere together in a loose republican confederation. The *chasquis* of liberty held alliances to local collectives—tribes and communities—and developed a broad republican consciousness. The *chasquis* of liberty fought for a republican nation state that addressed many of the platforms often depicted as central to a local indigenous agenda. The example of Pazos Kanki and other *chasquis* of liberty illustrate that indigenous revolutionaries contributed to the political debates of the nineteenth century by offering an innovative form of nationalism that transcended the usual geographical, racial, and social barriers that defined the Age of Revolutions.

#### Methodology and Chapter Outline

This dissertation begins and ends in what is today Bolivia, so in a sense, it is an origin story of the Bolivian nation, but along the way, the chapters take detours to Buenos Aires, Europe, and the United States to show the constellation of possibilities available during the Age of Revolutions. During the late colonial period, what is today Bolivia was known as Alto Peru, or Upper Peru. It corresponds roughly to the same geographical territory of Bolivia with the addition of the Atacama desert and access to the Pacific coast. The Bolivian case also offers a different view of the Age of Revolutions. Bolivian independence has long been treated as a reluctant revolution that needed an outside liberator, Simon Bolivar, to gain political sovereignty. Before founding the Bolivian nation, the *Chasquis* of Liberty explored a number of different political possibilities—reformed colonialism under Spanish rule, local republics, hemispheric republicanism, a



loose republican confederation that tied South America together, and a Peru-Bolivia confederation. I will show how revolutionaries from Alto Peru mobilized throughout the Americas to shape independence processes.

Each chapter of this dissertation uses biographies of revolutionaries, like Vicente Pazos Kanki, to guide the reader down various different roads and possibilities explored from 1780-1825. Although long considered shopworn, historians have rediscovered how to ask historical questions through biography, and this work follows in that tradition. Using this model, the dissertation avoids telescoping forward to independence, while also avoiding the tendency to upstream the trials of nation making of the early nineteenth century back into the independence wars themselves. It is only by an exploration of both the successful and failed routes to independence that scholars can study the Age of Revolutions and the significance of independence for Bolivians and find a new path out of either hagiographies of independence or dismissals of the era altogether.

To achieve this goal, chapters employ different scales of observation—local, regional, national, and hemispheric—in order to understand the political consciousness and influence of South American revolutionaries in early nineteenth-century America.<sup>26</sup> Local, regional, and national political struggles can be understood only when studied together, so some chapters employ a “zoom lens” to hone in on a specific community, region, or person.<sup>27</sup> In other chapters, I zoom out and look for hemispheric inspirations, connections, and goals. With this shift in magnification, I can provide micro-historical

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<sup>26</sup> Rebecca J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba After Slavery*, (Cambridge: Belknap University Press, 2005); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

<sup>27</sup> Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, (Cambridge: Belknap University Press, 2005), 5.

detail without losing sight of the national and hemispheric contexts that help to frame the political contributions of the chasquis of liberty and indigenous communities more broadly. My approach complements a recent trend in indigenous studies literature to focus my analysis more transnationally.<sup>28</sup> This methodological shift will help reveal connections between indigenous political movements, and it will link indigenous historiographical debates within larger debates about the Atlantic world.

Chapter one, “These Opulent Provinces: A Political Cartography of Alto Peru, 1778-1809,” follows the life of Jose Manuel de Goyeneche—a Spanish official sent from Spain to announce the Napoleonic invasion of Spain to South America—to describe the late colonial context of Alto Peru. This chapter utilizes a broad national and transnational scale to show broader influences that might have led to a movement for political independence. The Alto Peru that Goyeneche entered was an opulent society built on the exploitation of indigenous groups, but it also allowed numerous indigenous men and women to contribute politically and prepare themselves to demand revolutionary change. I begin with the Tupac Amaru II rebellion and outline how even though Tupac Amaru II’s movement was repressed, the goals outlined by the Great Andean rebellion persisted into the late colonial period, fostering a generation that was prepared to create revolutionary change in the Andes and beyond.

Chapter two, “The Cry of Liberty: The May 25, 1809 Rebellion in Chuquisaca,” examines the social and political commentary of mulatto and indigenous rioters during an

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<sup>28</sup> Juliana Barr and Edward Countryman eds., *Contested Spaces of Early America*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017; Cynthia Radding, *Landscapes of Power and Identity, Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forest of Amazonia from Colony to Republic*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

urban rebellion on the night of May 25, 1809 in the South American city of Chuquisaca. This chapter zooms in on one particular urban rebellion to give micro-historical detail to the burgeoning independence movement. I employ a sensory history approach, with a particular focus on the aural soundscape of the riot, and I utilize the court testimony of Francisco “Quitacapas” Rios, a mulatto barber from La Paz, to understand the popular goals of subaltern actors who rebelled against Spanish authorities on May 25, 1809. I read the documents to hear the events of that evening, the cries, and the jeers, and the chants, and the demands of that evening. I instead argue that the popular classes, including urban indigenous communities called *cholos*, led this rebellion and offered a unique expression of the egalitarian and democratic ideals that defined the Age of Revolution.

Chapter three, “The Chasquis of Liberty: Revolutionary Messengers in the Alto Peruvian Wars for Independence,” explores the movement of a group of itinerant revolutionaries, like Pazos Kanki, who helped to unite multiple, nested communities in South America into an anticolonial, nationalist movement defined by representative democracy. The indigenous messengers made a nationalist movement possible and connected different ethnic groups (Aymara and Quechua) into one larger confederation. The chasquis defined the independence movement as one to found a Republican nation and avenge the Spanish conquest of the sixteenth century. Many of the documents they carried were written in indigenous languages, suggesting that they openly recruited indigenous communities and intended to make them part of their emerging nation.

Chapter four, “An Indigenous Vision of Liberty: Popular Ideology in the Alto Peruvian Wars for Independence, 1810-1817” zooms in on pro-independence enclaves in

Alto Peru and investigates the political ideology and goals of Aymara and Quechua groups in South America. I use case studies in Chayanta, Yampares, and Potosi to show that each community supported the independence movement and the efforts to create a South American nation. In contrast to other scholarship which suggests that indigenous communities retreated into a protective shell to retain their autonomy in their community, I argue that indigenous communities tried to unite most of South America into a Republican confederation that provided them a degree of sovereignty within a broader national movement.

In chapter five, “The Land of Liberty: Vicente Pazos Kanki and the Amelia Island Affair, 1817,” explores Vicente Pazos Kanki and how he attempted to export democracy throughout the Americas. I use the case study of Amelia Island where Pazos Kanki and a coalition of former slaves, French pirates, and Haitian soldiers tried to create a republican Florida that offered a critique of other nations that are defined by exclusionary nationalism and racism. This chapter connects indigenous movements in South America to broader debates of the Age of Revolutions. The chapter outlines the hemispheric nature of indigenous politics and argues that the actions of indigenous revolutionaries had a foundational impact on the history of the Americas, including forcing the US to symbolically intervene in the wars for independence of Latin America through the Monroe Doctrine.

In the conclusion, I explore the path that Alto Peru took to independence and the change brought by this transition from being a Spanish colony to a post-colonial republic. By using diplomatic records, newspapers, and diaries this chapter explores the changes and continuities of the revolutionary age by outlining the roles that the chasquis of liberty

took on in the new republican era for the Bolivian nation and in other new republics in the Americas. Even after the chasquis won political independence, they continued trying to better the new nations they had helped to form.

## CHAPTER 2

### A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CARTOGRAPHY OF THE “OPULENT PROVINCES OF ALTO PERU,” 1779-1808

In May 1808, the Spanish official Jose Manuel de Goyeneche traveled to South America to deliver the shocking news that Napoleon Bonaparte’s invading French armies forced Spain’s royal family from power. During the invasion, Napoleon made the Spanish king Carlos IV to abdicate the throne to his son Ferdinand VII in March 1808, and shortly thereafter, Ferdinand VII fled into exile in May 1808. Under Napoleonic rule, Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, assumed the Spanish throne and became Emperor of Spain’s American colonies. Instead of supporting a foreign king, some Spaniards began to organize their own governing bodies, called *juntas*. The largest and most power junta in Spain, housed in Sevilla and led by Conde de Floridablanca as its president, hoped that Goyeneche would be able to deliver the news of recent events and ease any concerns held by the American colonists. So, Goyeneche set off across the Atlantic in the summer of 1808 to inform the American colonists that Supreme Central Junta of Sevilla would rule the Spanish empire until Ferdinand VII returned to Madrid and rightfully re-claimed the Spanish throne.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> America. Buenos Aires Y Montevideo. Comision Encargada a Jose Manuel De Goyeneche Para Recabar Informacion Acerca De La Situacion de Las Autoridades Y Poblacion Del Virreinato Del Rio De La Plata, n.d., Estado, Archivo Historico Nacional.

Goyeneche arrived in the Americas in August of 1808 and “as soon as [he] set foot on the shores of Rio de la Plata, [he] began publishing the first notices that Ferdinand VII remained alive and the Spanish monarchy endured.”<sup>30</sup> Goyeneche first traveled to Montevideo and Buenos Aires, and shortly thereafter, made plans to travel into the heart of South America to the provinces of Alto Peru, or modern day Bolivia. Despite hoping to calm any fears and rumors about the crisis in the metropole, Goyeneche and the news he brought with him in November 1808, sent shock waves around Alto Peru. Upon hearing that the Spanish royal family had been forced from power, Americans began to revisit, through gossip and rumor as well as their own local juntas, their political futures.<sup>31</sup>

Despite being born in Arequipa, Peru, Goyeneche had resided most of his life in Spain and was little more than a knowledgeable outsider when he arrived to Alto Peru. In Spain, Goyeneche attended school and established himself as a successful military leader, but this European lifestyle and training left him ill-informed on Alto Peru’s social and political climate. He had heard tales of Alto Peru’s riches; the area was renowned as a silver-producing region of the new world and included one of the world’s most profitable silver mines in the colonial city of Potosi.<sup>32</sup> These precious metals enriched the Spanish

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<sup>30</sup> Carta N° 301 de José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de La Concordia, Virrey Del Perú, a Antonio Cano Manuel, Ministro de Gracia Y Justicia., n.d., Lima, 742, N. 62., Rio de La Plata was made up of modern day Argentina.

<sup>31</sup> “Carta N° 301 de José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de La Concordia, Virrey Del Perú, a Antonio Cano Manuel, Ministro de Gracia Y Justicia.,” n.d., Lima, 742, N. 62.

<sup>32</sup> Enrique Tandeter, *Coercion and Market: Silver Mining in Colonial Potosí, 1692-1826* (University of New Mexico Press, 1993); Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780-1930*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Charles Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840*, (Durham: Duke

crown and the cities of Alto Peru. Goyeneche saw this wealth during his tour of what he called “these opulent provinces of Alto Peru;” however, the provinces’ gilded magnificence belied a region riddled with social turmoil.<sup>33</sup>

Hidden beneath Alto Peru’s lavish veneer was a complex social hierarchy built on inequality and human exploitation. Numerous Spaniards and creoles—or people of Spanish decent born in the Americas—benefitted economically from the region’s silver production; however, Spain’s recent Bourbon reforms had further concentrated wealth and power in the hands of a select group of government-appointed Spaniards. Alto Peru’s indigenous majority, who formed the bulk of the laboring class, remained political, social, and economic subordinates to the Spanish mine and hacienda owners. Further exacerbating their subordination, the indigenous majority recently lost some of their access to traditional forms of political representation through indigenous leadership. As the crown’s reforms modernized the empire, they also worsened existing social inequalities. The provinces of Alto Peru, despite their opulence, were on the brink of a crisis as significant as the one in Europe.

As Goyeneche traveled through Alto Peru, he began to learn about the social and political cartography of the provinces; this chapter provides a similar description of what Goyeneche may have learned on his journey. The chapter begins with a survey of Alto Peru, including a discussion of the Tupac Amaru II and Tupac Katari rebellions, their long-term consequences, and how these rebellions affected a new generation of Alto

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University Press, 1999); Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

<sup>33</sup> “Carta N° 301 de José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de La Concordia, Virrey Del Perú, a Antonio Cano Manuel, Ministro de Gracia Y Justicia.,” n.d., Lima, 742, N. 62.



Peruvians in the early nineteenth century. The Alto Peru Goyeneche entered in 1808 was deeply exploitative, dynamic, and quickly evolving. Despite having all the pre-conditions for an anti-colonial movement, Alto Peru stayed in an anxious peace during most of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Indigenous communities were able to develop local leaders and shaped the late colonial period through legal channels within the Spanish colonial system. Resistance remained localized and was easily contained by the Spanish due in part to the flexibility within the colonial model but also because of the social diversity within the province. However, there were growing debates and disagreements about the best ways to right Alto Peru. The Spanish colonial regime was on a shaky foundation, pieced together through negotiation between indigenous communities and Spanish officials, and the arrival of news of the Napoleonic invasion made Alto Peru a fertile ground for revolutionary ideas to take hold in the mountains and valleys of the eastern Andes.

### **Alto Peru's Social and Political Landscape, 1780-1808**

As Goyeneche arrived in Chuquisaca in November 1808, he realized how unfamiliar he was with the area.<sup>34</sup> He began “to examine the customs, the interests, and the opinions of all the cities on his transit.”<sup>35</sup> Goyeneche fixed his attention particularly on the ecclesiastic community given their education and close relationship with parish

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<sup>34</sup> Carta n° 301 de José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, Virrey del Perú, a Antonio Cano Manuel, ministro de Gracia y Justicia. Archivo General de Indias, LIMA,742,N.62

<sup>35</sup> Carta n° 301 de José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, Virrey del Perú, a Antonio Cano Manuel, ministro de Gracia y Justicia. Archivo General de Indias, LIMA,742,N.62.

priests throughout the territory. He believed that these religious figures had great access to their followers “through the pulpit and the confessional to calculate the inclinations of these inhabitants.”<sup>36</sup> He hoped that through these examinations he would be able to mine the priest’s cultural knowledge, in order to understand “the vices and...the dominant passions of the country.”<sup>37</sup> Goyeneche presumably learned that Alto Peru was a complex amalgam of environments, communities, labor systems, and government arrangements. By this point, Alto Peru was nearing its third century as a Spanish colony, one which had produced both great wealth and mounting troubles: a struggling economy, unpopular reforms, a divided society, and a history of indigenous rebellions. Through his travels and discussions, Goyeneche quickly learned about the opulent provinces he would now be in charge of during the Napoleonic crisis.

Although he traveled through most of Spanish South American, Goyeneche prioritized Alto Peru because of its profitability and its potential for unrest. The Province of Alto Peru, sometimes called Charcas, sat nestled between the Viceroyalty of Peru and the Viceroyalty of La Plata and was divided into thirteen *corregimientos*, or districts. This area included numerous urban centers like the mining cities of Potosi and Oruro, and the commercial hubs of La Paz, Chuquisaca (also called the city of La Plata), and Cochabamba. Outside these urban centers, lay vast areas without much development. Antonio de Alcedo, renowned Spanish geographer of the Americas, noted that “in many

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<sup>36</sup> Carta n° 301 de José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, Virrey del Perú, a Antonio Cano Manuel, ministro de Gracia y Justicia. Archivo General de Indias, LIMA,742,N.62.

<sup>37</sup> Carta n° 301 de José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, Virrey del Perú, a Antonio Cano Manuel, ministro de Gracia y Justicia. Archivo General de Indias, LIMA,742,N.62.

parts [Alto Peru] is lightly populated, and has extensive deserts that break up the region.”<sup>38</sup> The region had all the imaginable extremes of geography, including what Alcedo described as “harsh and impenetrable mountains,” a vast, high-altitude plains called the *altiplano*, and numerous valleys and lowlands that provided a temperate reprieve from the “extremely cold” highlands.<sup>39</sup> Goyeneche somehow passed the impenetrable mountains and cold drafts of Alto Peru and made it to Chuquisaca.

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<sup>38</sup> Antonio de Alcedo, *Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico De Las Indias Occidentales Ó América: Es Á Saber: De Los Reynos Del Perú, Nueva España, Tierra Firme, Chile, Y Nuevo Reyno De Granada*. (Madrid: En la impr. de B. Cano, 1786), 777.

<sup>39</sup> Antonio de Alcedo, *Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico De Las Indias Occidentales Ó América*. 777

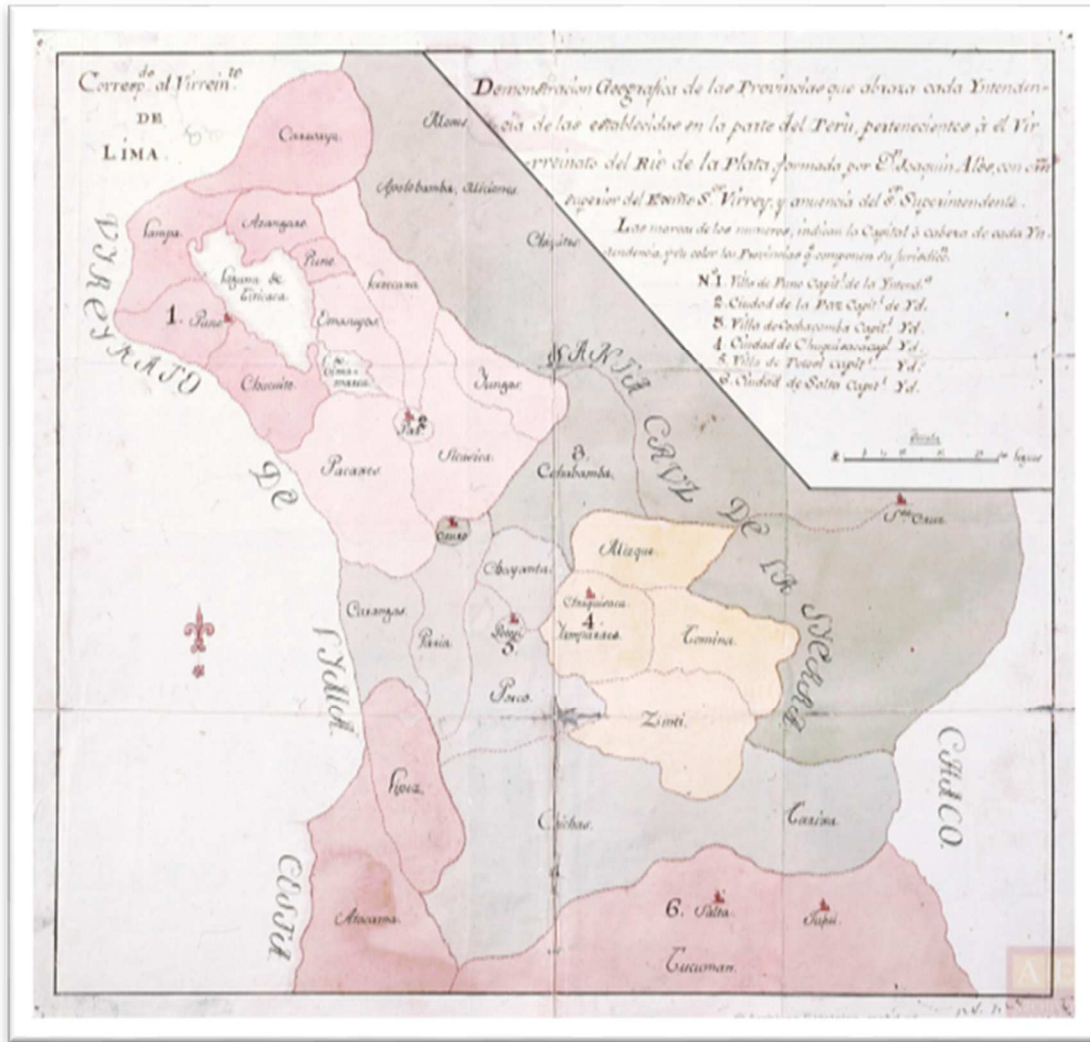


Figure 2.1 "Demonstración Geográfica de las Provincias que abraza cada Yntendencia de las establecidas en la parte del Perú desde Salta, pertenecientes a el Virreynato del Río de la Plata," Archivo General de Indias 1783

The vast majority of Alto Peru's population was of indigenous descent in the late eighteenth century; however, there was little cultural or social homogeneity within this *casta*, or colonial racial category. Multiple, nested, indigenous communities lived in Alto Peru with their own histories and cultures, including the Aymara, Quechua, and Guarani groups. Indigenous society was further divided into those who remained part of their traditional ethnic unit, the *ayllu*, and those that had left their ethnic clan, who were called either a *forestero* or *yanacona*. Indigenous men or women of the latter group moved to

urban environments in Alto Peru and was often labeled *cholos*—or hispanized, urban indigenous or mestizo citizens. For example, Mathias de Tal, an indigenous man of uncertain community origin, traveled from La Paz, to Potosi and then, to Chuquisaca in 1809 without a permanent living situation.<sup>40</sup> These communities frustrated Spanish officials who neatly mapped indigeneity onto the Andean country side and Europeanness on the Andean cities—a cartography that was not based in reality.

The indigenous men and women who left their community often found ways to rise up to a modest position within the hierarchy of the late colonial period. Indigenous men and women were essential to the labor market of urban centers, like Potosi, La Paz, and Chuquisaca, and often were able to open their own market stalls, chicherias, or stores. Other members of these *forestero* communities had opportunities in education and trained to be members of the clergy or became scribes who held the language abilities to translate indigenous languages into Spanish. For example, Vicente Pazos Kanki, an indigenous man from Larecaja, Bolivia, was sent to Cusco to learn Spanish and train to be a member of the Spanish clergy until he decided to abandon that path once the wars for independence broke out in the region.<sup>41</sup> Within these urban communities, there were examples that blurred the imagined social hierarchy of Alto Peru.

Despite the social and ecological challenges of living in Alto Peru, indigenous civilizations had long found unique ways to thrive in the Alto Peruvian environment with

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<sup>40</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, alias el Quitacapas por vago, mal entretenido y otros crímenes, el Emancipacion de la Audiencia de La Plata (ALP), em 4. El Archivo Nacional de Bolivia (ABNB), Sucre, Bolivia.

<sup>41</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, commissioner on behalf of the republican agents established at Amelia Island, In Florida, under the authority and in behalf of the Independent States of South America*, (Philadelphia, 1818).

its multiple ecological niches. Relying on a system of vertical archipelagos, societies dating back to the ancient Inca civilization had made the mountains and valleys of Alto Peru their home.<sup>42</sup> Key to the continuation of life in this difficult terrain was the ability of men and women to claim lands in multiple altitudes and live in a sort of “double domicile” living arrangement.<sup>43</sup> At times, this caused land disputes among communities that claimed multiple locations at once, like the indigenous communities of Tinguipaya who sent their community leaders, Dionisio Saavedra and Bartolome Choque, to colonial courts to reclaim their lands. In their petition, they asked the courts “to return the lands of Yanani,” to their community.<sup>44</sup> Communities, like the one in Tinguipaya, moved and traded across these ecological zones to feed and clothe their communities and it was essential that they had access to both sets of land. Adapting to the Andean environment, men and women formed highly mobile communities capable of envisioning a collective identity that was both bound to certain lands and transcended local environments.<sup>45</sup>

Indigenous groups made up the vast majority of the working class and were largely marginalized from social and political power except for a small elite group of

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<sup>42</sup> John V. Murra, *La Organizacion economica del Estado inca*, (Mexico, D.F: Siglo XXI, 2007).

<sup>43</sup> John Murra. *La Organizacion economica del Estado inca*.

<sup>44</sup> Solicitud de Dionisio Saavedra, Francisco Machaca, Bartolome Choque, Bernabe Calani y Crispin Logones, indios principals, por si y a nombre del comun de indios de mita del pueblo de Tinguipaya, sobre que se les ampare y restituya las tierras de Yanani queposeen en la jurisdiccion de Coroma, provincial Yamparaez. BO ABNB, ALP SGI-145.

<sup>45</sup> Tristan Platt, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino: tierra y tribute en el Norte de Potosi*, (La Paz: Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, 2016); Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); Hanne Cottyn et al. eds., *Las luchas sociales por la tierra en America Latina: Un analisis historico, comparativo y global*, (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2016).

indigenous community leaders called caciques or kurakas. These community leaders were essential to Spanish control in the Andes and were responsible for labor mobilization and local governance. Caciques could also serve as a buffer against community exploitation and often helped control the pace and amount of forced labor that indigenous communities faced. Caciques made it possible for the Spanish to mobilize thousands of indigenous men to work in the forced labor system of the *mita*, where indigenous men and women worked in the silver mines of Alto Peru. The *mita* labor draft had made Alto Peru one of the most profitable of their colonies in the Americas for centuries, but the mines were beginning to yield fewer profits by the late eighteenth century, in part because caciques had learned the colonial legal system well enough to reduce their communities' labor requirements.<sup>46</sup> By the eighteenth century the *mita* at Potosi was a complex economic system that creatively combined forced and wage labor in order to extract silver from the mines Potosi and process it with highly poisonous mercury from the neighboring community of Huancavelica. Although the *mita* was not equivalent to chattel slavery, many now consider it another form of slavery.<sup>47</sup> Goyeneche learned that he must keep relations with kurakas to keep Alto Peru's economy from tarnishing.

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<sup>46</sup> Steve J Stern, *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987);

<sup>47</sup> Andres Resendez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*, (Boston: Mariner Books, 2016); Kris Lane, *Potosi: The Silver that Changed the World*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019); Enrique Tandeter, *Coercion and Market: Silver Mining in Colonial Potosi, 1692-1826*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993).

When the Spanish conquered the Inca in the sixteenth century, they set up administrative and political units called viceroalties to govern the Americas and ensure that the large indigenous populations worked to enrich the Spanish metropole. Historically, Alto Peru had been part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, but in 1776 the Spanish crown created the Viceroyalty of Rio de La Plata, and Alto Peru was placed in this new colonial region. The new viceroyalty was meant to direct communication, trade, and administration goals towards Buenos Aires instead of Lima with the hope of reducing contraband trade, increasing royal revenue on precious metals, and improving Spanish control on a region that had increasingly become less economically productive in the eighteenth century. However, divorcing Alto Peru from the viceroyalty of Peru proved neither easy nor quick. Much of Alto Peru had been part of Tawantinsuyu, the official name of the Inca empire that spread across Peru and Alto Peru, and many Alto Peruvian's into the late eighteenth century felt that there was still a degree of cultural continuity between Alto Peru and Peru.<sup>48</sup>

The creation of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires was just one of a series of changes to colonial administration known as the Bourbon Reforms, which tried to profoundly reshape the social and political landscape of the Spanish colonies. The Spanish crown hoped to curb its decline in Europe by making the American colonies more profitable again and increasing its absolute control over the empire. So, in 1767 the Spanish expelled the Jesuit order, which they saw as a threat to their power and wealth. It created the new position of Intendent to replace the former local government position of

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<sup>48</sup> Flores Galindo Alberto, *In Search of an Inca: Identity and Utopia in the Andes*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).



Corregidor. This new position of Intendent was reserved for Spanish citizens born in Spain and thus took power and influence from many creole men. Most importantly, the crown increased taxation, more efficiently collected taxes, and continued to enforce the Reparto de Mercancias or a forced distribution of goods to indigenous communities.

Collectively, the Bourbon Reforms increased Spanish control over Alto Peru but at the expense of many of the traditional incentives that had helped creole and indigenous communities. Over the three centuries of Spanish colonialism, creoles had established themselves at the top of the Alto Peruvian society. Many had large plantations, or haciendas, that exploited indigenous labor; Others held important positions within the Spanish government like the local *cabildos* or *corregidores*, or were owners of Alto Peruvian mines. The Bourbon Reforms effectively placed *peninsulares* in the uppermost positions in society and pushed creoles out of the most prestigious power positions. This angered many creoles, like a lawyer from Alto Peru named Mariano Alejo Alvarez, who argued in a speech that “americanos should have preference for American jobs.”<sup>49</sup> Alto Peruvian creoles accustomed to a privileged position in society now had to answer to their fellow Spaniards. This caused great frustration within the creole communities who increasingly denied the same profits as they had reaped historically.

While creoles saw a moderate decrease in their quality of life, indigenous and the small but growing African societies of Alto Peru experienced the full effect of the Bourbon Reforms. Throughout the Spanish colonial period, indigenous men and women had discovered creative ways to adapt to an exploitative mercantile system. *Kurakas*

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<sup>49</sup> Mariano Alejo Alvarez, *Discurso sobre la preferencia que deben tener los americanos en los empleos de America*. (Lima, 1811), John Carter Brown Library (JCB), Peruvian Imprints Collection.

often served as cultural mediators between the Spanish colonial state and their indigenous *ayllus*. *Kurakas* were figuratively between two worlds of the Spanish and the indigenous. They had to mobilize indigenous labor for the *mita* and opened their society to Spanish labor demands, but they also tried to uphold their traditional community's demands of reciprocity by shielding indigenous communities from the full brunt of labor exploitation. When Spanish labor demands became too excessive, many indigenous men went to the Spanish courts and petitioned the crown to give their communities concessions for their loyalty and labor. These strategies allowed indigenous societies to help shape a colonial labor system that was at least livable for the indigenous majority. However, the Bourbon Reforms and their goal of increasing revenue and control upset this delicate equilibrium and put *kurakas* in a difficult position.<sup>50</sup>

With this increased Spanish control, *kurakas* found it impossible to balance the competing goals of the Spanish and their indigenous communities. As Spanish demand for labor and control increased, unrest within the indigenous community grew. Indigenous communities, who were frustrated by their *kurakas*' inability to balance the competing goals of their job, put pressure on their traditional leaders to find new solutions to their community's problems. This "Crisis of the *Cacicazo*" played out uniquely in different parts of the Andes as some leaders were more adept at navigating

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<sup>50</sup> Karen Spalding, *Huarochiri: a Colonial Province Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984); Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of the Spanish Conquest, Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982); Steve J. Stern, *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Tandeter, *Coercion and Market*.

the dual demands of their community and the Spanish colonial world.<sup>51</sup> However, the increased exploitation from the Bourbon Reforms and the crisis of traditional indigenous authority erupted in the 1780's into the biggest anti-colonial rebellion the Spanish had faced since the 1500s.

In three distinct Andean theatres, La Paz, Chayanta, and Cuzco, indigenous groups rose up to challenge local Spanish authority and demanded a reformed colonialism that better suited their communities' needs. In the Cuzco area, Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui, an indigenous Kuraka from Tinta, took the name of the last ruler of the Neo-Inca Resistance movement of the 1500's, Tupac Amaru, and led a multi-ethnic rebellion that initially brought together indigenous and Spanish Peruvians. The Tupac Amaru II rebellion engulfed colonial Peru and called for an end to the Mita, an abolition of slavery, and an end to the Reparto de Mercancias.<sup>52</sup> Condorcanqui's movement resonated with a broad cross-section of Andean society as it addressed many of the concerns of the region, and it used a powerful regional symbol, the Incas. The Inca were a revered pre-conquest society that had been idealized in post-conquest literature. Authors as varied as Garcilaso de la Vega and Voltaire had written romantic depictions of a utopian Inca empire free from strife. While idealized, this image of a utopian Inca society was widespread in the Andes and was an important symbol used by both Indian

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<sup>51</sup> Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); Sergio Serulnikov, *Subverting Colonial Authority: Challenges to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth-Century Southern Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2003).

<sup>52</sup> Charles Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 1999); Charles F Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*, 2014; Sergio Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes: The Age of Túpac Amaru*, 2013. E. Gabrielle Kuenzli, *Acting Inca: National Belonging in Early Twentieth-Century Bolivia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013).

and non-indian reformist ideological movements.<sup>53</sup> These works that promoted an equal society were attractive to a broad cross section of Andean society.

In Alto Peru, a pair of related rebellions took place with slightly different goals but with similar causes as the Tupac Amaru II rebellion. In the Chayanta region, Tomas Katari, an indigenous cacique, helped to tie together multiple ayllus in the area around Potosi to fight against exploitation by unscrupulous kurakas and Spaniards to defend their communities' traditional rights. Similarly, in the La Paz region of Alto Peru Tupac Katari helped to lead his mostly Aymara region into rebellion against exploitation in their community. The Tupac Katari rebellion ousted many kurakas who had not upheld their communities' demands of reciprocity and attempted to give more political power to the common members of the ayllus. In all three rebellions, indigenous groups tried to ensure that Spain addressed their political demands and that indigenous communities had more access to self-representation.<sup>54</sup>

Despite the widespread uprisings, these movements were not able to unify Andean communities into an anti-colonial movement. In each of the centers of rebellion, Chayanta, Cuzco, and La Paz, indigenous communities had slightly different goals and the different movements struggled to disseminate a message that could unify all corners of the region. To complicate matters, there were significant numbers of Andeans, both indigenous and non-indigenous, who actively fought against the proto-nationalist

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<sup>53</sup> Flores Galindo Alberto, *In Search of an Inca: Identity and Utopia in the Andes*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>54</sup> Charles Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 1999); Charles F Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*, 2014; Sergio Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes: The Age of Túpac Amaru*, 2013.

movements of Tupac Amaru II and the Kataris. In the Cuzco region, many of the families with claims to a direct lineage to Inca royalty opposed Tupac Amaru II and considered him an illegitimate heir to the Inca title.<sup>55</sup>

Resistance to the anti-colonial movements of the 1780's were widespread, and in other parts of Alto Peru indigenous communities mobilized to protect the colonies from the Andean insurrections. In the Yamparez region of Alto Peru some indigenous leaders helped to organize local militias of indigenous men to put down the rebellions which shook the region. In the town of Yotala, both the cacique and governor of the region were even awarded a medal with "the royal bust" and an inscription an "award of loyalty" for his support during the rebellions.<sup>56</sup> Ultimately, the Age of Andean insurrection was put down by Spanish forces. Its failure resided in the rebellions disjointed nature and the diversity of movements within the era. Tupac Amaru II and the other leaders of the rebellion revealed the fissures in Alto Peruvian society, but they did not have an infrastructure set up to unite an eclectic and diverse region. Many Alto Peruvians rallied behind Inca imagery and a platform of colonial reform, but that alone was not enough to hold together the movements.

When Goyeneche met with local priest to learn the inclinations of Alto Peruvians, he would have learned about these events that dominated Alto Peru in the 1780s and still cast a shadow over the landscape in 1808. This divided society was still recovering from

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<sup>55</sup> Charles Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 1999); Charles F Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*, 2014; Sergio Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes: The Age of Túpac Amaru*, 2013. David T. Garret, *Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cusco, 1750-1825*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>56</sup>BO ABNB, ALP, SGI-309.

the great Andean rebellions, and they tinged the world Goyeneche entered. Goyeneche's goal was to keep Alto Peru in an organized state that would allow the colonial political and economic system to remain functioning even without the Spanish sovereign in power. He knew if he failed another era of Andean rebellion might erupt, one that he would be charged with containing.

### **Reform or Reconquest: Responses to Tupac Amaru II**

Of his many Alto Peruvian informants, Goyeneche grew especially close to Doctor Mariano Rodríguez de Olmedo, an honorary religious canon in Chuquisaca. Rodríguez de Olmedo was a creole from the city of Arequipa, and a reportedly a “descendent of an illustrious father and a very distinguished family.”<sup>57</sup> Relying on Olmedo's council, Goyeneche soon became more familiar with the deep turmoil Alto Peru faced at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Indigenous groups were still reeling from the rebellions of the 1780s and their traditional authority figures and social norms of reciprocity were in crisis even when Goyeneche arrived. The economy, which relied heavily on silver production from Potosi, was struggling to keep up with the growing Spanish demand, and creoles and peninsulares were constantly fighting over access to cheap indigenous labor. With these issues in mind, Alto Peruvians began to reassess different ways to restore Alto Peru to its former riches, developing into two different paths at ordering Alto Peru: one that tried to rule Alto Peru with a strong hand and another that tried to introduce reform and a liberalizing element into society. Colonial officials began implementing these two sets of policies in contradictory ways, leaving the

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<sup>57</sup> Carta N° 301 de José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de La Concordia, Virrey Del Perú, a Antonio Cano Manuel, Ministro de Gracia Y Justicia., n.d., Lima, 742, N. 62.

men and women of Alto Peru unsatisfied with an inefficient colonial system that struggled to address the needs of Spanish subjects.

After the Spanish quelled the Great Andean rebellions, colonial officials began to re-assert their control over the region by first pursuing a policy of reconquest. Spanish officials brutally executed Tupac Amaru II and other leaders of the rebellions in public executions and displayed their bodies in plazas throughout the Andes to ensure that indigenous communities would not consider revolting again in the near future. Other kurakas were similarly punished for their suspected support of the rebellions. Along with these displays of ritualized violence, the Spanish implemented a series of laws to depressurize the region. The Spanish burned subversive material especially those related to the ancient Incas which had been an effective symbol used by Tupac Amaru II to tie together his rebellion. Following the rebellions, the Spanish increased mita demands in what became known as the “new Mita” and even considered ending the position of the cacique/kuraka. These physical and cultural assaults on Andean communities following the rebellions were designed to be a “second conquest” of indigenous society.<sup>58</sup>

A common feature the Spanish used in their second conquest was to replace traditional community leaders with ones that they assumed would better defend colonial security and Spanish economic interests. In the Province of Puno, along the north-eastern part of Alto Peru, the Spanish employed this strategy and “removed the Indian Manuel Guagua Condori from the position of cacique.” The Spanish “replaced [Guagua Condori] with Don Tomas Mango Turpo, who had accredited his loyalty” to the Spanish during the

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<sup>58</sup> Carta n° 170 de Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, virrey de Perú, a Antonio Valdés, Secretario de Estado de Indias, Hacienda, Marina y Guerra, Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 691, N.166.

Tupac Amaru II rebellion.<sup>59</sup> With the intention of adding more colonial stability to Spanish colonialism in the Andes, the policy actually disrupted local politics in Puno.<sup>60</sup>

Replacing Guagua Condori from his official position did not diminish the former cacique's leadership in the town of Asillo and it ultimately resulted in a series of tumults in the early 1790s. Following his removal from the position of cacique, Guagua Condori continued to petition the Spanish courts on behalf of his community. Guagua Condori went to local Spanish officials, the Governor Intendent of Puno and later before the high court of Cuzco, to report "some excesses made by Don Tomas Mango and other Caciques." Among other things, Guagua Condori claimed that the new Caciques, who had replaced him were "concealing tributaries" for their personal use, and Guagua Condori revealed that many community members were having to deal with "poor treatment" at the hands of Tomas Mango.<sup>61</sup> In these protests, Guagua Condori hoped to be re-inserted into his previous position of power in Asillo. Two other indigenous men, Andres Chanca and Tomas Guzman, supported Guagua Condori's claims to power, and they "called on various followers to expel [the current caciques] from their town." Upon hearing of this disturbance, the local Intendent captured Tomas Guzman, Andres Chanca,

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<sup>59</sup> Carta n° 170 de Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, virrey de Perú, a Antonio Valdés, Secretario de Estado de Indias, Hacienda, Marina y Guerra, Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 691, N.166.

<sup>60</sup> Carta n° 170 de Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, virrey de Perú, a Antonio Valdés, Secretario de Estado de Indias, Hacienda, Marina y Guerra, Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 691, N.166.

<sup>61</sup> Carta n° 170 de Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, virrey de Perú, a Antonio Valdés, Secretario de Estado de Indias, Hacienda, Marina y Guerra. Archivo General de Indias, LIMA, 691, N.166.



and Guagua Condori.<sup>62</sup> These arrests threw the Province of Puno into full blown turmoil, that would have reminded officials of the Great Andean rebellions.

Colonial officials, however, were able to calm the area by sending an influx of troops. Following the arrival of “a garrison of troops from La Paz” the Puno returned to a state of reported “tranquility.”<sup>63</sup> But the episode set off a series of condemnations by the viceroy of Peru, Francisco Gil de Taboada, concerning indigenous communities of Puno. The viceroy claimed that “the continuation of forced labor drafts” in Puno was the cause of the “unfortunate occurrences” in the area, and he felt that these types of tumults would “always result from the practice of such a violent commerce.”<sup>64</sup> Despite the laments of Peru’s viceroy, forced labor and military repression continued to be important tools to ensuring that indigenous unrest did not grow into a widespread movement against Spanish colonialism.

Despite these methods of control, Thomas Guzman, Andres Chanca, and other local level leaders continued to work within the colonial system to bring about change. Leaders like those in Puno petitioned colonial officials and demanded local caciques that had the ability and respect to command their communities. If their efforts were ignored, they turned to other means—as was the case in the Province of Puno where they plotted to overthrow the local cacique. The era saw both continued repression but also the continuation of a long tradition of indigenous mobilization that ensured that ayllu

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<sup>62</sup> Carta n° 170 de Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, virrey de Perú, a Antonio Valdés, Secretario de Estado de Indias, Hacienda, Marina y Guerra. Archivo General de Indias, LIMA, 691, N.166.

<sup>63</sup> Indios. Tumultos en Puno. Archivo General de Simancas, SGU, LEG, 6806, 18.

<sup>64</sup> Carta n° 170 de Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, virrey de Perú, a Antonio Valdés, Secretario de Estado de Indias, Hacienda, Marina y Guerra. Archivo General de Indias, LIMA, 691, N.166.

members were involved in Spanish colonial system. This ensured that the next generation of Andeans would continue to have a say in the politics of the Andes. Throughout the late eighteenth century, Indigenous communities, oppressed but not defeated following the great Andean Rebellions, shaped the colonial political process and challenged injustices in Alto Peru.<sup>65</sup>

While a true second conquest never materialized, the Age of Andean insurrection and its brutal repression divided Andean authorities over the best governing strategies. There was no consensus on how to proceed following the massive upheaval and the Spanish and creole leaders were quite divided on the “Indian question.”<sup>66</sup> Alto Peruvian authorities knew the importance of indigenous communities to the success, both financially and politically, of their region relied on the incorporation and contributions of the indigenous majority, but they were divided on how best to integrate them into the colonial system. While many advocated for greater repression and control of indigenous societies as seen in the province of Puno, other leaders like the viceroy of Peru began advocating for a more reformist approach. This group of reformist Latin Americans was often associated with the University of San Francisco Xavier, where a group of the lettered elite began questioning the unjust treatment of indigenous communities. They started to call for an abolition, or at least a significant reform, of the mita labor draft and

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<sup>65</sup> Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Oppressed But Not Defeated: Peasant Struggles Among the Aymara and Qhechwa in Bolivia, 1900-1980* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1987).

<sup>66</sup> Charles Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 1999); Charles F Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*, 2014; Sergio Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes: The Age of Túpac Amaru*, 2013.

other exploitative regimes that had helped to spark the indigenous uprisings of the 1780s and 1790s.

Despite its complexity in the late eighteenth century, the mita and the mines of Potosi were as dangerous and the labor was just as back-breaking as it had been centuries beforehand. Mitayos were forced to work three month intervals in the mines and often left their families and ayllu communities behind. If mitayos did not meet their quotas, they became indebted and were forced to linger in the mines until they had fulfilled their obligations to the mine owners who were called azogueros. Mitayos would go to extremes to avoid or lessen the labor service and it was a constant source of contention between indigenous and Spanish officials. These appalling labor conditions killed many mitayos who often succumbed to mercury poisoning, respiratory infections, or mining accidents.<sup>67</sup>

Alto Peruvians widely acknowledged the horrible conditions in Potosi, and there were sporadic campaigns by colonial and religious figures to reform or end the mita. The mita, however, continued for centuries unabated. By the late eighteenth century a new generation, who had witnessed the Age of Andean insurrection and read of contemporaneous revolutions in the United States, France, and Haiti began to renew debates about the utility of the mita. The United States and Haiti offered very different solutions to the global debate about forced labor, with Haitian renouncing slavery and the United States embracing it, Alto Peruvians began to consider how they would approach this debate in their own region. In Alto Peru, the debates relied in part on emotional

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<sup>67</sup> Carta n° 170 de Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, virrey de Perú, a Antonio Valdés, Secretario de Estado de Indias, Hacienda, Marina y Guerra. Archivo General de Indias, LIMA, 691, N.166

appeals to the cruel treatment of mita laborers, but new enlightened ideologies also were introduced to challenge the mita. Some important leaders in the Andes were convinced that the recent downturn in the Alto Peruvian mining economy was a result of the use of forced labor. These leaders argued a shift to wage labor and a liberalizing of trade might improve productivity and production in the mines. Officials even went so far as to draft a series of legal reforms that would have implemented new laws, like one that guaranteed that mine owners “make houses or servant quarters where Indians could live comfortably” or another that required “Azogueros to treat Indians well.”<sup>68</sup> Despite this liberal current and the persistent mobilization of community leaders in indigenous communities, the crown never approved the legal reforms that would have provided more protection for labor, ensuring that Goyeneche would still find disputes and unrest about mita labor and service.

A key figure in this reformist movement was Victoriano de Villava, a native of Zaragoza, Spain and the Fiscal of the Audiencia of Charcas in the 1790’s.<sup>69</sup> In the years following the Age of Andean insurrection, Villava waged a massive campaign to discredit the forced labor systems used to exploit indigenous communities. In his assessment of the mita, Villava asserted that forced labor migration did not really benefit Potosi, and that nothing could save the mining industry from the decline into which it had sank.<sup>70</sup> Along with this economic argument, Villava used a passionate appeal to the humanity of mitayos. As part of his reformist campaign, Villava argued that the mita is “a

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<sup>68</sup> Codigo carolino de ordenanzas reales de las minas de Potosi, (Spain, 1794). JCB Library, Manuscript Collection.

<sup>69</sup> Archivo General de Indias, CONTRATACION, 5533, N.3, R.30.

<sup>70</sup> Enrique Tandeter, *Coercion & Market: Silver Mining in Colonial Potosi 1692-1826*. P.XII.

tyrannical servitude where the Indians are maltreated, poorly fed, and poorly paid.”<sup>71</sup>

Villava demanded better treatment of indigenous laborers, and suggested a reformed labor system that might help to solve the tensions in Alto Peruvian society.

Villava also took issue with how his peers in Alto Peru discussed the indigenous laborers. Villava lamented most of the arguments aimed at justifying the mita were done on behalf of the Azogueros, and in particular he took exception with the description of the Indians as “brutish, drunken, thieves, idle, useless, and should be made to work by force.”<sup>72</sup> Villava instead argued that the forced labor system and mistreatment at the hands of priests, colonial officials, and Azogueros were the true cause of any indigenous shortcomings. Villava’s passionate and frequent condemnations of the mita, although at times patronizing, reflected a small but boisterous reformist element within Spanish officials in Alto Peru.

Some Alto Peruvians took notice of Villava’s writings and the government of Potosi even commissioned an inspector to meet with local leaders to ascertain the level of exploitation in largely indigenous regions like Chayanta and Macha.<sup>73</sup> In addition to Villava’s campaign to shift away from forced labor, Villava also influenced a new generation of Andeans at the Carolina Academy in the city of La Plata. In the academy, Villava instructed future leaders of the independence movements in Alto Peru and the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata including Bernardo Monteagudo, Mariano Moreno, J. J.

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<sup>71</sup> No. 14---Vista del fiscal Victoriano de Villava, sobre la servidumbre de los indios. 12 de Marzo de 1795. In Ricardo Levene. *Vida y Escritos de Victoriano de Villava*. (Buenos Aires: Peuser, 1946.) LIV.

<sup>72</sup> No. 14---Vista del fiscal Victoriano de Villava, sobre la servidumbre de los indios. 12 de Marzo de 1795. In Ricardo Levene. *Vida y Escritos de Victoriano de Villava*. (Buenos Aires: Peuser, 1946.) LIV.

<sup>73</sup> Archivo General de Indias,ESTADO,76,N.39.

Castelli, and Jaime Zudáñez.<sup>74</sup> Villava and his students represent one branch of the Spanish American enlightenment. They paralleled the enlightened campaigns of much of the Atlantic World in the mid to late eighteenth century that began challenging monarchical governments and envisioned a new form of representative government , envisioning partial participation in governmental decisions by some members of society. In locations like the United States and France, men and women embraced the ideas of the equality of mankind, representative government, and started movements to overthrow monarchies and colonial systems and took active part in the Age of Revolutions that embroiled Europe and the Americas in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Alto Peruvians had read many of their European peers' debates over government, economics, and society and began to consider how they applied to their own society in Alto Peru. Villava and his influence would live on after his death in 1802, and his many disciples would make ending the mita a central tenant of their separatists platform. Goyeneche's path encountered many of these new reformist Alto Peruvians, like Monteagudo and Zudáñez, who were both in Chuquisaca in 1808. While those leaders built off the findings of Villava in the years to come, in the short term, Villava's calls for reform were largely unheeded and conflict over indigenous labor and leadership continued to define Alto Peru through the turn of the eighteenth century. Villava and his students outlined a critique of Spanish colonialism and pointed to Spanish official's inefficient policies as the source of many of the Andes problems.

Villava's calls for reform were largely overtaken by the mine owners in the Potosi region who launched a massive campaign to increase their labor supply. The King of

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<sup>74</sup> See chapter 3 and 4.

Spain, Charles IV, seemed receptive to calls for increased mita labor and the presumed increase in silver production and he approved a “nueva mita” system in the late eighteenth century. This greatly increased labor demands on the seven mita contributing regions. To implement part of this new mita, Charles IV sent a royal order on May 5, 1793 which “assigned to Don Juan Batista Jauregui and Don Luis de Orueta, Miners and Azogueros of the Rivera of Potosi, surplus laborers from the seven mita contributing communities.” This put Jauregui and Orueta “in possession of 184 Indians mitayos” from the towns of Pocoata, Morcari and San Pedro all from the party of Chayanta.<sup>75</sup>

Enacting this nueva mita proved challenging, as indigenous communities strongly resisted these new demands. During the mita sorting and selection process, the unnamed sub-delegate in charge of executing the royal order of 5 May 1793 witnessed “extraordinary resistance that he could not contain without promising the services for priests and the church would be abolished entirely or reduced to the minimum possible.”<sup>76</sup> This concession would have been significant since indigenous communities often had to pay tribute or service to priests, including ceremonies ranging from baptism, deaths, and mass, but this would not have offset the increased mita service.<sup>77</sup> Further, there were rumors that priests used mitayos as personal servants in the Charcas region. The unnamed sub-delegate claimed that without a reduction in Church services the communities of Chayanta “could not remit the 184 Indians assigned to Orueta and

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<sup>75</sup> Virrey de Buenos Aires: conmovición del Partido de Chayanta, Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO, 80, N.19.

<sup>76</sup> Virrey de Buenos Aires: conmovición del Partido de Chayanta, Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO, 80, N.19.

<sup>77</sup> Pedro Miguel Argandona Salazar y Pasten. *Arancel de Derechos Parroquiales de la Real Audiencia de la Plata*. (Lima, 1771).

Jauregi.”<sup>78</sup> Almost immediately “some priests from this province brought up complaints to the Real Audiencia of La Plata” and set off in-fighting between the church and colonial officials over who had access to mita laborers.

As the clergy and colonial officials squabbled, indigenous communities took matters into their own hands and challenged whether either party had the right to expand their access to indigenous labor. Reports indicate that “the Indian Victoriano Ayra...roused the natives in a seditious junta that met in the location of Machamacha.” During this meeting, Ayra proclaimed that “he was Governor and Cacique” of Urinzaya, an ayllu in Chayanta, and told his followers that “they should not pay the tributes to the legitimate governor of the area Don Toribio Navarro.”<sup>79</sup> Although this set off a minor commotion, officials concluded that it was an isolated event and could be attributed to “the Indian Ayra and his depraved intent to declare himself governor and cacique of Urinzaya and for the Indians feelings of oppression that they suffer on account of the priests.” In particular, the viceroy of Buenos Aires suggested that there were an excessive number of religious fiestas but he admitted that he was not “sure of the true cause” of the rebellion. The Viceroy did defend the mita whose “necessity and utility is incontestable.”<sup>80</sup> Despite the efforts of Ayra to bring reform to the Andes, an agenda that included demanding the abolition of tribute payments, indigenous request for reform were unheard.

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<sup>78</sup> Virrey de Buenos Aires: conmoción del Partido de Chayanta, Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO, 80, N.19.

<sup>79</sup> Virrey de Buenos Aires: conmoción del Partido de Chayanta, Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO, 80, N.19.

<sup>80</sup> Virrey de Buenos Aires: conmoción del Partido de Chayanta, Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO, 80, N.19.



Victoriano Ayra and his followers' protests did not unite Andeans behind Villava's impugnation of forced labor. Instead, it set off episodes of finger pointing between colonial officials and the clergy about the causes of indigenous exploitation and unrest. As Spanish colonial officials began to interview indigenous caciques, the crown learned of accusations that, in addition to mita service, indigenous servants were being used by the clergy. In 1797, the archbishop of Alto Peru José Antonio de San Alberto angrily contested these claims and argued that "the falsified and contradictory declarations, that the caciques gave" were fabricated. The unnamed cacique of the Chayanta region had told a colonial inspector "that the priest had seven Indians mitayos for his service." However, the archbishop claimed that "only one of all those [servants] was a mitayo or subject of the mita."<sup>81</sup> The archbishop saw no problem with a few indigenous servants for the priests, as long as they were not supposed to work in the mines of Potosi. The archbishop aggressively defended the various religious payments and services required of the Indians for things ranging from festivals, marriages, or baptisms.<sup>82</sup>

Instead of viewing these actions as a cause for indigenous unrest, archbishop Jose de San Alberto claimed that the true troubles for the indigenous subjects of his archbishopric arose from their forced mining service and abusive colonial leaders. The Archbishop claimed that this increased workload of the nueva mita was the true reason behind the indigenous complaints about the excessive work load. Archbishop San Alberto suggested that the Government of Potosi was insincere and the projects "are not born

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<sup>81</sup> Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO, 76, N.39.

<sup>82</sup> Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO, 76, N.39.

from true zeal, or a sincere desire for the betterment of the unhappy Indians.” The archbishop continued by pointing at that at the same time the colonial officials were accusing the clergy of mistreatment, they were implementing the “new mita.” This new project, which was “increasing, and now putting into effect three mitas more than previously” or put in another way “it is to say three hundred, or four hundred more Indians in each year taken as forced victims to the slaughterhouse of Potosi.” The archbishop believed the majority of the indigenous complaints were aimed at the “oppression and enslavement of the mitayos to the ambition and avarice of the corregidores, governors, caciques, and miners.” He suggested that “only some priests [were] among the oppressors.” Villava’s calls for reform caught the attention of many in colonial Alto Peru and debates did spring up, however, they were often more about assigning blame than trying to alleviate the plight of indigenous communities.<sup>83</sup>

In the archbishop’s attached documents, testimony from indigenous leaders in the Chayanta region outlined numerous cultural and economic grievances. The central issues were a combination of assaults on some of the community’s cultural activities and the increased labor demands of the “nueva mita.” Various caciques from Macha, Chayapata, Chayala, and Pocoata presented themselves “before both inspectors, exclaiming that they were eager and willing to continue the fiestas, and services of the church, along with those of the old mita, but that they will not discuss new mitas.”<sup>84</sup> The community leaders had lived through “the violent past year, where there were two new mitas,” and many of their community members had taken the extreme step to avoid the mita labor draft.

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<sup>83</sup> Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO, 76, N.39.

<sup>84</sup> Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO, 76, N.39.

Indigenous communities had sent members of their communities to labor in the mitas, both in the pre-conquest period and colonial era, as a form of tribute in exchange of a number of local demands—local autonomy, reduced tax, and communal democracy. What the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw was a breakdown in this agreement, that historians call the “Andean Pact.” Spanish officials with their alternating policies of reconquest and reform were eroding any benefits that indigenous communities had. As a result, indigenous communities were avoiding the mita and growing increasingly frustrated with the colonial arrangement.

According to the testimony, the men who fled mita service were prosecuted by the Government of Potosi and especially the sub-delegate Don Pedro Arizmendi. These men became fugitives, and if captured, Arizmendi “ordered them to be incarcerated and held in prison until they could satisfy in silver” the expected profits gained from a mitayo. This money went to the azogueros, or mine owners, in this case Orueta y Jauregui, “in whose hands they give 600 or more pesos.”<sup>85</sup> In the colonialist’s drive to increase productivity in the mines of Potosi, they were pushing indigenous communities too far and indigenous communities fell back on old forms of resistant adaptation.<sup>86</sup> However, these opportunities to avoid mita labor service were become more challenging and difficult to maintain as Spanish officials tried to reassert control over indigenous subjects following the Tupac Amaru II rebellion.

The Archbishop San Alberto’s investigation also uncovered divisions within indigenous society and a possible breakdown in ayllu social relations. In a similar fashion

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<sup>85</sup> Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO,76, N.39.

<sup>86</sup> Steve J. Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).

to the prelude of the Age of Andean insurrection, caciques were increasingly stuck between the drive for profit and serving their community's best interests. In San Alberto's report, he noted that community members in Chayanta had started to question their local caciques. These indigenous informants contested previous claims made by their caciques, Governor Gregoria Priapi and Governor Ordonez. Archbishop San Alberto reported that the community members "complained about [the caciques], and clamored against governor Ordonez, calling him a tyrant unfit for the position of cacique...for not having the blood of caciques, only mulatto."<sup>87</sup> The community even mentioned to the Archbishop that they had been "asking to elect another" cacique.<sup>88</sup>

While colonial officials and mine owners attempted to blame the clergy for the continued instances of indigenous complaints and resistance, they conceded that unhappy mita laborers could be a threat to their financial interests. In January 1796, the union of azogueros of Potosi organized five "dressed and armed" militias to protect the city of Potosi. To justify these new militias they noted that "[Potosi] has a very numerous mita of Indians" and "in this forced service that [mitayos] work, loyalty is not well established."<sup>89</sup> Included in the leadership of these new militias was the azoguero Juan Baptista Jauregui who had been at the center of previous complaints of mita labor. Jauregui and his fellow azogueros hoped that the militias would have the "power to suffocate in their beginning whatever spirit of sedition that malcontents might foment."<sup>90</sup> This was even more vital now because of the current "critical circumstances" that Alto

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<sup>87</sup> Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO, 76, N.39.

<sup>88</sup> Archivo General de Indias, ESTADO, 76, N.39.

<sup>89</sup> Archivo General de Simancas, SGU,LEG, 6823,9.

<sup>90</sup> Archivo General de Simancas, SGU,LEG, 6823,9.

Peru faced where authorities believed that someone might try to “spread here the spirit of liberty adopted by France.”<sup>91</sup> Colonial officials knew that Alto Peru was in a delicate social position and they feared outside news could unite the region against Spanish colonialism.

The revolts in the provinces of Puno and Chayanta were not isolated events and there were other rumors and episodes of unrest throughout Alto Peru. In 1791 Pablo Yuerri Dabalos, the prior of the San Augustin convent of Cochabamba, asked the viceroy of Peru, Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, if he could “go down to this city of Lima” to avoid “a new uprising of Indians” in Cochabamba.<sup>92</sup> The viceroy followed up this claim and concluded that the news of Indians rebellion was entirely false, but rumors of indigenous unrest continued to frighten Alto Peruvians. Similarly in the city of La Paz in 1795, there was “a riot and uprising” organized by a creole named Josef Pablo Conti and assisted by caciques of the city.<sup>93</sup> Collectively, the various rebellions in Alto Peru show that the region was in a state of turmoil following the Age of Andean insurrection. In a drive to increase profits and more effectively control their colonies, the Spanish had upset the colonial system that had lasted for nearly three centuries, exacerbating pressures that had plagued South America since the conquest. The changes brought about by the Bourbon Reforms and reforms following Spain’s reaction to the Tupac Amaru II rebellion, increased exploitation on indigenous communities, forced colonial officials into infighting over indigenous labors, and reduced the legitimacy of traditional beacons

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<sup>91</sup> Archivo General de Simancas, SGU, LEG, 6823,9.

<sup>92</sup> Carta n° 100 del virrey Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos a Antonio Porlier, Marqués de Bajamar, secretario de Gracia y Justicia. Archivo General de Indias, LIMA, 698, .37.

<sup>93</sup> Tumultos. La Paz. Archivo General de Simancas, SGU, LEG, 6812, 10.

of authority like parish priest, caciques, and colonial officials. As a result, periodic and sporadic uprisings dominated Alto Peru in the late eighteenth century. Indigenous communities remained engaged in the colonial process and demanded reforms—Spanish officials were to divided on their strategy to implement a policy that might have address the concerns of colonial Andeans.

Despite the widespread unrest, Alto Peruvians did not unify into another anticolonial movement in the two decades following the Age of Andean insurrection. However, the uprisings of Alto Peru began to outline shared concerns among its inhabitants. Indigenous societies of the region were growing increasingly frustrated with the mita and their demands on their community. This often played out with unrest in communities as ayllu members lashed out against caciques who were tasked with mobilizing labor, and resulted in a crises in local communities as seen in both Chayanta and Puno where indigenous leaders tried to address issues through official and extrajudicial channels. Creoles and Spaniards, often competing for colonial positions and indigenous labor, resorted to finger pointing over the demands for reform and increasing unrest. This group of the lettered elite splintered into how best to address the Indian problem, and their lack of a coherent policy led to a haphazard implementation of reactionary reform and protection of indigenous communities followed by military repression of the same communities. The Spanish colonial system was failing numerous sectors of Alto Peruvian society, and with news of new revolutionary ideas coming from places like France, the United States, and Haiti, Alto Peruvians were beginning to question their current status.

The Alto Peru Goyeneche entered in 1808 was a troubled and divided world. The failings of the Spanish colonial system often appeared as symptoms on the local level, which the Spanish government was able to funnel through its legal system that served as the official arbiter of issues. So communities, only treating symptoms instead of the underlying problem, blamed local priests, indigenous caciques, or the mine owners for their struggles. The complaints identified local issues and the Spanish were able to stop any unrest either through force or by placating local demands. This allowed the Spanish to keep control over the region and let unrest burn itself out much like they did for rebellions in Mexico.<sup>94</sup> This process also allowed indigenous communities to cultivate their own leaders and continue to demand Spanish reforms. Although those were only sometimes effective, this process allowed indigenous communities to outline their demands and envision a reformed and more just colonial system. Goyeneche hoped that he would be able to continue this delicate balance of governance in the name of the Spanish Juntas in the metropole.

### **Conclusion: The Bearer of Bad News**

Goyeneche's announcement added another layer of discord into Alto Peru's mounting issues. When Goyeneche arrived, he found a diverse and widespread society that was still struggling to solve the issues brought about by the Bourbon Reforms and

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<sup>94</sup> William Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), 139-141; Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Peter Guardino, "Connected Communities: Villagers and Wider Social Systems in the Late Colonial and Early National Periods," in Paula Lopez Caballero and Ariadna Acevedo-Rodrigo eds., *Beyond Alterity: Destabilizing the Indigenous Other in Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).

the Age of Andean Rebellion. The region was divided over their future path, with some believing that Alto Peru should use force and its military strengthen to reconquer and reorder the Andes, while others hoped to reform their society around free wage labor practices and offer a liberalizing element into Alto Peru's legal code. Neither group had achieved a consensus, and instead had implemented, in spurts and starts, partial reforms and half-finished conquests. As an outsider, Goyeneche relied on the clergy to find out about this social climate, and he continued to rely on them to spread the message that Spanish juntas were now ruling the Spanish empire, introducing a new challenge for Alto Peru. The news of Napoleon's invasion and the Junta Superior in Sevilla spread like a contagion around the region, with rumors and gossip seemingly infecting nearly every mountain and valley of Alto Peru, eventually leading to a small but growing faction in Alto Peru who believed that they should set up their own ruling junta until Ferdinand VII returned to the throne. Over those next fifteen years, the issues that dominated the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century would re-appear and become key points of struggle during the Alto Peruvian independence war.



### CHAPTER 3

## THE CRY OF LIBERTY: SOUND, RIOT, AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN AN ANDEAN LETTERED CITY

While sipping on a glass of *chicha*, weary from weeks of travel, a mulatto barber named Francisco Rios heard a cry in the Chuquisaca streets.<sup>95</sup> Rios, a drifter originally from Brazil, followed the cries towards the city center where he witnessed Jaime Zudáñez—Chuquisaca’s public defender—being escorted away in chains. Rios and a growing crowd heard Zudáñez exclaim, “countrymen help defend an innocent victim that they are taking to the jail,” for simply being “a loyal and good vassal, and for defending his country.”<sup>96</sup> The cry shattered the anxious quiet in Chuquisaca and set the city into a fury. Responding to Zudáñez’s call, Rios and Chuquisaca’s popular classes stormed the central plaza, filling it with a cacophony of shouts, cries, and jeers. They quickly liberated the imprisoned lawyer, forced the local president of the Province of Charcas, Ramón García

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<sup>95</sup> Chicha is a fermented, alcoholic corn-based beer ubiquitous among the lower classes of the Andes. Leo Garafalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants: The Making of Race in Colonial Lima and Cuzco,” Ph.D diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001.

<sup>96</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, Consejos, 21391, Exp.1, Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Madrid, Spain.

de León y Pizarro, from power, and in the tumult of that night, they shouted a cry of liberty that shook the Spanish colonial world.<sup>97</sup>

That evening, 25 May 1809, Rios along with hundreds of Andeans of indigenous descent, also began a protracted discussion about the political future of South America. Through whispered rumors, shouted pleas, and chanted demands, Chuquisaca's popular classes began articulating their political concerns and goals. They did not come to a consensus that night, but they began a lively debate about their future that would take nearly two decades of open warfare to answer. Rioters sacked the Chuquisaca streets and took control of the city, and in the course of that night, they temporarily reorganized colonial hierarchies of class, race, and political speech. Rios played an active role, becoming the de-facto leader of the coalition that overthrew the local Spanish officials and created a space for the popular classes to declare their wishes. In effect, Rios and the crowd converted Chuquisaca into a theater for political debate where they began crafting their own aural construction of liberty.

Using methodology associated with riots, countless researchers analyzed this event, and other similar urban rebellions, in an effort to uncover the political goals and causes behind popular unrest. Some have looked at material causes, suggesting that the violent actions were spasmodic responses to food shortages or other structural pressures.<sup>98</sup> Others have claimed that social or cultural causes lay behind the unrest,

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<sup>97</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp.1.

<sup>98</sup> E.P Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present*, No. 50 (Feb., 1971,) 76; John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revoltuion in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750-1940* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Brooke Larson, *Cochabamba 1550-1900* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination:*

pointing to a moral economy or a subaltern political consciousness that motivated rioters.<sup>99</sup> They have employed different analytical lenses, methodological perspectives, and temporal scopes, but in the process, they have often muted the aural soundscape from their studies. This is surprising, since the primary documentation of riots repeatedly emphasizes the aural dimension of unrest. Even the terminology to discuss riots—tumult, uproar, or during the Latin American independence era *gritos* (meaning shout or cry)—reflects the noise that defined these chaotic events. Historians, however, have been hesitant to explore these reported sounds. Because current methodology prefers the written word, the cries of rioters, like Rios, have largely remained unheard.<sup>100</sup>

Since Chuquisaca was one of the few “lettered cities” in Alto Peru, or present day Bolivia, these methodological issues have been exacerbated in the study of this particular “cry of liberty.” Angel Rama’s foundational work, *The Lettered City*, outlined the power of the writing throughout the long durée of Latin American History, showing that the written word underwrote Spanish power colonization and colonialism. As such, historians continue to treat urban centers as environments where literate citizens and written words

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*Plebian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994).

<sup>99</sup> Charles Arnade, *The Emergence of the Republic of Bolivia* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1957); Jorge Siles Salinas, *La independencia de Bolivia*, (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); Estanislao Just, *Comienzo de la independencia en el Alto Peru: los sucesos de Chuquisaca, 1809* (Sucre: Editorial Judicial, 1994); Jose Luis Roca, *1809: La revolucion en la Audiencia de Charcas en Chuquisaca y en La Paz* (La Paz: Plural, 1998); Jaime E. Rodriguez O., *La revolucion política durante la época de la independencia: El Reino de Quito, 1808-1822* (Quito: Corporacion Editora Nacional, 2006) Peter Guardino, *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

<sup>100</sup> For the limited source base for urban plebeians see: Peter Guardino, *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 14.

flourished.<sup>101</sup> Scholars, therefore, have typically fixed their gaze on secret letters, formal petitions, and satirical posters, hoping to catch a glimpse of the era's political climate. Muffling the role of popular actors like Rios and the hundreds indigenous rioters, most chroniclers of the 25 May rebellion have concluded the events must have been scripted by the lettered elite.<sup>102</sup> In contrast, this chapter privileges the aural descriptions of the riot. The sounds emanating from and heard by rioters are key to understanding a popular perspective of the Chuquisaca rebellion and their ideas of liberty. The study of Chuquisaca's cry of liberty through sound, listening, and hearing helps to explain the causes of the rebellion and why Alto Peruvians of all *castas* rebelled in a way that foretold many of the central concerns that dominated the Latin American independence era.

By listening to the testimony of rioters, like Rios, the Chuquisaca rebellion announced the beginning of the wars for independence and the age of political modernity in Alto Peru and the Spanish colonies. In whispered rumors, cries for help, chants of “viva Fernando VII,” and the roar of canons, the rebellion in Chuquisaca declared the beginning of a pronounced assault on colonial institutions and the creation of a new

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<sup>101</sup> Angel Rama, *The Lettered City* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); Joane Rappaport and Tom Cummins eds. *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Alcira Duenas, *Indians and Mestizos in the “Lettered City”: Reshaping Justice, Social Hierarchy, and Political Culture in Colonial Peru* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2010); Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

<sup>102</sup> Gabriel Rene Moreno, *Ultimos dias colonials en el Alto Peru* (La Paz: Editorial Renacimiento, 1940); Charles Arnade, *The Emergence of the Republic of Bolivia* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1957); Jorge Siles Salinas, *La independencia de Bolivia*, (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); Estanislao Just, *Comienzo de la independencia en el Alto Peru: los sucesos de Chuquisaca, 1809* (Sucre: Editorial Judicial, 1994); Jose Luis Roca, *1809: La revolucion en la Audiencia de Charcas en Chuquisaca y en La Paz* (La Paz: Plural, 1998).

society that echoed the precepts of the Age of Revolution, like popular sovereignty and the flattening of social hierarchies.<sup>103</sup> Responding to a generalized disquiet caused by the Napoleonic invasion in Spain, the popular classes spoke in the language of riot. The popular classes claimed the Chuquisaca plaza and removed local leaders that had not met community expectations. In the process, rioters offered a vernacular form of liberty that turned colonial hierarchies upside-down, converting the Spanish sites of authority into tools of rebellion, replacing Spanish leaders with ones from lower *castas*, and supplanting the primacy of the written word with the verbal form. This aural version of liberty reveals that even though the May 25, 1809 riot might have been defined by a “militant myopia,” as the rioters’ immediate demands were contained to their urban environment, their actions had a revolutionary resonance that carried far beyond earshot of the Chuquisaca bell tower.<sup>104</sup>

### **A Time of Quiet and Disquiet: Silence and Rumor in Alto Peru, 1809**

As he navigated the mountains and valleys of Alto Peru, Rios heard and spoke a lot about the world around him. Rios spent most of his time with the popular classes in the region’s urban centers and chichería, where he integrated himself into the region’s large indigenous population. Alto Peru was a region built on the exploitation of

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<sup>103</sup> Jay Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

<sup>104</sup> William Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), 139-141; Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Peter Guardino, “Connected Communities: Villagers and Wider Social Systems in the Late Colonial and Early National Periods,” in Paula Lopez Caballero and Ariadna Acevedo-Rodrigo eds., *Beyond Alterity: Destabilizing the Indigenous Other in Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).

indigenous men and women for the profit of the Spanish crown, and many members of society were upset with the social climate.<sup>105</sup> This delicate situation was worsened when José Manuel de Goyeneche, a Spanish military official in charge of Alto Peru, announced news of the Napoleonic invasion of the Spanish Peninsula.<sup>106</sup> The invasion of Napoleon had quieted the most important symbol in the Spanish colonial world, the King of Spain Ferdinand VII. The sovereign, who had final say in all political matters, was now silent, and his lack of voice created a crisis of leadership that disrupted colonial society. In an effort to fill this awkward silence, Alto Peruvians whispered about the events in Spain and its implications for the American colonies, distorting any unifying message that would have eased tensions. Rios and others started hearing rumors of independence movements, reformed colonialism, and an invasion by the Portuguese crown. Ill-informed rumors and widespread gossip defined the political climate of 1809, and they added to the generalized disquiet of a region already on a shaky foundation.<sup>107</sup>

Rios took a rocky path to Chuquisaca that constantly got him in trouble with the law. Reportedly, Rios was born in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil as a free mulatto. Rios' early life is obscure, but he trained as a barber and knew how to play the guitar.<sup>108</sup> In the early nineteenth century, he chose to leave Brazil and made his way to the Spanish territories of South America. He spent some time in Buenos Aires before he ultimately settled down

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<sup>105</sup> I elaborate on this information in Chapter 1 of my dissertation, *These Opulent Provinces*

<sup>106</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>107</sup> I would like to thank R. Douglas Cope for suggesting the term disquiet to describe the political climate of the late colonial period.

<sup>108</sup> Mariza de Carvalho Soares, "African Barbeiros in Brazilian Slave Ports," in Jorge Canizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and James Sidbury eds., *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)

in La Paz where he got married and resided for at least five years in the early nineteenth century. Despite settling down, Rios did not find a secure and steady income in La Paz, and he often travelled in order to find work. In 1809, Rios left his home looking for employment and traveled to the neighboring city of Potosi where he arrived in the last week of April.<sup>109</sup> In Potosi, Rios met a Chuquisaca resident named Matias de Tal, who went by the nickname Jucucha—Quechua for the rat. Matias de Tal was part of the growing forestero community, or outsiders, in Alto Peru that had left an indigenous village to secure outside employment. The two spent time together in Potosi, and discussed their economic plights and the state of their region. Rios, “finding himself without money or a mule,” searched for a job as a barber, but he did not earn much money in that profession in Potosi.<sup>110</sup> His friend, Matias de Tal, advised him to travel to Chuquisaca because “there it would be easier for him to secure money for his nourishment.”<sup>111</sup> The two hatched a plan to travel to Chuquisaca in search of work.

Lacking means of transportation, Rios and Matias de Tal returned to the Santo Domingo Inn and stole two mules and a horse from the innkeeper, so they could make their way to Chuquisaca in April 1809. After the theft, they “remained hidden all the next day” in an effort to escape the gaze of authorities. Once clear, the two set out for Mataka and the Turuchipa valleys, and they arrived two days before Easter holiday, where they

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<sup>109</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, alias el Quitacapas por vago, mal entretenido y otros crímenes, el Emancipacion de la Audiencia de La Plata (ALP), em 4. El Archivo Nacional de Bolivia (ABNB), Sucre, Bolivia.

<sup>110</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, el Quitacapas, ABNB, ALP, em 4; Javier Mendoza Pizarro, *Quitacapas: Los sucesos revolucionarios de 1809 en el Alto Peru a traves de la participacion de un antiheroe ignorado*, (La Paz: Plural editores, 2009).

<sup>111</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, el Quitacapas, ABNB, ALP, em 4.

spent “15 days of fun” celebrating the festivities.<sup>112</sup> Following the conclusion of Easter ceremonies, Rios and Matias de Tal sold one of the stolen mules and made their way to Chuquisaca. Despite the celebratory setting, all was not well in Alto Peru and there were numerous rumors floating around about the future of the region. As Rios and Matias sneaked around the taverns, chicherias, and inns of Alto Peru they heard and took part in conversations dealing with the future of Alto Peru.

The talk of the nineteenth-century world was the fate of the King Ferdinand VII and the future of the Spanish Americas. Following Goyeneche’s announcement of the Napoleonic invasions, Alto Peru experienced a crisis of leadership at the very top of Spanish Colonial power structure—the royal family. Napoleon’s armies stormed through the Iberian Peninsula and forced Carlos IV’s abdication and Ferdinand VII into internal exile in Spain. Alto Peruvians, and most Spanish colonial subjects had a close relationship with the crown that transcended physical space, so this was a shock to many of the lower classes.<sup>113</sup> Napoleon’s invasion and conquest of the royal family had distorted the voice of the crown and created a silent throne in Spain. Goyeneche had tried to reassure his Andean audience by urging Andean subjects to remain loyal vassals to the Spanish courts of Cadiz, who were ruling in the name of Ferdinand VII until the sovereign was returned to the throne. These reassurance had a limited effect, and Alto

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<sup>112</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, el Quitacapas, ABNB, ALP, em 4.

<sup>113</sup> Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Matt Childs, *The Aponte Rebellion in Cuba and the Struggle Against Atlantic Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina press, 2006); Marcela Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revoltuion: Reform, Revolution, and Royalism in the Northern Andes, 1780-1825* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).



Peruvians like Rios remained concerned about their sovereign and the state of the Spanish empire.

Ferdinand VII's silence unsettled Alto Peruvians, and left colonial subjects to fill the quiet uncertainty with their own political theories. In Spain, those loyal to the crown began forming their own governing bodies, or juntas, to rule while the royal family was held hostage. They sent Goyeneche to speak for the King in South America and calm anxieties in the colonies. Other Alto Peruvians also began speaking for the silent king. The Spanish archbishop of Chuquisaca Benito Maria Moxo, for instance, realized that the Spanish patria was "in trouble" and warned the priests of Alto Peru that "silence in these times would not only be suspicious, but criminal."<sup>114</sup> He recommended the priests of Alto Peru defend the Spanish crown with their words until Ferdinand VII returned. Subjects in the colonies replaced the King's awkward silence with the constant chatter of feeble reassurances, which only exacerbated the crisis of leadership created by the Napoleonic invasion.

Talk of the future was not limited to the letrados (the lettered elite), and many others also began whispering about the future of Alto Peru.<sup>115</sup> Spanish officials frequently reported about "rumors and scandalous conversations" within the general population.<sup>116</sup>

This talk extended to rural indigenous communities of Alto Peru, including some who

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<sup>114</sup> Benito Maria Moxo, "Carta consultiva sobre la obligación que tienen los eclesiásticos de denunciar á los traidores: y exhortar en el confesonario y púlpito su descubrimiento y captura, sin temor de incurrir en irregularidad los que asistieren armados en los combates contra los insurgentes, ni los que promovieren y concurrieren á la prision de sus caudillos prófugos; que sirve de apendice á la pastoral del Illmo. señor arzobispo don Benito Maria Moxo," (Lima, 1812), *John Carter Brown Library*, Providence, RI.

<sup>115</sup> Julius Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution*, (New York: Verso, 2018).

<sup>116</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

were under the impression that the King had been killed during the crisis in the metropole. The indigenous communities claimed that they “would not continue paying tribute, until it is known to whom there is to contribute,” and they specifically noted that they had been forced to pay during the last few years even though “the king was killed by the French.”<sup>117</sup> Rios claimed, he heard similar talk of “treason against the King” in 1809, and he likely spread these conversation and would have added to the whispers of uncertainty.<sup>118</sup> The silence from Ferdinand VII left Alto Peruvian minds to wonder, and their imaginations were filled with unsettling images of the future.

By the time that Rios reached Chuquisaca, residents of the valley city were sharing their own gossip about the future of the Spanish empire and Alto Peru. Chuquisaca was a major city in Alto Peru that hosted a number of colonial administrative posts, a prestigious university, the archdioceses, and a comparatively significant population of 20,000. The city was known for its wealth and opulence due to its close proximity and historical relationship with Potosi and its mine owners. The written word helped to order the city in its laws, sermons, notarial records, and the occasional pasquine.<sup>119</sup> It was through the written medium, that the Spanish had held control of the colonial world for three centuries. The written word had given power, codified authorities, and had even channeled grievances in the form of royal petitions. For all its

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<sup>117</sup> The King had not been killed by the French and Ferdinand VII remained alive, but there were apparently rumors of his death in Alto Peru during this period.

<sup>118</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, el Quitacapas, ABNB ALP, em 4.

<sup>119</sup> Angel Rama, *The Lettered City* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); Joane Rappaport and Tom Cummins eds. *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Alcira Duenas, *Indians and Mestizos in the “Lettered City”: Reshaping Justice, Social Hierarchy, and Political Culture in Colonial Peru* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2010); Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

power, the stacks of silent edicts and laws could not mute the rumors and gossip that dominated the city in 1809, for the city remained a social as well as a political forum.<sup>120</sup>

Numerous lawyers and doctors, along with a growing population of literate indigenous Alto Peruvians, helped to make Chuquisaca a “lettered city,” but the gridded streets also acted as a studio for the spoken word.<sup>121</sup> For every word written by scribes and notaries, there were thousands of words spoken in the market, in the chicherias, and in the streets. People spoke in Spanish, Quechua, Aymara, or sometimes, a creolized mixture of languages, creating a lingua franca that was unquestionably Andean. Although not associated with authority like the written word, the vocalized word also had power in the colonial world. Indigenous and Spanish alike attended theatrical productions, listened to sermons, and shared their personal experiences in aural dialogue. After his arrival in 1809, Rios began adding his own words to the gossip and rumor that filled urban Chuquisaca.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010)

<sup>121</sup> Angel Rama, *The Lettered City* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); Joane Rappaport and Tom Cummins eds. *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

<sup>122</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, el Quitacapas, ABNB, ALP, em 4.



Figure 3.1 “La Ciudad de la Plata ó Chuquizaca” by Ramon Pizarro, 1803

One particularly troubling scandal broke out in Chuquisaca in early 1809. Alto Peruvians caught word that the Portuguese Princess Carlota Joaquina might try to take sovereign power of the Spanish Americas. Princess Carlota was the eldest daughter of the recently abdicated Spanish King Carlos IV, and through her marriage to Infante John, she became part of the Portuguese royal family. Due to the Napoleonic invasion and the resulting escape of the Portuguese royal court, Carlota resided in Brazil in 1809.<sup>123</sup> During that year, Carlota reportedly sent a letter to the Alto Peruvian city of Chuquisaca, which proclaimed her right to “attend, protect, and preserve the sacred rights that her

<sup>123</sup> John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions 1808-1826* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1986); J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

Augustin house has to the throne of Spain and the Americas.”<sup>124</sup> The lettered elite of Chuquisaca—the doctors and lawyers of the city—heard about this rumor and interpreted the proclamation as an attack on the political sovereignty in the Americas. Locally, Chuquisaca residents grew concerned that the unpopular President of Charcas Pizarro, might be plotting to hand control over to the Portuguese Princess. This rumor could have been particularly troubling for Rios since he had fled Brazil in the early nineteenth century and might have had unresolved legal trouble in Brazil. The continued silence in Spain helped heighten the power of rumor in Chuquisaca.

Because of the Princess Carlota rumor, on the 11 January 1809, forty-eight doctors assembled at the University of San Francisco Xavier to denounce Pizarro and the reported conspiracy of the Portuguese royal court. Included in this meeting was Jaime Zudáñez, Bernardo Monteagudo, and many other of the educated upper classes of Chuquisaca, who would later play significant roles in the wars for independence. In writing, and announced aloud in the central plaza, they condemned the “irregular and unjust measures by the court of Portugal against the sacred and inviolable rights of...Don Fernando VII.”<sup>125</sup> This body realized that Alto Peru was experiencing a crisis of leadership due to the Napoleonic invasions, and they hoped their announcement would combat the “pernicious effects” that might result if news spread that the Portuguese court was planning to invade the Spanish Americas. The doctors of Chuquisaca were concerned that the news might “blind and seduce those who are not endowed with the

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<sup>124</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata en Mayo-1809, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21392.85, F. 76.

<sup>125</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata en Mayo-1809, 1815, AHN Consejos, 21392.85 F. 76.

ardent and inalterable love, fidelity, and obedience” to the Spanish crown.<sup>126</sup> These less endowed citizens might welcome Princess Carlota since she was a member of the Bourbon family, and local authorities grew concerned that the action might create a power struggle over authority in the Americas. To preserve the “public tranquility,” the cloister vowed to “not permit papers of this class to circulate in these dominions in the future.”<sup>127</sup> Further, they lauded Don Fernando VII and pledged their loyalty to defend the rights of their “adored” King. The group actively strategized to mobilize the written word, a proclamation, in hopes of containing potential unrest or sedition in Chuquisaca; the spoken word, however, was not so easy to contain.

This set off a local squabble between Pizarro and the members of the local governing body of judges, the oidores. Many of these leaders had signed the petition to condemn the potential measures of Princess Carlota, and they felt that Pizarro was a foreign and incompetent leader. Pizarro had been appointed President of the Province of Charcas in 1796, and he had survived a number of political and social conflicts during his time in power, including the British Invasions of South America in 1806. Despite his long tenure, he was not well liked by local authorities or the masses. Pizarro was from a prestigious Spanish family and had been born in Oran, now Algeria, and was seen as an outsider in Chuquisaca. Charcas had a long history of local sovereignty and the actions of Pizarro had eroded the power and influence of the oidores, so when rumors spread that Pizarro was plotting with Princess Carlota, the oidores condemned the President and tried

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<sup>126</sup> Acta de la Junta General celebrada en la Universidad con motivo de la recepcion de pliegos de la Corte de Brasil, AHN, Consejos, 21392.85, F. 76.

<sup>127</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata en Mayo-1809, 1815, AHN Consejos, 21392.85 F. 76

to increase their own social influence.<sup>128</sup> These squabbles leaked out to the broader community, where Rios reported hearing that President Pizarro “wanted to coronate in these dominions the senora Carlota, Princess of Brazil.”<sup>129</sup>

Despite their best efforts, the doctors’ declaration could not cure the nearly inaudible anxiety that cloaked Chuquisaca. There was no political fix to settle the simmering tensions or preserve the public tranquility in the city. In the months that followed the Princess Carlota letter, reports proliferated in Chuquisaca and Alto Peru about the political future of their region and the Spanish empire. One Spanish official reported hearing “a general gossip in the lower classes.”<sup>130</sup> Rumors and murmurs spread everywhere. Residents whispered news of a Portuguese plot in the city streets and in chichería taverns. It became so bad, that “gravely serious pasquines” began “appearing” on city walls.<sup>131</sup> These pasquines, or satirical letters or cartoons, ridiculed the crisis of leadership in the Spanish empire, and some even began suggesting a new political future for the Americas.

In the weeks leading up to the 25 May rebellion, many recalled hearing of a pasquine fixed to the door of the Cabildo building in the center of the city. The message was aimed at Rafael Mena, Chuquisaca’s collector of Tribute. The exact contents of this

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<sup>128</sup> Gabriel Rene Moreno, *Ultimos dias colonials en el Alto Peru* (La Paz: Editorial Renacimiento, 1940); Charles Arnade, *The Emergence of the Republic of Bolivia* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1957); Jorge Siles Salinas, *La independencia de Bolivia* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); Estanislao Just, *Comienzo de la independencia en el Alto Peru: los sucesos de Chuquisaca, 1809* (Sucre: Editorial Judicial, 1994); Jose Luis Roca, *1809: La revolucion en la Audiencia de Charcas en Chuquisaca y en La Paz* (La Paz: Plural, 1998).

<sup>129</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, el Quitacapas, ABNB ALP, em 4.

<sup>130</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

<sup>131</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

pasquine were never reported, but other complaints made by indigenous and lower-class Alto Peruvians had demanded a reduction or elimination of tribute in the early nineteenth century.<sup>132</sup> Mena would have been the local face of the tribute payment that coerced indigenous communities to give money or labor to enrich the Spanish empire. Eventually colonial authorities “discovered the suspected [pasquine writer] who was poor of quality, age, and assets.” Authorities gave the unnamed pasquine author “twenty-five lashes and three days in jail” in an effort to deter future political attacks on Spanish authority and tribute payment.<sup>133</sup>

A Chuquisaca military patrol found another pasquine that hinted at even bigger goals than a challenge to colonial taxes. Jaime Zudáñez reportedly handed over the pasquine “that they encountered...in which it was proposed to form a junta” to rule Alto Peru.<sup>134</sup> Others recalled seeing pasquines that were fixed on the walls that had “the theme of the treachery of the Viceroy, President, and Archbishop, suggesting the formation of a junta.”<sup>135</sup> These pasquines and the general gossip that filled Chuquisaca, hint at the dysfunction caused by Ferdinand VII’s silence. Without a respected sovereign to speak, too many voices and ideas were raised about the political state of the Spanish empire. Pedro Vicente Cañete, the intendent in Potosi, could only compare the gossip to the mythical “Hydra,” explaining that after combating “each rumor” it seemingly regrew

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<sup>132</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>133</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

<sup>134</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

<sup>135</sup> Pedro Vicente Cañete, “El espectáculo de la verdad,” 1809, Archivo de la Sociedad Geografica y de Historia “Sucre” en la Casa de La Libertad, Sucre, Bolivia.



“100 more limbs.”<sup>136</sup> In the form of “formidable pasquines,” “sacrilegious songs,” and “general murmurs,” the noise of unease polluted Chuquisaca’s soundscape.<sup>137</sup>

Pizarro grew increasingly concerned at the proliferation of rumors about local juntas, and he set out on the herculean task of stifling the sounds of sedition. Pizarro blamed the declaration of the doctors for de-stabilizing his rule and upsetting the tranquility of the city, and he began to try to quiet the doctors, calling on a number of their arrests. Pizarro, however, could not contain the political contagion in Alto Peru. In May 1809, he reported to the Viceroy multiple times that the city was on the verge of a “popular commotion.”<sup>138</sup> The consensus among Spanish officials was that “the fermentation of anger had gotten to its utmost extreme,” and officials cautioned that the city was on the verge of “a very dangerous event whose progress would not be containable after it began.”<sup>139</sup> As Rios travelled through Alto Peru, he would have overheard this fermented anger in his discussions with his friends and acquaintances.

In an effort to combat the pasquines and whispered rumors in the city, Pizarro launched an investigation to root out possible sources of sedition in Chuquisaca. He heard rumors that there were secret meetings taking place in the city where participants began to consider their new political reality. He had heard whispers that “in the house of Don Joaquin Lemoyne” groups of Alto Peruvians “were forming juntas to discuss independence.”<sup>140</sup> Authorities began to suspect that Lemoyne and his cohorts might be

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<sup>136</sup> Pedro Vicente Cañete, “El espectáculo de la verdad,” 1809, Archivo de la Sociedad Geografica y de Historia “Sucre” en la Casa de La Libertad.

<sup>137</sup> Pedro Vicente Cañete, “El espectáculo de la verdad,” 1809, Archivo de la Sociedad Geografica y de Historia “Sucre” en la Casa de La Libertad.

<sup>138</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

<sup>139</sup> AHN. Consejos. 213914,4 F. 3v.

<sup>140</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

creating or fostering the “anonymous pasquine papers, and other methods of seduction” to spread in the surrounding provinces.<sup>141</sup> While Lemoyne was hosting parties, and they likely discussed the political climate, all attendees denied revolutionary intentions. Among those in attendance were many members of Chuquisaca society including the Zudáñez brothers, but he testified that he never heard any “insinuation about independence.”<sup>142</sup>

In this climate, Pizarro ordered the arrests of a number of citizens who had been openly critical of his leadership and further upset his local constituents. Word of the imminent arrests reached the ears of residents in Chuquisaca. A local resident, named Angel Gutierrez, remembered that “he heard through public conversations” of a plan by Pizarro “to apprehend various neighbors of different classes” who had been causing political trouble.<sup>143</sup> Zudáñez ended up on the list of plotters and Pizarro also planned to arrest him for his role in crafting the denunciation of the president..

In the months leading up to May 1809, Rios drifted around colonial Alto Peru during a time of quiet and disquiet. Alto Peruvians talked about and heard rumors as the Spanish empire and Chuquisaca were in a crisis of leadership, and this predicament was only exacerbated by the actions of local authorities like the Chuquisaca doctors and Pizarro. Despite their garrulous reassurances, local leaders could offer no words that could calm the fears of the colonial subjects, like Rios. This lack of leadership helped to feed the rumors and conspiracy theories in Alto Peru, emboldening colonial Subjects to speak and debate openly about their political future. As a barber, Rios would have seen

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<sup>141</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

<sup>142</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

<sup>143</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

the pasquines on the walls of Chuquisaca and heard rumors about the future of the Spanish Americas. No one knew if Ferdinand VII was alive or when he would be restored to power. No one knew for certain if the Portuguese royal family would try to take Alto Peru. Rios helped to spread these rumors as a barber and a frequent patron of the lower-class chicha establishments in Alto Peru, where he would have helped to destabilize a Spanish political power and have added a new voice to the political debates of the era.<sup>144</sup>

### **The Language of the Unheard: Debating their political future through Riot**

In the evening of 25 May 1809, “four masked soldiers” and a “locally unknown official” named Don Pedro Azua broke into “a room in [Zudáñez’s] house” with “unsheathed swords” and ordered the lawyer’s arrest.<sup>145</sup> The soldiers, then, forcibly removed Zudáñez from his house and escorted him through the city streets. On his path towards the jail, Zudáñez began exclaiming his desperate plea.<sup>146</sup> Less a cry of liberty, Zudáñez’s screams were a frantic appeal for help. Chuquisaca residents answered that call and carried the discussion further. In the resulting tumult, they deliberated over the immediate social issues that plagued Chuquisaca and began a debate about the political future of the Americas. In the process, the popular classes began imagining a new political future for Chuquisaca. The popular classes overturned colonial hierarchies, spoke for a silent king, and opened up political dialogue to sectors of society that had largely been left out of political processes. The crowd’s cry of liberty—their vocalized

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<sup>144</sup> Gabriel Rene Moreno, *Ultimos dias colonials en el Alto Peru* (La Paz: Editorial Renacimiento, 1940).

<sup>145</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

<sup>146</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

chants, jeers, and demands—announced the beginning of a new era that saw the expansion of democratic modernity.<sup>147</sup>

Rios, who was in the chichería on San Francisco street, was one of thousands who responded to these shouts. Shortly after Zudáñez’s arrest and cry for help, Pedro Vicente Cañete reported that the lawyer’s “kindred and confederates, distributed themselves to clamor in the neighborhoods,” spreading Zudáñez’s cry to all corners of the city.<sup>148</sup> Rios learned the details of Zudáñez’s arrest from “a woman [who] entered” the chichería and “explained to the patrons that there was something strange happening in the plaza.”<sup>149</sup> Rios and many other curious observers hurried down San Francisco Street towards the central plaza, where a raucous scene filled with angry shouts, chants, and jeers. They began hearing the noise of “more than five hundred people that were shouting that the esteemed President Pizarro was a traitor and wanted to coronate the princess Carlota in these dominions.”<sup>150</sup> By the time Rios reached the plaza, he saw and heard a mob made up of “all the cholos” in a “rowdy state.”<sup>151</sup> People were enraged that a respected leader, like Zudáñez, had been arrested and the masses decided to take action by revoking their support from local Spanish officials.

The multiethnic horde’s heist of the central plaza signaled the seriousness of the rebellion and the overturning of colonial norms. Urban centers, and particularly plazas in

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<sup>147</sup> Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1962); Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage* (London: Penguin, 2008). James Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

<sup>148</sup> Pedro Vicente Cañete, “El espectáculo de la verdad,” 1809, Archivo de la Sociedad Geografica y de Historia “Sucre” en la Casa de La Libertad.

<sup>149</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, el Quitacapas, ABNB, ALP, em 4.

<sup>150</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, el Quitacapas, ABNB, ALP, em 4.

<sup>151</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, el Quitacapas, ABNB, ALP, em 4.

Latin America, were rigidly organized and designed to project the order and authority of Spanish institutions. In Chuquisaca, the local Cathedral and its bell tower, the presidential palace, the University of San Francisco Xavier, and the cabildo building all towered over the center square. These architectural features served as constant reminders that Spanish authority and the Catholic Church were the foundation of Chuquisaca's urban center and colonial lives. This setting was coded as an upper-class, Spanish environment for doctors, lawyers, and colonial officials. Cholo and indigenous groups, although not specifically segregated from the plaza, usually congregated on the outside of towns. By claiming the plaza as their own, Rios and the rest of the rioters announced a changing of political process.

An exact census of the rioters is unknown from existing documentation, but testimony repeatedly used the umbrella term “cholos” or “cholada” to describe the rioters. In contemporary language, the term Cholo is a pejorative term to label an urban Andean of indigenous descent. In the colonial era, cholo was often used as a synonym for mestizo. Vicente Pazos Kanki, an Alto-Peruvian journalist turned independence fighter, claimed cholos were “the descendants of mestizos and the Indians.” He continued, “they have little or no education, and can scarcely speak the Spanish language.”<sup>152</sup> Despite any language barriers, Pazos Kanki suggested they were key to the business of the colonial Andes serving as mechanics, chamber maids, and nurses for wealthy Spaniards.<sup>153</sup> In spite of their economic significance, Spanish authorities derided this sector of society

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<sup>152</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America* (London 1819), 109.

<sup>153</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America* (London 1819), 109.

because, like mulattos, they did not fit neatly into their scripted republic of Indians and could not be accounted for like a more stationary indigenous community, or ayllu. Spanish authorities never intended them for them to engage in debates about the colonial system. By taking the plaza and demanding the release of Zudáñez, the mob was inverting the typical hierarchies that muffled castas and pushed them outside the central debates of the Spanish colonial world. They demanded that people of indigenous and African descent have an opportunity to voice their concerns. They would hold the Chuquisaca plaza for the rest of that evening, and they converted it to a forum where they articulated their political desires.

Many of the leading figures of Chuquisaca missed this scene, as they fled and hid within secure buildings in the city; some local authorities, however, tried to calm the fears of the masses. Angel Gutierrez, the second lieutenant of Chuquisaca, barricaded himself inside his house because he “was afraid” “of the “gang of Cholos” in the streets of Chuquisaca. Upon hearing “the first cries of the popular commotion,” a number of priests “met in [the] Archbishop’s palace” to come up with a plan to settle the city. The priests hoped to “set the cholos straight” and end the conflict before there were more deaths. A retired priest, Marcos Jorge Benvente, ran through the Chuquisaca streets “placating...the fury of the plebe.”<sup>154</sup> Likewise, Doctor Mariano Rodriguez de Olmedo, an honorary canon in the Metropolitan Church of Chuquisaca, took to the Chuquisaca streets the morning after the tumult “to convince the plebe” to not cause any more

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<sup>154</sup> Oficio de Remisión del General en Jefe del Ejército Real del Alto Perú José Manuel Goyeneche al ministro de Gracia y Justicia. AGI, Lima, 742, N. 90.

political or social damage.<sup>155</sup> Running around the city, Rodriguez de Olmedo, a devoted royalist and priest, added to the cacophony by giving public “admonishments and council” to angry Chuquisaca residents. However, these were quixotic efforts by the priests and their attempts at “exorcising the malevolent” rioters were in vain.<sup>156</sup> The priests could not appease the growing discontent and only added to the noise on the city streets, as their cries for calm were drowned out by demands for political change.

These examples show that the rioters were not only overturning the social norms of colonial America, but they were also re-imagining the forms of political dialogue. Political and social power had been associated with the written word and a small group of letrados, like those priest who were now helplessly yelling in the streets. In the Chuquisaca riot, Priests and political officials, along with their pens, had limited power. The thousands of finely scripted laws that ordered colonial society sat unheard, muted out by the screams, jeers, and chants of the tumult. The rules of political engagement had been changed, and popular class rioters were discussing their political futures and political possibilities. There is even some evidence that there was a shift in language in the plaza. Vicente Rodriguez Romano, a local Spanish official, recalled that he had exerted “the forces possible to contain [the tumult], but without fruit” because he was not versed in “the language of Quechua.”<sup>157</sup> The lingua franca of that night may well have

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<sup>155</sup> Carta No. 301 de José Fernando de Abascal, Marques de la Concordia, Virrey del Perú, a Antonio Cano Manuel, ministro de Gracia y Justicia. 28 November 1812. Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 742, No. 62, 6.

<sup>156</sup> Pedro Vicente Cañete, “El espectáculo de la verdad,” 1809, Archivo de la Sociedad Geografica y de Historia “Sucre” en la Casa de La Libertad.

<sup>157</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp.1.

been the indigenous language spoken in the Inca Empire and people of indigenous descent in Alto Peru.

In the chaotic scene of shouts in Quechua and Spanish, someone hatched a plan to free Zudáñez from his imprisonment and to “break the doors” of the presidential palace, so they could “take some papers that were said to contain references to the treason” of President Pizarro.<sup>158</sup> The cholo rioters in the central plaza drew others towards the magnetic pull of the sounds of Spanish authority by ringing the church bells. One Chuquisaca resident, a farmer named Antonio Amaya, recalled that he heard “the bells of the [metropolitan] Cathedral and [the cathedral of] San Francisco ringing furiously.”<sup>159</sup> The ring of bells was a familiar sound in the nineteenth century that carried with spiritual and physical meaning. The peal of bells usually reminded subjects of the social and political power of ecclesiastic and secular Spaniards, its chimes ordered the day into discrete units, and it was an important emblem of local communities.<sup>160</sup> Chuquisaca rioters converted the bells sounds to draw more people to the plaza to overthrow the Spanish authorities who had previously dictated the cadence and meaning of the bells in Chuquisaca. Following the sounds, people flooded into the central plaza, filling it with chaotic noise. Angel Gutierrez was one Alto Peruvian who tried to “go down to the plaza” so he could go to the Cabildo house to find some of his companions. He recalled that he “could not pass through” the streets because, the mob was so dense that they had blockaded the area. Rios and the rest of the mob were drawing even more

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<sup>158</sup> La causa criminal contra Francisco Rios, el Quitacapas, ABNB, ALP, em 4.

<sup>159</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp.1.

<sup>160</sup> Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).



members towards them so they could break into the presidential palace on the central plaza and remove Pizarro from power.

The noise in the plaza was deafening, and observers recalled torrents of sound, like the local Archbishop Benito María Moxó who could only compare the riot to “the fury of a storm.”<sup>161</sup> In the resulting chaos, the rioters took control of the local armory, and they “repeatedly fired the artillery canons, in order to terrorize the community with this racket.”<sup>162</sup> They even began distributing weapons to “arm Indians and blacks” even though it was “prohibited by law.”<sup>163</sup> Others called it a “general din” of shouts, cries, and threats against the local authorities, like Pizarro, who were suspected of treachery against the interests of the local community and the Spanish empire. The sound of the crowd’s fury was doubled by the city’s “bells that seemed to submerge all the city” in a sea of noise.<sup>164</sup> This was not just mindless screaming but, rather, an angry, loosely coordinated, cathartic outburst from the popular classes. The popular classes were frustrated with the continued exploitation of the late colonial period, and now the local equilibrium was even more unsettled thanks to the silences from Ferdinand VII, a seemingly benevolent ruler and the last line of protection for many exploited communities. So the masses erupted, voicing their anger at President Pizarro and other local officials who had continued overseeing the Spanish colonial system in Chuquisaca.

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<sup>161</sup> Oficio de Remisión del General en Jefe del Ejército Real del Alto Perú José Manuel Goyeneche al ministro de Gracia y Justicia. AGI, Lima, 742, N. 90.

<sup>162</sup> Oficio de Remisión del General en Jefe del Ejército Real del Alto Peru José Manuel Goyeneche al ministro de Gracia y Justicia. AGI, Lima, 742, N. 90.

<sup>163</sup> Pedro Vicente Cañete, “El espectáculo de la verdad,” 1809, Archivo de la Sociedad Geográfica y de Historia “Sucre” en la Casa de La Libertad.

<sup>164</sup> Pedro Vicente Cañete, “El espectáculo de la verdad,” 1809, Archivo de la Sociedad Geográfica y de Historia “Sucre” en la Casa de La Libertad.

The rioters quickly began chanting and screaming their political demands in the plaza. Spanish authorities accused the mob of shouting “viva la Republica,” but everyone who was brought forward to testify denied these accusations. Much like Rios testified, Jose Joaquin Lemoyne reported that he heard “the voices of the crowd shouting [claims of] treachery” aimed at local representatives of the Spanish crown. Others, like Manuel Zudáñez, the brother of Jaime Zudáñez whose arrest kicked off the rebellion, witnessed “a multitude of people shouting, viva Fernando VII.”<sup>165</sup> Rioters were demanding leadership that responded to their needs. They wanted a say in local representation, the amount and cadence of work, and the organization of local politics. The Bourbon reforms, an ineffective local leader like Pizarro, and the removal of a Monarch had amplified the exploitation of Spanish colonialism. The safety nets that had protected indigenous and cholos, like petitions directly to the monarch or local representatives like Zudáñez, seemed to have been destroyed by the Napoleonic invasions and local mismanagement by Pizarro. Alto Peruvians like Rios felt unheard—there were no official mediums to air their grievances—so they decided that they spoke for the king, until he returned, and were going to organize their social world how they saw fit.

President Pizarro, alerted by the shouts of the mob, barely escaped the initial assault and fled with a small armed guard to a safer place. Despite escaping with his life, Pizarro was soon “abandoned by his guards,” and “he found himself in the most deplorable situation.” Pizarro had few supporters left in Chuquisaca because of the rumors that he was allied with Princess Carlota. According to the Archbishop Moxo, “the

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<sup>165</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1, pg. 648.

masses were hallucinated and irritated with the supposed existence of a false and imaginary treason” and had turned on Pizarro and distrusted other Spanish officials. Allies of Pizarro helped him to get to a Pretorial house, and a group of priests periodically went to check in and “encourage and console the elderly” president. The rioters, however, continued their rebellion despite the escape of Pizarro and were able to free Zudáñez. Left to ponder his fate in quiet, Pizarro hid throughout the riot, avoiding capture and punishment at the hands of Chuquisaca residents.<sup>166</sup>

The riot raged on and filled the city with what one observer called the “thorny circumstances of inquietude.” That evening, the horde assaulted multiple symbols and institutions that represented Spanish Imperial authority. The “rabble,” according to one observer , “furiously attacked the living quarters of...the Senor President Ramon Garcia Pizarro, entering through the windows because they could not go through the doors.” The shatter of broken glass, the thud of blows to the door, and the continued shouting of riots filled the plaza. They then attacked the President’s “armed guard, some of whom were injured.”<sup>167</sup> The mob also attempted to attack the royal treasury, but a retired priest, Fray Marcos Jorge Benvente, defended the coffers by “hindering the plebe’s horrendous attempt to assault the Royal Treasuries.” The fury of the crowd “reached the extreme point of attacking the Churches and convents.”<sup>168</sup> Chuquisaca residents had had enough of colonial exploitation and the leadership vacuum created by the Napoleonic invasions. Local Spanish authorities and the church had tried to settle fears and continue colonial

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<sup>166</sup> Oficio de Remisión del General en Jefe del Ejército Real del Alto Perú José Manuel Goyeneche al ministro de Gracia y Justicia. AGI, Lima, 742, N. 90.

<sup>167</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp.1.

<sup>168</sup> Oficio de Remisión del General en Jefe del Ejército Real del Alto Perú José Manuel Goyeneche al ministro de Gracia y Justicia. AGI, Lima, 742, N. 90.

policies during the crisis in the metropole, but the masses no longer listened to the babbling voices of lesser authorities. They claimed the plaza and that the general will of the people ruled the Chuquisaca.

In the turmoil of that night, the Chuquisaca crowd rose up and expressed their grievances against Spanish authorities by physically attacking local symbols of the Spanish colonial bureaucracy, the church, the president's palace, and the Royal treasury. These institutions were failing, and the people were beginning to revoke their consent to be governed by the local representatives of Spanish colonialism. At this early stage, the rioters were not yet developing an alternative to Spanish colonialism. Like many other uprisings in the early nineteenth century, the Chuquisaca rebellion was not explicitly anticolonial or nationalist in its aim. The rebellion was more an attack against the symptoms of an increasingly dysfunctional and highly exploitative colonial model. In the cries, shouts, and chants of 25 May, rioters reaffirmed their loyalty to Ferdinand VII, but in the process, they articulated demands for revolutionary social change. Cholos and mulattos openly debated politics, they followed leaders that they popularly anointed, and they silenced Spanish leaders. The riot shows a transition towards a more inclusive future where the urban masses attempted to shape the local political structure. The anger and frustration caused by the colonial model caused rioters to envision new forms of political participation, even though they had not yet developed a true alternative to monarchism. The mob wanted political and social change, but they only had a few early ideas on what that new world would look like.

Reportedly, Francisco Rios played a large role in this conflict and perhaps became the principal leader that night. Numerous observers claimed that Rios helped to lead the

rebellion, including Francisco Ponce, a local merchant, who testified that “the mulatto Quitacapas,” Rios’ nickname meaning cape thief, led “the cholos, perturbing the public society, and causing disturbances to the neighboring communities.”<sup>169</sup> Jaime Zudáñez also claimed that Rios had nearly struck the President with a sable during the initial attack and suggested that it was “the mulatto Francisco Rios that made himself capitan of the cholos.”<sup>170</sup> Others reported that they tried “to apprehend the mulatto known as El Quitacapas...[because] he was one of the caudillos who with his insidious seduction” had helped to spur on the movement.<sup>171</sup> In his own testimony, however, Rios downplayed his involvement and claimed to be simply following the mob in their efforts to defend the sovereignty of the king. As an outsider to Chuquisaca, Rios would have stood out to locals. He was well known for his past infractions with the law, and he might have appeared a good scapegoat for the rebellion, conveniently fitting Spanish stereotypes about mulattos and rebellions.

Rios, however, likely played a major role in the rebellion, as he earned his nickname “Quitacapas,” for his dramatic flair during the riot. At some point in the night, Rios stole a dark-red cape from a Spanish authority and wore it as his own. These capes were reserved for Spaniards and Creoles of power and authority in colonial Alto Peru. The dark-red cape made of fine fabric symbolized the Spanish colonial order—baroque authority, a hereditary hierarchy, and Spanish privilege in the colonial world. Rios turned

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<sup>169</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

<sup>170</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

<sup>171</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp.1.

this symbol on its head and claimed it as his own.<sup>172</sup> Rios claimed the ability to lead, to rule, and to speak as a local authority even though he was not a Spaniard, a letrado, or an appointed official. More than just a “carnavalesque” role reversal, Rios’ cape and his broader actions were a unique, and rather colorful, expression of the egalitarian and democratizing ideals that defined the early-nineteenth century.

Whether the cape-clad Rios or someone-else in the unnamed “horde” took a leading role in the action, the testimony and resulting colonial explanations suggest that it was led by the popular classes. The rebellion was not a premediated act, and therefore was characterized mostly by spontaneity and reaction to the dysfunction of the late colonial period. That night, the crowd erupted both verbally and physically displaying their anger towards the political crisis in Chuquisaca. It was a backlash against local politics and was largely a movement to rectify local issues, but they also brought up issues that transcended their own city. In the outburst, they voiced their goal that the popular classes also needed to have a say in politics, which foretold the expansion of politic debate that would define the ideals of the Spanish American wars for independence and the age of revolutions more broadly.<sup>173</sup>

The riot reached its fever pitch when the crowd erected a gallows in the central plaza with the intention of executing Pizarro. According to his testimony, Rios witnessed the mob yelling, “all the traitors should be hanged,” but they had no one to punish. Since

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<sup>172</sup> Javier Mendoz Pizarro, *Quitacapas: Los sucesos revolucionarios de 1809 ne el Alto Peru a traves de la participacion de un antiheroe ignorado* (La Paz: Plural editores, 2009).

<sup>173</sup> Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution & Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); James E. Sanders, *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

the crowd had not captured any of the supposed traitors, they enacted a performative display of their dissatisfaction. A local farmer, Antonio Amaya, witnessed the crowd transporting a gallows past his house, and he had heard gossip that a young man had “committed the excess of taking a portrait of the President Pizarro from the Hospital of San Juan de Dios.”<sup>174</sup> The crowd used the portrait to hang the president in effigy. With cheers and jeers aimed at the now hiding Pizarro, they symbolically executed their President, the local symbol of Spanish authority, declaring themselves the leaders of Chuquisaca.

Chuquisaca residents, perhaps in Quechua, announced a challenge to letrados and their colonial order; in the process, they also demanded that people of African and indigenous descent be heard in the political debates of their region. They hoped to protect their region from the outside threat of the Brazilian royal court and oust poor leaders like Pizarro. By doing so they reaffirmed their commitment to royalism and Fernando VII. Because of the disfunction of the late colonial period, however, they were also beginning to question elements of the colonial social world. Rioters were frustrated with the continued exploitation by the clergy, they no longer wanted to pay the tributary wages, and they questioned the colonial hierarchies of race and class. During the riot, Chuquisaca rioters began imagining a political future where indigenous subjects had the final say in local politics, mulattos wore capes of authority, and the masses spoke as the sovereign rulers of Chuquisaca. Although relegated to an urban center, these demands were revolutionary, foretelling the long struggle to create a more democratic and egalitarian future.

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<sup>174</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, 1815, AHN, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1.

## **Hearing Liberty: The Cry of Liberty and its Broader Resonance**

While the exhortations of the priests could not calm the crowd, the rioters began to quiet as news of Garcia Pizarro's resignation reached their ears. At around three in the morning of 26 May 1809, the president formally resigned his post. By four in the morning, Juan Antonio Alvarez de Arenales, a Spanish colonel in charge of the royal army in Yamparaez, was temporarily put in charge of the city. The crowd slowly began to settle down, and Rios and the rest of the rioters returned to their homes. Exhausted from the events of the previous night, they rested for much of the next morning. While the Chuquisaca riot dissipated quickly, the social and political commentary embedded in those cries did not peter out completely, allowing thousands to hear echoed versions of 25 May 1809. The hurried, secondhand accounts they heard around Alto Peru were alarming. The Chuquisaca riot sounded revolutionary—a group of Andeans of native and African descent overthrew Spanish representatives of the crown and overturned the hierarchies that underwrote Spanish privilege in the Americas. In the act of hearing, a separate and fungible act, the Chuquisaca riot's meaning became amplified.

Like an echo, news of the Chuquisaca riot began to spread around Alto Peru and the rest of South America. As Chuquisaca rested, couriers and others fleeing the city began carrying word of the previous night's events around the Viceroyalty of Rio de La Plata. Jaime Zudáñez, in his testimony, recalled that "various subjects" fled the city as fugitives "declaring incredible things before the senior governor intendent [Paula Sanz]," even recommending "preparations of war" against Chuquisaca.<sup>175</sup> First news of the

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<sup>175</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, AHN, 1815, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1, 756.



Chuquisaca mobilization reached nearby cities like Cochabamba and Potosi. As it spread, it eventually reverberated in the ears of Spanish authorities in the vice-regal capital of Buenos Aires, including the Viceroy of Rio de la Plata Santiago de Liniers. These officials interpreted the event as an anticolonial attack instead of a movement to overthrow a local leader and defend the honor of King Ferdinand VII.

As Chuquisaca residents rested off the previous night's events, Spanish officials began mobilizing military forces to muzzle Chuquisaca's cry of liberty. According to Pazos Kanki, the actions in Alto Peru "aroused the Viceroy to greater activity" characterized by the "relentless vengeance."<sup>176</sup> Whispers of these outside events slowly started to reach Chuquisaca. Zudáñez recalled that the city became "rowdy" when news broke that the Potosi official Francisco Sanz was going to "invade Chuquisaca." Arenales organized an armed force that "summoned many Indians" from the surrounding area to protect the city.<sup>177</sup> Sanz only had a small force and chose not to try to take the city and he chose to let passions relax. Having freed Zudáñez and taken control of the city, the rioters were content with the new leadership that they respected. Things began to return to normal by July 1809, with only a handful of participants facing trial and limited punishment for rioters like Rios.

Although the Chuquisaca rebellion petered out following the renunciation of Pizarro, the city's cry and the resulting backlash from colonial officials did not solve the lack of leadership and dysfunction of the late colonial period. Within months similar

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<sup>176</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America* (New York, 1819), 35.

<sup>177</sup> Causa sobre levantamiento popular en La Plata, AHN, 1815, Consejos, 21391, Exp. 1, 756.

rebellions took place in La Paz, Quito, Santa Cruz, and Buenos Aires. Spanish officials were convinced that the separate outbreaks were connected or influenced by the bad example of Chuquisaca. There are few direct connections between the rebellions; they are more likely separate contained movements lashing out against symptoms of a troubled Spanish imperial model that had fewer American defenders now that the metropole was in crisis. But Spanish officials began searching for a continental wide plan to liberate South America, and they hoped to prevent this political movement from breaking out.

Others Alto Peruvians heard something promising in the events in Chuquisaca and the other rebellions in South America. Bernardo Monteagudo, the local lawyer in Chuquisaca, heard in the riot the sounds of a new era and an opportunity to begin imagining a different political future. Later in life, he claimed Chuquisaca “ripped off the veil” of Spanish colonialism.<sup>178</sup> Likewise, Vicente Pazos took inspiration from the Chuquisaca rebellion where, he recalled “these bold men felt the impulse of liberty irresistible in their hearts, and fearlessly” they “broke asunder impatiently the shackles of the ancient dominion.”<sup>179</sup> Within the act of hearing and interpreting the riot, Alto Peruvians heard the anger and outrage of the crowd and the demands for change and believed it was a call to end the colonial relationship with Spain.

Cañete, one of the leading loyalist figures in Potosi, called the riot the “spectacle of truth” and claimed he had never seen anything like it before, but he realized its significance. He explained, “the entire world spills its furor against the authors of an

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<sup>178</sup> Bernardo Monteagudo, *Oracion inaugural pronunciada en la apertura de la Sociedad Patriótica: la tarde del 13 de enero de 1812. Año tercero de la libertad de la America del Sud* (Buenos Aires, 1812). John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI.

<sup>179</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America* (New York, 1819), 35

inquietude never seen before, that has pulled all of the [Spanish Americas] to the edge of its precipice.”<sup>180</sup> For Cañete, however, what lay beyond this edge was unclear. The fundamental ideas that would define Alto Peruvian society were still being crafted in 1809, but the 25 May riot announced that the voices of unnamed cholos and cape-clad mulattos would define this revolutionary time.

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<sup>180</sup> Pedro Vicente Cañete, “El espectáculo de la verdad,” 1809, Archivo de la Sociedad Geográfica y de Historia “Sucre” en la Casa de La Libertad, Sucre, Bolivia.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE CHASQUIS OF LIBERTY: REVOLUTIONARY MESSENGERS IN ALTO PERUVIAN WARS FOR INDEPENDENCE, 1809-1816

Following the May 1809 urban rebellion in Chuquisaca, the city's local scribe and recently turned revolutionary Francisco Angel Astete, published a proclamation calling on the "courageous inhabitants of La Paz, and the entire Peruvian empire" to rise up against Spanish rule.<sup>181</sup> Sensing that the Spanish metropole was in a weakened state due to the Napoleonic invasion, Astete and a number of his peers questioned the legitimacy of the governing Juntas set up in Spain to rule during the crisis. Therefore, Astete urged his Alto Peruvian neighbors to take action because "now is the time to organize a new system of government founded on the interest of our homeland."<sup>182</sup> Astete's rallying cry circulated around Alto Peru and reveals that Spanish forces may have been able to quell urban rebellions in the short term, but they could not completely repress Alto Peruvians's revolutionary fervor. Over the next decade, a group of itinerant revolutionaries and their messages, like Astete's, helped spread an emerging Alto Peruvian independence

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<sup>181</sup>Francisco Angel Astete, Proclama de los Habitantes de La Plata a la Ciudad de La Paz, August 18, 1809, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia (ABNB), Ruck Collection, 434.

<sup>182</sup> Astete, Proclama de los Habitantes de La Plata a la Ciudad de La Paz, August 18, 1809, ABNB, Ruck 434.

movement throughout the South American continent and connected it to the broader Atlantic world.

This group of itinerant revolutionaries served as metaphorical chasquis, or rapid travelling foot messengers of the Inca Empire, during the South American independence wars. While not all of them physically ran throughout the Andean region, as true chasquis would have, these revolutionaries traversed the Americas spreading messages of liberty and independence to the masses. Some chasquis were indigenous men or women who helped to connect communities through rumor and travel. Others were creoles or mestizos who sought to overthrow the Spanish empire in Alto Peru by working with indigenous groups. Throughout their extensive travels to modern day Peru, Bolivia, and Argentina, these revolutionaries sought to convince nested communities made up of different racial, ethnic, and class backgrounds that the emerging independence project was not only possible but a better alternative to the continuation of Spanish colonialism.

Historical research of Andean politics has travelled a path nearly as winding as the one followed by the chasquis of liberty. For much of the national period, scholars studied the actions of the founding fathers of their nation and revealed the political thought of the lettered cities of Latin America.<sup>183</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s a new wave of historians sought to re-write this grand narrative in order to include the political contributions of the popular classes, indigenous communities, and people of African

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<sup>183</sup> Gabriel Rene-Moreno, *Últimos Días Coloniales en Chuquisaca*, (La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Renacimiento [sic], 1940); Bartolome Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano y de la Independencia Argentina*, (Buenos Aires: J. Roldan y Co., 1927); Charles Arnade, *The Emergence of the Republic of Bolivia*, (Gainsville: University of Florida Press, 1957); Jose Luis Roca, *1809, la Revolucion de la Audiencia de Charcas en Chuquisaca y en La Paz*, (La Paz: Plural Editores, 1998); Angel Rama, *The Lettered City*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

descent.<sup>184</sup> These scholars have greatly reshaped the new political history of South American independence, re-orienting the regions' history to include the subaltern classes, but this revisionist interpretation has depicted subaltern politics as separate and "other" from the older political narratives, suggesting that indigenous and African communities were fighting for their own visions of the future instead of a nationalist project.

Part of the reason for this disconnect is the methodological choice historians of the Andes have made by studying specific Andean cities, communities, or regions. By zooming in on a specific place, scholars have privileged local causes and political motivations. As a result, they fail to investigate the ways political ideas might have traveled the Andes with the people and goods that flowed around the Andean world.<sup>185</sup> By specifically focusing on movement and the flow of information, Andean political movements appear far less parochial and connections between South Americas' founding fathers and the masses come into focus.

The chasquis of liberty, through their travels, letters, public satires and newspapers, made an anticolonial movement and a national consciousness possible in

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<sup>184</sup> Rene Danilo Arze Aguirre, *Participación Popular en La Independencia de Bolivia*, (La Paz: Fundacion Cultural Quipus, 1987). Steve Stern ed., *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries*, (Madison: the University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Sinclair Thomson, and Adolfo Gilly, *Revolutionary Horizons: Past and Present in Bolivian Politics* (New York: Verso, 2007); Marcela Echeverri, "Popular Royalists, Empire, and Politics in Southwestern New Granada, 1809 - 1819," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 91, no. 2 (May 2011): 237-69.

<sup>185</sup> Luis Miguel Glave Testino, *Trajinantes: Caminos Indígenas en la Sociedad Colonial, Siglos XVI/XVII*, (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1989); Brooke Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550-1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); Enrique Tandeter, *Coercion and Market: Silver Mining in Colonial Potosi 1692-1826*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993); Niles Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780-1930*; (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

Alto Peru. These itinerant revolutionaries connected disparate communities together in a common cause by promising to avenge the Spanish conquest of the 1500s and deliver Alto Peruvian independence. Relying on a tragic memory of the conquest and an idealized image of the Inca past, they proposed the creation of a republican nation that would create a more egalitarian and representative future which would address issues that had plagued indigenous and creole communities in the Andes since the conquest era. In the process, the *chasquis* of liberty envisioned a political model that merged Andean political traditions, Inca symbolism and indigenous communalism, and Enlightenment political conventions, like human rights and constitutions, that offered a powerful and compelling alternative to the continuation of a colonial pact with Spain and served as the rallying cry of Alto Peru.

### **Colonial and Revolutionary Chasquis in the Andes**

With towering mountains, high-altitude plateaus, and rolling valleys, the physical landscape of Alto Peru posed a significant challenge to timely communication, but generations of Andean societies had employed foot messengers to link communities across the region.<sup>186</sup> An effective messaging system was key to governance in the Andes from the pre-conquest era all the way to 1809, when the urban centers of Chuquisaca and La Paz broke out in rebellion against the Spanish throne, and the ability to communicate and deliver messages would continue to be key throughout the Age of Revolutions in

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<sup>186</sup> Antonio de Alcedo, *Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico De Las Indias Occidentales Ó América: Es Á Saber: De Los Reynos Del Perú, Nueva España, Tierra Firme, Chile, Y Nuevo Reyno De Granada*. (Madrid, 1786).

South America. Immediately after the 1809 rebellions, the Spanish government was able to mobilize their messengers and call for reinforcements to stop unrest in Chuquisaca and La Paz. Following the unrest and the quelling of these rebellion, revolutionary minded Alto Peruvians, like the Chuquisaca scribe Astete, realized that if they wanted their anticolonial movement to succeed they would need a similar way to spread messages and coordinate a broader revolutionary consciousness that transcended a local setting. In short, they would need to develop their own system of chasquis.

Despite the regions natural impediments, multiple generations of Alto Peruvians discovered innovative ways to navigate this environment. Pre-conquest civilizations, like the Incas, were able to rule a vast territory and deliver information across thousands of miles by using a far-ranging system of roads that still exists today. Along these “Inca trails” indigenous societies sent messages, officials, goods, and troops to all corners of the empire to create a degree of cultural continuity and ensure control of the region.<sup>187</sup> When the Spanish arrived and conquered the area in the early sixteenth century, they followed the Incas’ roads and built off this communication network to rule a vast territory. Thanks in part to this system, the Spanish were able to create a productive colony that enriched the metropole for three centuries.

Throughout the pre-conquest and colonial era, the key figure who forged connections in Alto Peru and kept the region connected to the broader world was a “letter carrier,” or chasqui. These men were ubiquitous throughout the Andes, and commenters such as the mestizo chronicler of the conquest Guaman Poma de Ayala commented on

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<sup>187</sup> John Victor Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inka State*, (Greenwich: JAI Press, 1980).



these messengers and their utility.<sup>188</sup> Chasquis, which literally translates to “rapid travelers” in Quechua, were selected for their running speed and endurance as these skills were key to the timely delivery of information.<sup>189</sup> Certain regions like the high altitude community of Larecaja, in modern day Bolivia, were renowned for their messengers.<sup>190</sup>

Vicente Pazos Kanki, an indigenous intellectual and diplomat from Larecaja, mentions that chasquis did “indeed travel with wonderful rapidity. They fasten their letters to their body with straps, provide themselves with a bag of coca, some dried beef, corn, pepper, and a dollar in cash, and set forward, and finish their journey in the allotted time, in spite of every obstacle.”<sup>191</sup> Pazos Kanki marveled at their routes, which he claimed were “always direct across the country, and they will traverse up and down the lofty mountains of the Andes with the same rapidity as on the plains.”<sup>192</sup> These routes led to quick travel across space, and Pazos Kanki recalled that he knew chasquis “to travel 50 leagues [approximately 150 miles] in four days.”<sup>193</sup> These men made it possible to share information and experiences across vast distances in relatively little time, and made possible both governance and the growth of shared ideologies across the Andes.

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<sup>188</sup> Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “El Primer Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno,” 1615 (Kobehavn, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 2232 No. 4) Steve J. Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, (Madison: the University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).

<sup>189</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America addressed to the Hon. Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States*, (New York, 1819), 72.

<sup>190</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, 73.

<sup>191</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, 72.

<sup>192</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, 72.

<sup>193</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, 72.



Figure 4.1 “Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “Coreon Major I Menor” in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615/1616). København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 2232 4.

Even into the late colonial period, indigenous chasquis served a vital role for Spanish governance, and administrative officials took great care to ensure that they could carry out their travels in peace. In 1796, colonial administrative officials in the city of Chuquisaca and Potosi got into a heated argument over the treatment of an indigenous messenger named Blas Roque. The administrator of letters of Potosi, Antonio Ramon Zulaica, reported an “outrageous complaint” against officials in Chuquisaca who, he alleged, had incorrectly imprisoned Roque on August 15, 1796.<sup>194</sup> Zulaica went on to

<sup>194</sup> Administrador Correos Potosí sobre asuntos del ramo, 26 August 1796, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), ESTADO, 76, N.43.

claim Roque was given an “arbitrary amount of lashes” to get him to report the whereabouts of a letter that Chuquisaca officials believed Roque had previously been charged with delivering.<sup>195</sup>

Zualaica attempted to defend the chasqui, and reported that Roque had been a loyal messenger who had worked in the department of letters for “more than 15 years manually carrying correspondences by foot to the city” of Chuquisaca<sup>196</sup> In urgent times, Roque had “with evident risk to his life” transported information to places as distant as “one hundred and fifty leagues from [Potosi].”<sup>197</sup> Zualaica pleaded with Spanish officials to step in and free Roque who he knew was “entirely innocent of any culpability.”<sup>198</sup> It’s uncertain if Zualaica’s pleas were heeded, but his passionate appeal to higher ranking officials shows the importance of Blas Roque, and chasquis in general, to the late eighteenth century Andes. Zualaica risked alienating his fellow colonial officials in Alto Peru by reporting the violence against the chasqui. Further, Zualaica took great care to protect Roque, an effort that was rarely extended to other indigenous men and women, and pleaded for a quick resolution to the conflict. Roque was a valuable messenger to Spanish colonial officials, and his case reveals just how vital rapid travelling messenger were in a terrain where horses and other beast of burden struggled to quickly move through the Andes.

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<sup>195</sup> Administrador Correos Potosí sobre asuntos del ramo, 26 August 1796, AGI, ESTADO, 76, N.43.

<sup>196</sup> Administrador Correos Potosí sobre asuntos del ramo, 26 August 1796, AGI, ESTADO, 76, N.43. This is a distance of approximately 100 miles.

<sup>197</sup> Administrador Correos Potosí sobre asuntos del ramo, 26 August 1796, AGI, Estado, 76, N.43.

<sup>198</sup> Administrador Correos Potosí sobre asuntos del ramo, 26 August 1796, AGI, Estado, 76, N.43.

Upon hearing news of the French invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, residents of the city of Chuquisaca and La Paz rose up in rebellion and the provinces of Alto Peru descended into revolutionary unrest in 1809. This revolutionary era meant that timely spread of information and propaganda only grew in importance. Spanish officials who remained loyal to the crown initially had a clear advantage in spreading communication. Jose Manuel de Goyeneche, the Spanish military official tasked with ruling Alto Peru during the European conflict, relied on existing colonial messengers and a network of priest to communicate with the masses. The crown and the church were in possession of the only printing presses in South America, and using these, they spread proclamations that tried to downplay any apprehension over the crisis in Spain. These officials rosily announced that “Ferdinand VII remained alive and the Spanish monarchy endured,” and they hoped that these announcements would ease concerns and instill confidence in the Spanish crown’s governance.<sup>199</sup> Thanks to their messages they were able to call royalist reinforcements to the urban rebellions and smolder the unrest in the short term.

Parallel to this officially sanctioned communication network, the chasquis of liberty began to develop a subversive system of messaging that was intended to undermine Spanish colonialism. In the early years of the rebellion, this underground network functioned on a localized level and allowed a number of vocal Alto Peruvians to spread messages that criticized Spanish governance. The medium these chasquis used was typically the *pasquine*. Pasquines have a long history in both southern Europe and Latin America as the etymology of the word pasquine is a reference to the early-modern

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<sup>199</sup> Carta N° 301 de José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de La Concordia, Virrey Del Perú, to Antonio Cano Manuel, Ministro de Gracia Y Justicia., 28 November 1812, AGI, Lima, 742, N. 62,.

tradition of the “talking statues of Rome,” where dissatisfied romans would post witty satires criticizing social or political topics on statues around the city.<sup>200</sup> Alto Peruvians began a similar practice and often posted cartoons, poems, or political tracts on city walls or on the doors of colonial officials.<sup>201</sup>

While the style of pasquines varied, a Spanish official claimed they were part of a similar genre of “papers meant to induce distrust in the government.”<sup>202</sup> Pasquines which were usually in manuscript form were found throughout the urban centers of Alto Peru including Chuquisaca, La Paz, and Potosi. In late 1809, for example, Francisco de Paula Sanz, the governor of the city of Potosi, reported the discovery of a “seductive pasquine” he found in various parts of city. According to Sanz, the pasquine “was being dispersed by method of little Indians” to the [k]urakas,” who were in charge of organizing indigenous tribute.<sup>203</sup> Sanz claimed that the pasquine attempted to turn the Indians of the mita “against the Spanish government and Europeans.”<sup>204</sup> Alto Peruvian revolutionaries relied on chasquis, in this case unnamed “little Indians,” and used these subversive satires to spread discord throughout the lettered cities of Alto Peru.

As unrest began in Alto Peru in 1809, two dueling sets of messages began flowing around Alto Peru. Royalists and many priest tried to ease concerns and calm the Alto Peruvian masses. Meanwhile, a revolutionary faction began developed a subversive

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<sup>200</sup> Paola A Revilla Orias, “Pasquines Reformistas, Pasquines Sediciosos: Aquellas Hojas Volanderas en Charcas (siglos XVIII-XIX), *Revista Ciencia y Cultura*, no. 22-23, (2009).

<sup>201</sup> Paola A. Revilla Orias, “Pasquines Reformistas, Pasquines Sediciosos.”

<sup>202</sup> Causa Sobre Levantamientos Popular en La Plata. 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejo de Indias, 21391, Exp. 1 .

<sup>203</sup> Carta n° 95 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal to the Primer Secretario de Estado, 17 January 1812, AGI, LIMA, 743,N.2. “indiecitos pequeños.”

<sup>204</sup> Carta n° 95 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal al Primer Secretario de Estado. 17 January 1812, AGI LIMA,743,N.2.

messaging system that used chasquis to create discord in Alto Peru. Revolutionaries, like Astete, began calling for an end to Spanish colonialism and Alto Peruvians began publishing more pasquines that both criticized and delegitimated Spanish institutions, like the mita. These networks were still rather small at this early stage, often only extending within small regions. The messages themselves were also not follow developed and the anti-colonial goals of the chasquis was still fuzzy at this stage. Revolutionaries were unhappy and wanted to form a new government, and they had begun articulating a platform that included a new system of government and a reduction or an elimination of indigenous tribute. It would take further time for the chasquis to craft a message that could transcend local environments and connect Alto Peru.

### **A Chasqui like Journey: Defining and Expanding the Revolution**

In 1809 and the following years, revolutionary chasquis of African, indigenous, and creole descent began to hone and spread a rallying cry that brought together the diverse communities of Alto Peru in a loosely coordinated independence project. Their message built upon previous efforts to delegitimize Spanish authority and embraced many of the demands for change coming from indigenous and African communities in Alto Peru. To deliver their message, the chasquis of liberty utilized the memory of the Inca empire, because the Inca past was familiar to Alto Peruvians, and the Inca symbol was malleable enough to help envision a new future for the region.<sup>205</sup> Using the Inca past,

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<sup>205</sup> Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y Utopia en Los Andes*, (Habana: Casa de Las Americas, 1986); Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native:*

the chasquis of liberty, like the Chuquisaca based lawyer Bernardo Monteagudo and priest Andres Jimenez de Leon, harnessed the potent potential of the Inca past by using the memory of the Spanish conquest of the Inca to demand an end to Spanish colonialism. In its place, the chasquis of liberty claimed they would avenge the Spanish conquest by restoring sovereignty of the Americas to those born in America, hinting that creole, as well as indigenous and African, Alto Peruvians would have the opportunity to govern their own region.<sup>206</sup>

The chasquis of liberty's rallying cry began quite informally, as a pasquine, entitled "The dialogue between Atawallpa and Fernando VII in the Elysian Fields." The author of the manuscript is still debated by scholars, but one pro-independence figure known to publish multiple pasquines was the Chuquisaca lawyer Bernardo Monteagudo, the likely author of this rallying cry for independence. Monteagudo was an unlikely figure to define the Alto Peru's independence movement. He was born and raised near present day Tucuman, Argentina within a middling, merchant class family. His father Miguel Monteagudo, a native of Spain who hoped he would find his fortune in the Americas, was the owner of a small shop that sold numerous household items in Chuquisaca. It is possible that Bernardo was mixed race as his peers, like the foreign observer William Bennet Stevenson, noted that Monteagudo had characteristics of a "zambo," or a person of African and indigenous descent. Stevenson further described Monteagudo as "a native of Upper Peru, of the lowest ranks of society, of spurious

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*Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); E. Gabrielle Kuenzli, *Acting Inca: National Belonging in Early Twentieth-Century Bolivia*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013).

<sup>206</sup> Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

offspring, and African genealogy.”<sup>207</sup> Thanks to the help of a local priest, Monteagudo was able rise from these humble origins and went on to study law at the University of San Francisco Xavier.

While at the University of San Francisco Xavier, Monteagudo studied with the professor Victoriano Villava, the rabid advocate for liberalizing Alto Peru through reforms to the mita, and read the key revolutionary literature of the day.<sup>208</sup> In particular, Monteagudo noted that “*the Social Contract* of [Jean Jacques] Rousseau and other writings of this genre” had a formational impact on his intellectual beliefs.<sup>209</sup> While at the University, Monteagudo was surrounded by numerous peers who had similarly read many of the texts emanating from the European enlightenment. However, Monteagudo stood out among his peers for a particular talent for writing and even his enemies, like Stevenson, noted that his “talents and literature... have been held up as possessing considerable perfection.”<sup>210</sup> Monteagudo’s humble origins, radical education at the University of San Francisco Xavier, and his writing talents positioned him to develop a rallying cry in Chuquisaca.

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<sup>207</sup> William Bennet Stevenson and Diego Barros Arana, *Memorias De William Bennet Stevenson Sobre Las Campañas De San Martín Y Cochrane En El Perú*; (Madrid: Editorial-América, 1917), 281. Stevenson’s quote has set off a contentious and long standing debate among historians. Early nationalist writers in both Bolivia and Argentina went to great lengths to prove Monteagudo’s European heritage. More recently, scholars have used Monteagudo as an example of an Afro-Latin American revolutionary.

<sup>208</sup> See chapter one for more on Villava.

<sup>209</sup> Bernardo Monteagudo, *Memoria Sobre Los Principios Políticos Que Seguí En La Administración Del Perú, Y Acontecimientos Posteriores a Mi Separación*, (Santiago, 1823), 7.

<sup>210</sup> Stevenson and Barros Arana, *Memorias De William Bennet Stevenson Sobre Las Campañas De San Martín Y Cochrane En El Perú*;, 281.



In 1809, not long after the May 25 rebellion, Monteagudo began circulating pro-independence propaganda throughout the city of Chuquisaca including his fictional dialogue between Atahualpa, the last Inca emperor before the Spanish conquest, and Ferdinand VII, the Spanish monarch of the early nineteenth century. Monteagudo's fictional monarchs met in the mythical Elysian Fields, where Ferdinand VII laments the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. Monteagudo likely meant for this setting to be understood as a double entendre and a reference to the grand promenade in Paris which shares its name with the mythical fields. In the dialogue, Atahualpa is initially sympathetic towards Ferdinand VII. By the end of the fictional exchange, however, Atahualpa starts drawing a direct comparison between the Napoleonic invasions and the Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire two centuries earlier. Ferdinand VII at first dismisses any similarities between the two conquests, but after a contentious debate, the Spanish king eventually accepts Atahualpa's logic and concedes that the Spanish have no more claim over the Americas than Napoleon does over the Iberian Peninsula. In the dialogue's powerful conclusion, the fictional Ferdinand VII proclaimed that "convinced by your reasoning... I myself would urge [Americans] to liberty and independence, rather than live subject to a foreign nation."<sup>211</sup>

In his dialogue, Monteagudo cleverly employs two of the most important figures in colonial Latin America: Ferdinand VII and Atahualpa. Ferdinand VII was viewed favorably by most residents of the region and especially indigenous communities. Known as the desired one, Ferdinand VII was still viewed as the rightful sovereign of the Spanish

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<sup>211</sup> Bernardo Monteagudo, "*Diálogo Entre Atawallpa Y Fernando Vii En Los Campos Eliseos*," 1809, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia (ABNB), Ruck Colección, No. 449.

empire.<sup>212</sup> Throughout the three centuries of Spanish colonialism, indigenous and African groups had learned ways to manipulate the colonial system to gain important concessions by appealing directly to the Spanish crown and had grown to see this powerful figure in a benevolent light.<sup>213</sup> Beyond a naïve monarchism, these subaltern groups knew there were tangible benefits for remaining loyal to the Spanish crown.

If any symbol was more revered in the Andes than the Spanish monarch, it was Inca. Thanks to the widespread diffusion of Garlisaco de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Inca's*, residents of the Andean region had a wealth of positive information on the pre-conquest empire. De La Vega depicted an almost utopic Inca civilization free of exploitation, hunger, or crime. This was a powerful symbol in an era where many lived through those same plights, and people in the Americas and even Europe looked to the Inca as a possible cure to their societies ills. In Alto Peru, people of all classes and races revered the Inca as powerful cultural symbols. Into the late colonial period indigenous communities still commemorated their Inca ancestors and mourned the Spanish conquest. Pazos Kanki recalled that "the Indians have also their dramas, or theatrical representations, written in metre, with much purity and eloquence, in their own language. The subject of these pieces always alludes to the conquest."<sup>214</sup> The memory of the

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<sup>212</sup> Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

<sup>213</sup> Steve J. Stern ed., *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World - 18th to 20th Centuries*, First Edition edition (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987) Tristán Platt, *Estado Boliviano Y Ayllu Andino: Tierra Y Tributo En El Norte De Potosí* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982); Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

<sup>214</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1819), 90.

conquest and “the supplications of Atahualpa” brought many indigenous men and women to shed tears for the tragic memory of their indigenous ancestors.<sup>215</sup> Monteagudo utilized these two pervasive and persuasive figures, and he wielded them to call for revolutionary change.

Monteagudo’s characters were even more useful for a revolutionary call to arms because of the recent reinvention of Inca symbolism. Following the Tupac Amaru II rebellion in the 1780s, which hinted at returning an Inca to power in the Andes, Inca symbolism became with subversive, revolutionary thought. Despite efforts by the Spanish crown to repress Inca symbolism, the Inca remained an important component in movements for change and reform and was used to depict a utopic future that might be attainable if only the Incas returned.<sup>216</sup> The Incas, and Ferdinand VII lent legitimacy to Monteagudo’s dialogue, and the climax of his pasquine depicted a powerful consensus between these two powerful symbols, as both Atahualpa and Ferdinand VII agreed that Latin Americans should seek independence.

The power of Monteagudo’s pasquine, however, did not arise from his use of esteemed figures, but from the pasquines’ proposal to avenge the conquest. Monteagudo overtly connected contemporary politics to the conquest era by employing the figures of

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<sup>215</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1819), 90.

<sup>216</sup> Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y Utopia en Los Andes*, (Habana: Casa de Las Americas, 1986); Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); E. Gabrielle Kuenzli, *Acting Inca: National Belonging in Early Twentieth-Century Bolivia*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013).

Atahualpa and Ferdinand VII. At the beginning of *the Dialogue*, Monteagudo has the two monarchs “compare...the conquest of [the Iberian] peninsula with that of the New World and the conduct of the French in Spain with that of the Spain in the Americas.”<sup>217</sup> By drawing parallels between these two iconic events, Monteagudo was able to define the emerging independence movement as a vindication of the Inca past and suggest that sovereignty should not be left to outside conquerors.

Using the memory of the conquest also allowed Monteagudo to point to the horrors brought about by the Spanish conquest and colonialism. In the dialogue, Monteagudo suggested the conquest brought nothing but “desolation, terror, and death” to all parts of South America.<sup>218</sup> South America was left devastated and Monteagudo describes a horrific scene where “in all parts ran rivers of innocent blood, everywhere one looked they witnessed thousands of cadavers, unfortunate victims of the ferocious Spaniards.”<sup>219</sup> These horrific scenes only grew as the Spaniards secured their conquest and implemented their colony. In Monteagudo’s extended discussion of the terrors brought about by Spanish colonization, he mentions the mita, a forced labor system which required indigenous men to mine for precious metal. Monteagudo describes how “entire tribes of Indians are forced to mine the mountains where they descend to the deepest and most remote depths,” where they had to toil in a “dark and dismal chaos.”<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> Monteagudo, "*Diálogo entre Atawallpa y Fernando VII en los Campos Eliseos.*" ABNB, Ruck 449.

<sup>218</sup> Monteagudo, "*Diálogo entre Atawallpa y Fernando VII en los Campos Eliseos.*" ABNB, Ruck 449.

<sup>219</sup> Monteagudo, "*Diálogo entre Atawallpa y Fernando VII en los Campos Eliseos.*" ABNB, Ruck 449.

<sup>220</sup> Monteagudo, "*Diálogo entre Atawallpa y Fernando VII en los Campos Eliseos.*" ABNB, Ruck 449.

Monteagudo goes on to show how this forced labor system tore apart families, resulted in widespread hunger and death. In a moving scene, the fictional Atahualpa recounts seeing an “innocent mother bitterly crying over the tragic death of her dear child” who had died while mining for the mita. The mourning mother “eventually died from a broken heart.”<sup>221</sup> Throughout the dialogue, Monteagudo uses Atahualpa to expose the most oppressive and horrible scenes of colonialism and provide concrete examples for why it was time to consider ending the colonial relationship with Spain. Instead of defining the revolutionary movement as one against Ferdinand VII, Monteagudo outlined a cause to avenge Spanish conquest and end three centuries of Spanish oppression.

Monteagudo’s pasquine had all the elements to be a rallying cry, on par with Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* which worked as a catalyst for the independence process in North America, for Alto Peruvian independence, but it failed to spread beyond the city walls of Chuquisaca. Monteagudo cleverly used important regional symbols, developed a revolutionary platform, and provided incisive criticism of Spanish colonialism. Further, the dialogue, which some scholars suggest was performed, would have fit into a recognizable Andean genre of street drama centering on conquest era figures.<sup>222</sup> However, Monteagudo’s manuscript had a few fatal flaws. Monteagudo used erudite language and shifted into Latin on multiple occasions throughout the dialogue, which would not have resonated with the majority of Alto Peruvians. But more importantly, the manuscript only circulated around the lettered city of Chuquisaca. At this early stage, pro-independence leaders like Monteagudo had not yet forged physical and

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<sup>221</sup> Monteagudo, "Diálogo entre Atawallpa y Fernando VII en los Campos Eliseos." ABNB, Ruck 449.

<sup>222</sup>

personal connections that could braid together the rural and urban countryside in an efficient and cohesive manner.<sup>223</sup>

Even though Spanish authorities cracked down on the pasquines of Monteagudo and his peers, other revolutionaries continued to produce revolutionary literature and forged broader connections into the indigenous communities of Alto Peru. In 1810, the honorary canon of the Cathedral of Chuquisaca, Andrés Jiménez de León y Manco Cápac, “was the principal author of a general revolution comprising the provinces of Potosi and Cochabamba.”<sup>224</sup> Andrés Jiménez de León y Manco Cápac, who was either an indigenous noble or mestizo of notable indigenous decent, took issue with the local authorities who were ruling in King Ferdinand VII’s name in Alto Peru and the ways they exploited indigenous communities. Like Monteagudo, he embraced the Inca past, by claiming the nickname Manco Cápac, the founder of the Inca civilization. The Canon Manco Cápac had vast connections around Alto Peru and assembled a number of close conspirators including Juan Manuel Caceres, Gavino Estrada, Hipolito Sandeo, and the cacique of Toledo named Titichoca. These connections were made possible by Mancocapac’s use of Inca symbolism, clear policy goals, and his use of indigenous messengers to spread information.

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<sup>223</sup> William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979); Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Tristan Platt, *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Andino*, (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982); Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

<sup>224</sup> Expediente sobre la captura de sublevados en Charcas. 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS,21299, Exp. 1.

The Canon Mancocapac began organizing his rebellion shortly after the Chuquisaca rebellion in 1809, and he used a system of indigenous messengers to connect much of the valley region of Alto Peru together into a potential revolutionary territory. From his outpost in Chuquisaca, Mancocapac sent messengers to neighboring provinces of Potosi and Cochabamba to gauge their interest in a political upheaval. Spanish authorities who captured one of his messengers claimed that Mancocapac hoped “to manipulate the innocent communities, subvert the miserable and gullible Indians, and lead them with the detestable ideas of not paying tribute...to their parish priest and their legitimate authorities.”<sup>225</sup> Colonial authorities were terrified of his “diabolical influence,” and believed that Mancocapac wanted to “leave these provinces inhabited by only the Indians so they remain the masters of this America.”<sup>226</sup> Enacting the promises of pro-independence pasquines, Mancocapac and his followers posed a genuine threat to the colonial order and the future of the Spanish colonies. Using the symbol of the inca, along with policy proposals to abolish tribute and give political sovereignty to indigenous communities, Mancocapac proposed an alternative future for Alto Peru, and one that might have been more compelling than the continuation of Spanish colonialism.

Mancocapac’s agenda was defined in negotiation with the indigenous communities of the region. Mancocapac’s chasquis also appear to have carried information from indigenous communities back to the leaders of the rebellion. The flow of information was not unidirectional and Mancocapac seemed particularly interested in

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<sup>225</sup> Expediente sobre la captura de sublevados en Charcas, 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, 21299, Exp.1.

<sup>226</sup> Expediente sobre la captura de sublevados en Charcas, 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, 21299, Exp.1.

the wishes of the indigenous communities he hoped to attract. Within Mancocapac's case file, there was a list of twelve demands made by indigenous communities. This list not only circulated in the Chuquisaca, Potosi, and Cochabamba region of Alto Peru, but it was spread along "the general route of Cusco, Arequipa, and Huamanga."<sup>227</sup>

Interestingly, the path followed a large economic zone defined by a large indigenous society.<sup>228</sup> The demands of the indigenous communities varied, but collectively they revolved around three principal concerns: governance, tribute payment, and land ownership.

Indigenous communities in the region demanded greater respect to their local governance and wanted to increase their ability to remove poor leaders. Of particular concern was the position of sub-delegate. Indigenous communities wanted to remove the position completely because they viewed the position as superfluous and exploitative. The indigenous communities claimed that sub-delegates were "no more than leaches that do not rule justly, do not do a thing other than rob the poor Indians, and cause pain and more pain."<sup>229</sup> Instead the indigenous communities wanted to replace this position with "judges" through a method of "election within the community."<sup>230</sup> The indigenous demands were also aimed at other local leaders including some, local indigenous leaders, called caciques, and priest. Not all indigenous leaders and priests were targets, but the

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<sup>227</sup> Expediente sobre la captura de sublevados en Charcas, 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, 21299, Exp.1.

<sup>228</sup> Luis Miguel Glave Testino, *Trajinantes: Caminos Indígenas en la Sociedad Colonial, Siglos XVI/XVII*, (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1989).

<sup>229</sup> Expediente sobre la captura de sublevados en Charcas, 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, 21299, Exp.1.

<sup>230</sup> Expediente sobre la captura de sublevados en Charcas, 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, 21299, Exp.1.



indigenous demands specified that caciques “who were thieves” and “pirate priests” should be removed and replaced by ones elected by their community. In addition to concerns about leadership, communities wanted to ensure that they had jurisdiction over their communities and demanded that “they will not take from the communities of Indians any legal rights” and will allow them to settle disputes. Collectively these demands show a concern with being able to claim primary jurisdiction on issues related to their community.

Along with ensuring their local jurisdiction, indigenous communities sought to protect themselves from economic exploitation. The indigenous communities said they “would not continue paying the tributes, until it is known to whom there is to contribute,” and they specifically noted that they had been forced to pay during the last few years even though “the king was killed by the French.”<sup>231</sup> In this uncertain era, indigenous communities assumed without a rightful Spanish King in power, any pact they had made to pay tribute had been nullified.<sup>232</sup> The indigenous also demanded to stop paying the tax, wanted to end “the mita of Potosi” because the mine owners had made the indigenous into “captives worse than in Turkey,” and demanded an abolition of any religious payments made to priest. In particular indigenous communities wanted to end payments related to burials, marriages, and baptisms. Finally, indigenous communities

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<sup>231</sup> The King had not been killed by the French and Ferdinand VII remained alive, but there were apparently rumors of his death in Alto Peru during this period.

<sup>232</sup> Tristan Platt, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino: Tierra y Tributo en El Norte de Potosi* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982).

wanted to ensure that they could not be forced to work or have their animals taken from them without fair payment.<sup>233</sup>

The final element that indigenous communities wanted was to ensure that they would not have their land encroached upon in the future. In their petition, they demanded a prohibition on any hacienda owner claiming indigenous land, hoping to block creole landowners from “steal[ing] land” or moving into the lands of indigenous communities. They also wanted to prohibit “mestizos that were harmful” from coming into indigenous communities lands. Collectively the indigenous communities’ demands outline an indigenous political agenda that focuses on the issues of economic exploitation, governance, and protection of indigenous land rights. The indigenous communities hoped that these demands would help improve the life of their communities and ensure that “they do not suffer like captive slaves in these lands.”<sup>234</sup>

The demands in this letter resonate with previously stated goals of indigenous movements like the Tupac Katari and Tupac Amaru II rebellion. In all these cases indigenous groups protested economic exploitation and asserted their communities’ right to govern itself. However, the fact that indigenous communities decided to broadcast these demands reveals that some indigenous communities seemingly agreed that the best way to achieve these goals was through a regionally bounded, proto-nationalist movement. Indigenous communities began to understand that the best way to achieve their long held goals was not through requests to the Spanish monarchy or Spanish

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<sup>233</sup> Expediente sobre la captura de sublevados en Charcas, 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, 21299, Exp.1.

<sup>234</sup> Expediente sobre la captura de sublevados en Charcas, 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, 21299, Exp.1.

officials and not through a localized rebellion, but by working under the umbrella of a larger movement against regional colonial officials. The flow of information made possible by chasquis had helped to expand indigenous consciousness and made possible a regional rebellion with anti-colonial ambitions.

Monteagudo and especially Mancocapac developed this emerging consciousness through their use of indigenous symbolism and concrete demands and made a larger rebellion in Alto Peru a possibility. Mancocapac's strategies had many parallels to broader revolutionary movements in Alto Peru. Like Monteagudo's dialogue and Tupac Amaru II, the honorary canon Andres Jimenez de Leon took on the persona of a former emperor of the Inca Empire to symbolically define his movement. The name he took, Mancocapac, was a reference to the mythical Manco Capac who was revered as the first ruler and founder of the Inca civilization in Cuzco around the thirteenth century. The mythical Manco Capac was the main protagonist in the origin stories of the Inca civilization.<sup>235</sup> Like Monteagudo, the Canon Mancocapac connected contemporary politics to the Inca past, and his choice in pseudonym foretold a new era in Alto Peru—one different from Spanish colonialism.

Colonial officials immediately recognized the symbolic significance of this term and attributed Jimenez's clever use of the title as his key to success. This led the Viceroy of Peru, Jose Fernando de Abascal, to request a new canon for the Coro of Chuquisaca who would "promote the unity and conservation of the Spanish Government." In part, Abascal hoped this new religious authority might help combat the "rebel Manco Capac,

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<sup>235</sup> Garliasco de La Vega, *Comentarios Reales[sobre el Imperio de los Incas del Antiquo Peru]* (Madrid: Fundacion Jose Antonio de Castro, 2016).

who with this false title of the ancient Incas, remains uncaptured and continues seducing gullible natives.”<sup>236</sup> Colonial officials like Viceroy Abascal seemed to believe the mere mention of the Inca could produce a “pavlovian reaction” to rebel within indigenous communities.<sup>237</sup> While the symbol of the Incas was powerful, Andres Mancocapac also couched real policy proposals in his platform. Mancocapac openly advocated for an ending of tribute payments for indigenous communities in Potosi and Cochabamba. This was something that indigenous communities had been campaigning for throughout the colonial period. And if we are to believe the Spanish officials, Mancocapac’s movement was meant to increase power for indigenous people in the Americas.

This seditious movement to eliminate tribute and give power back to Alto Peruvians was never fully put into action due to the chance discovery of instructions sent by Mancocapac’s co-conspirators. In August of 1810, a soldier in Potosi handed over to Governor Sanz “the papers, which were carried by an Indian who was the guarantor of the discovery of such criminal evilness.”<sup>238</sup> Thanks to this chance discovery, colonial officials were able to find a few of Mancocapac’s conspirators including Juan Manuel Caseres, Gavino Estrada, and Hipolito Sandaeta where they were living “in a Ranch of Indians.”<sup>239</sup> These arrests largely thwarted the plot, but the cacique of Toledo, Titichoca, avoided capture and carried on the rebellion from his indigenous community in Toledo.

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<sup>236</sup> Carta no. 384 del Virrey Jose Fernando de Abascal, Marques de la Concordia, a Manuel Garcia Herreros secretario de Gracia y Justicia. 22 January 1814, Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 748, No. 74.

<sup>237</sup> Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002);

<sup>238</sup> Expediente sobre la captura de sublevados en Charcas, 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos, 21299, Exp.1.

<sup>239</sup> Expediente sobre la captura de sublevados en Charcas, 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos, 21299, Exp.1.

While only briefly mentioned, the indigenous chasquis who carried the seditious papers both made the conspiracy possible and led to its downfall. Mancocapac and his conspirators relied on this indigenous man, and likely other similar indigenous men, to carry their information across space and connect groups from the intendancies of Yampares, Potosi, and Cochabamba into a unified rebellion. This messaging system was a chasqui network similar to those of the pre-conquest and colonial worlds, but Mancocapac was using it to forge a revolutionary consciousness that connected the urban and rural environments of Alto Peru and brought together indigenous communities with creole or mestizo priests. Monteagudo and Mancocapac linked the emerging rebellion with the Inca by claiming to avenge the conquest by ending Spanish colonialism and creating an alternative future that would allow for governance by Alto Peruvians. This message, and the chasquis who transported it, allowed the rebellion to transcend local agendas and outlined broad agenda shared by Alto Peruvians. Ultimately, the downfall of the rebellion came when colonial officials got a hold of the seditious papers. Perhaps the unnamed chasqui was captured and coerced into turning over the information or maybe he freely turned against the Mancocapac conspiracy. Whatever the case, the chasqui and the instructions he was carrying helped connect Alto Peruvians in a proto-nationalist movement that had revolutionary implications.

### **Inca Republicanism**

The failed Mancocapac conspiracy marked the end of the first wave of rebellions in Alto Peru, but the chasquis of liberty were able to regroup outside of Alto Peru and began to sure up their plans for retaking Alto Peru. In the first wave, Alto Peruvians had led localized rebellions in the cities of La Paz and Chuquisaca and through a system of

messaging that allowed them to connect a variety of nested communities. There remained, however many royalist supports in Alto Peru and the chasquis' revolutionary activity aroused a brutal royalist backlash in 1811. As the chasquis of liberty escaped capture, they regrouped further south in the former viceroyalty of Rio de La Plata, and they began to further develop their revolutionary agenda. Their rallying cry to avenge the conquest had served to unite disparate communities, but the chasquis now needed to clarify their intention for the future governance of Alto Peru. The chasquis elaborated on their plan by outlining a republican future for Alto Peru and all of South America that would avenge the conquest by returning political power to South Americans.

After stopping the urban rebellions in Chuquisaca and La Paz, royalists started suppressing revolutionary propaganda and the chasquis of liberty who were spreading. According to Pazos Kanki, a revolutionary priest turned journalist of indigenous descent, the royalists “established a political inquisition more severe than” the religious inquisition that had rocked Spain in the fifteenth century.<sup>240</sup> This political inquisition imprisoned many of the ardent revolutionaries, where they became “victims of Spanish wrath.”<sup>241</sup> Included in those who were captured was Bernardo Monteagudo, the author of the pasquines that defined the revolutionary movement, who was held prisoner “until sentencing but without a definitive cause,” but he later escaped.<sup>242</sup> The Canon

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<sup>240</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letter on the United Provinces of South America* (New York, 1819), 35.

<sup>241</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America* (New York, 1819), 35.

<sup>242</sup> Expediente sobre la captura de sublevados en Charcas. 1815. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos, 21299, Exp.1.

Mancocapac avoided capture, but royalists soon put out a reward for any information related to his imprisonment.

Under this Spanish wrath, many pro-independence figures chose to leave Alto Peru and re-group in Buenos Aires. Revolutionaries in Buenos Aires had led their own successful revolutionary movement in May of 1810, and had secured a contested independence from Spain, making the area southeast of Tucuman a refuge for revolutionary thinkers.<sup>243</sup> Along this thousand mile route, chasquis of liberty, like Monteagudo and Pazos Kanki, brought their ideas and forged connections with like-minded thinkers. The central figure who connected the revolutions, Juan Jose Castelli, an argentine lawyer and key figure in the May Revolution of Buenos Aires, had spent considerable time in Alto Peru. Castelli previously attended the University of San Francisco Xavier, where he studied under the reformist Villava and met many of the future Alto Peruvian revolutionaries. Castelli served as a natural point of contact in the new environment. According to Pazos Kanki, Castelli “made his country-house the rendezvous for the secret meetings of the revolutionists. There they met, eluding the vigilance of the governmental spies.”<sup>244</sup> His meetings brought together chasquis of liberty, and together they began to discuss what type of government and nation they hoped to create.

Despite leaving Alto Peru, the chasquis always envisioned an independent Alto Peru. Throughout 1810-1815, they sought ways to liberate their homeland and to share information far into the interior of the continent to make sure that Alto Peruvians were

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<sup>243</sup> John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions 1808-1826*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1973).

<sup>244</sup> Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America* (New York, 1819) 35.

kept informed on the political debates taking place in Buenos Aires. The revolutionaries, envisioned a broader political entity called the United Provinces of South America that would have adhered to much of the colonial Viceroyalty of Rio de La Plata.<sup>245</sup> To make this possible Castelli and other Alto Peruvian revolutionaries organized an armed force and tried to build on the success of the May Revolution and liberate Alto Peru. During their campaigns, Castelli and his allies tried to spread their movement using indigenous symbolism and concrete policy promises just as the chasquis forerunners had in 1809 and 1810.<sup>246</sup>

In 1811, Castelli led the first of three campaigns to liberate Alto Peru. Throughout his travels, Castelli tried to appeal to indigenous groups and enlist their support. Castelli met with indigenous leaders, explained tenants of the revolutionary platform, and often used indigenous symbolism as a medium to discuss his revolutionary goals. In his most famous address, Castelli gave a celebratory speech from the ruins of the ancient Aymara, a different prequest indigenous civilization, religious site of Tiahuanco. In this address, Castelli celebrated the one year anniversary of the Argentine's May Revolution and addressed a largely indigenous audience. Castelli proclaimed, today we celebrate "the installation of the government that happily has restored to the habitants of all the provinces of Rio de la Plata the possession of liberty, property, and security that for more

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<sup>245</sup> Or Present day Bolivia and Argentina.

<sup>246</sup> Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y Utopia en Los Andes*, (Habana: Casa de Las Americas, 1986); Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); E. Gabrielle Kuenzli, *Acting Inca: National Belonging in Early Twentieth-Century Bolivia*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013).



than three centuries have been usurped by tyranny.”<sup>247</sup> He continued and promised to the large audience, Castelli the suppression of colonial abuses, an end to taxes, an abolition tributes on indigenous groups, the distribution of lands, the creation of schools, and he declared “the Indian is equal to any other national.”<sup>248</sup> In the speech, Castelli outlined a remarkably inclusive vision for Alto Peru’s future using the language of human equality, much as other revolutionaries in the United States and France had done in the late eighteenth century.

Castelli’s clear policy goals would have resonated with indigenous groups, but the Castelli’s words gathered more meaning due to the site of the speech. Tiauhanco was an important cultural and religious site to those in the Andes, even if it was not Inca in origin, and Castelli recognized this. Referencing the ruins he spoke from, Castelli told his audience to look at the “sad spectacle of these ancient monuments, annihilated by the ambition” and ruined by Spanish colonialism. He called on the audience “to listen to the clamors of these last vestiges of the magnificence of our ancestors, and avenge their insulted memory.”<sup>249</sup> Castelli openly connected the emerging independence movement with a vindication of the ancient indigenous civilizations of Alto Peru, and he presciently

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<sup>247</sup> Castelli, “Proclama,” in *Discurso en celebridad del triunfo que la fidelisima villa de Oruro alcanzó contra el exercito revolucionario invasor de Cochabamba, el 16 de noviembre del presente año de 1811. El D.D. Marcos Guzman, cura y vicario del beneficio de Sacaca, lo pronunció en la Iglesia Matriz de la misma villa, el 30 de dicho mes y año.* (Lima, 1813), JCBL, Peru.

<sup>248</sup> John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808-1826.*, 124.

<sup>249</sup> Castelli, “Proclama,” in *Discurso en celebridad del triunfo que la fidelisima villa de Oruro alcanzó contra el exercito revolucionario invasor de Cochabamba, el 16 de noviembre del presente año de 1811. El D.D. Marcos Guzman, cura y vicario del beneficio de Sacaca, lo pronunció en la Iglesia Matriz de la misma villa, el 30 de dicho mes y año.* (Lima, 1813), John Carter Brown Library (JCBL), Perú Collection.

foretold, in your “arms of bronze” and “in your hands is the liberty of the patria.”<sup>250</sup> At Tiahuanaco, Castelli called on his largely indigenous audience to return Alto Peru to its preconquest splendor and reclaim political control of their region.

Castelli’s speech and most of the *chasquis* of liberty’s writings share a common theme and revolutionary goal, avenging the conquest. The Argentine general pointed to the Spanish conquest as the source for the ruin of the ancient indigenous civilizations and suggested that the three hundred years of Spanish colonialism created the terrible conditions that his indigenous audience now faced. Castelli connected their military campaign with the ancient Inca and Aymara civilizations and defined their project as a vindication project of these long dead ancestors. Like numerous revolutionaries before them, the *chasquis* of liberty realized the revolutionary potential of Inca symbolism and used the mythology of a just and equal pre-conquest civilizations to unify Andeans into a revolutionary movement.

Castelli’s speech sent shockwaves around the Andean world and meant different things to various audiences. Pazos Kanki lauded Castelli’s speech and recalled the festive atmosphere of “the 25th of May, 1811, [where] they celebrated the anniversary of the revolution on the magnificent ruins of the Palace of the Inca, Mayta Capac at Tiahuanaco, singing hymns to their country and liberty.”<sup>251</sup> However, Alto Peruvians with loyalist

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<sup>250</sup> Castelli, “Proclama,” in *Discurso en celebridad del triunfo que la fidelisima villa de Oruro alcanzó contra el exercito revolucionario invasor de Cochabamba, el 16 de noviembre del presente año de 1811. El D.D. Marcos Guzman, cura y vicario del beneficio de Sacaca, lo pronunció en la Iglesia Matriz de la misma villa, el 30 de dicho mes y año.* (Lima, 1813), JCBL, Peru .

<sup>251</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America, Addressed to the Hon. Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives in the U. States.* (New York, 1819), 43. Pazos Kanki was under the impression at this time that Tiahuanaco was an Inca site. It was not.

leanings were horrified of the news. One loyalist priest, Marcos Guzman from Sacaca, recalled the Argentines “proclaimed that we should avenge the ashes of the Incas.”<sup>252</sup> Guzman was appalled by the “idolatrous” nature of this “ethnic ceremony that ended with many and repeated toast to [the] goddess of lewdness, liberty, and independence.”<sup>253</sup> To the loyalist Guzman, this speech represented a large threat to the colonial order because it was openly tinged with what he called an “ethnic” agenda. Despite different views of the speech, news of Castelli’s powerful address quickly spread around the Andes, and the next year there were rumors hundreds of miles away in Huánuco, Peru that the arrival of Inca Castelli was imminent.<sup>254</sup>

The failure of the first Alto Peruvian campaign, forced the chasquis of liberty to retreat to Buenos Aires where they continued to try to spread revolution and ensure Alto Peruvian independence. Buenos Aires was a hub for revolutionary thought and it had a lively print culture which allowed political debates to play out in public. The port city had one of the few printing presses in South America at that time, and it became a vital tool for the chasquis to spread their revolutionary messages. Pazos Kanki, who had traveled the thousand mile route from La Paz to Buenos Aires, recalled that he had never “beheld a printing press until my arrival,” but he immediately saw the possibilities inherent in the

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<sup>252</sup> For more on Marcos Guzman see. Chapter 4.

<sup>253</sup> Marcos Guzman, *Discurso en celebridad del triunfo que la fidelisima villa de Oruro alcanzó contra el exercito revolucionario invasor de Cochabamba, el 16 de noviembre del presente año de 1811. El D.D. Marcos Guzman, cura y vicario del beneficio de Sacaca, lo pronunció en la Iglesia Matriz de la misma villa, el 30 de dicho mes y año.* (Lima, 1813), JCBL, Peru.

<sup>254</sup> Stern, *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World - 18th to 20th Centuries*, (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1987) 71.

“admirable invention.”<sup>255</sup> Pazos Kanki recognized the printing press’ potential, and he “fancied...in those mute characters, the types, the fountain of that light which ere long would burst forth and dissipate the clouds of despotism which darkened the horizon of my beloved country.”<sup>256</sup> Pazos Kanki and his fellow chasquis of liberty thought the print industry would help to further expand their revolution and forge a national project that went beyond a local or regional level.<sup>257</sup> In the preconquest past, chasquis would have carried quipus to transfer information, but in the nineteenth century, they believe print culture would be the medium of their revolutionary message.

As journalists, the chasquis of liberty entered into the main debates of the age and sought to convince their peers of the importance of political independence and republic government. They often took a multi-tiered approach to this project by both translating political documents into other languages and putting their own political ideas into print. Pazos Kanki, in particular, went to great lengths to translate documents into Spanish, including Thomas Paine’s famous tract *Common Sense*, with the hope of making the South American revolution convincing to as wide an audience as possible. He also translated many of the political documents and decrees emanating from the burgeoning government of the United Provinces of South America into indigenous languages like Aymara and Quechua.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1819), 19.

<sup>256</sup> Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1819), 19.

<sup>257</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (New York: Verso, 1993).

<sup>258</sup> Charles Harwood Bowman, *Vicente Pazos Kanki: un Boliviano en la Libertad de América*, (La Paz: Editorial Los Amigos del Libro, 1975).

Throughout his revolutionary literature, Pazos Kanki too employed the theme that the present political movement was an effort to avenge the conquest. Pazos Kanki depicted the Spanish and the three centuries of colonialism as a dark tragedy where “every step of the Spaniards in America has been marked with blood.”<sup>259</sup> He suggested this began with the conquest when “Pizarro and his bloody banditti, in the most cruel and treacherous manner, murdered the unfortunate Atahualpa, a monarch most beloved by his people” and thus they “destroyed the only government then existing in the world, which was founded upon the will, and consulted the happiness of the people in its administrations.”<sup>260</sup> Pazos Kanki openly lamented the fall of the Incas and believed that the present revolution would create another government inspired by the Inca past and founded on the will of the people. By using the Inca as a symbolic ancestor Pazos Kanki hoped South Americans could create a new nation that would be just and equitable.<sup>261</sup>

Pazos Kanki began articulating these goals while he worked at a number of newspapers in Buenos Aires before becoming the editor of *the Censor* and *La Cronica Argentina*. Throughout his publications, Pazos Kanki advocated for his ideal vision of an independent South America and contested any return to monarchy. Pazos Kanki repeatedly claimed that the best way to avenge the conquest was by founding a republican nation. Pazos Kanki believed that liberal democratic institutions were vital

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<sup>259</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America* (New York, 1819), 19.

<sup>260</sup> Pazos Kanki, *The Letters on the United Provinces of South America* (New York, 1819).

<sup>261</sup> This use of the Inca past is similar to the ways that North American nationalists used Greek and Roman memory to define US nationalism: Peter S. Onuf and Nicholas P. Cole eds., *Thomas Jefferson, the Classical World, and Early America*, (Charlottesville: the University of Virginia Press, 2013).

tenants of any independent nation that he envisioned, and he published articles in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara advocating for a liberal-democratic nationalism.

Many of his most opinionated articles came about during the contentious meetings during the Congress of Tucuman. This congress convened in 1816, and delegates from modern day Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia met to discuss a political system to rule the newly renamed United Provinces of South America, formerly the Viceroyalty of Rio de La Plata. After the delegates appointed Juan Martin De Pueyrredon as leader of the delegation, intense debates broke out within the congress and in the press over what type of governmental structure could best govern the region and protect their separatist intentions from the Spanish crown. A few of the thirty two delegates proposed the coronation of a European monarch or a literal installation of an Inca to govern the United Provinces of South America. They saw the resonance of Inca symbolism and hoped to utilize their memory to govern much of South America.<sup>262</sup> Powerful figures like an Inca or a king, they hoped, might help to provide stability to a region of ethnic, geographic, and economic diversity.

Pazos Kanki vehemently opposed a new Inca and ridiculed the idea of a monarch in South America. Pazos Kanki took a satirical approach to condemning the idea of the restoration of a literal Inca crown by comparing it to other restorationist groups. He

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<sup>262</sup> Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y Utopia en Los Andes*, (Habana: Casa de Las Americas, 1986); Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); E. Gabrielle Kuenzli, *Acting Inca: National Belonging in Early Twentieth-Century Bolivia*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013).

recounted that “in Portugal there is a very widespread sect of men that are not crazy, but maybe somewhat extravagant, known as the Sebastianistas because to this day they await the coming of King Don Sebastian who died in 1578.”<sup>263</sup> King Sebastian, the child King of Portugal from 1554-1578, died during a series of crusades in Morocco, but a legend grew that he had escaped and would return to Portugal, reclaim the throne, and help to save Portugal from their contemporary struggles. Pazos Kanki ridiculed this idea as very imaginative, but warned his readers that “you should know that among us are those, with no less fanaticism, who promote the return of monarchs that ended their reign in 1533, announcing the return of the Incas.”<sup>264</sup> To Pazos Kanki this proposal was both laughable and highly dangerous. Pazos Kanki sought to dissuade the literal restoration of an Inca by challenging the utopic memories of the Inca Empire. Pazos Kanki respected the Incas as a powerful symbol, employed their symbolism including the Inca sun in his own newspaper, and wanted to avenge their defeat. He openly praised Incas for creating cities of “roman grandeur” and forming a society with “laws more or less just and equitable.”<sup>265</sup> However, Pazos Kanki adamantly opposed restoring an Inca monarch in South America.

Therefore, Pazos Kanki used the Incas as a trope to discuss his revolutionary platform and promote a nation based on republican government. In doing so, Pazos Kanki pointed to the divisions within the Inca empire that ultimately led to their defeat, and reminded his readers that “Atahualpa was judged before a tribunal (although incompetent and cruel) as a bastard and usurper of the throne, as the murderer of his brother Huascar

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<sup>263</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *La Cronica Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 28 September 1816.

<sup>264</sup> Pazos Kanki, *La Cronica Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 28 September 1816.

<sup>265</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America* (New York, 1819), 124.

who was stripped by Atahualpa of his legitimate right” to rule.<sup>266</sup> Pazos Kanki argued the conflict between Huascar and Atahualpa was a “violent convulsion” that “tore apart the empire, first by the civil war between the Incas, and later by the invasion of the Spanish, had not only dislocated the governmental order of Peru, but also dissolved its constitution.”<sup>267</sup> The Inca Empire was at the state of dissolution and had endemic “disorders.”<sup>268</sup> Far from a utopia, Pazos Kanki argued that the empire was flawed, divided, and collapsed not because of the Spanish but because of its own failings.

Pazos Kanki was shocked that some of the delegates of the Congress of Tucuman “wanted to found a constitution on the reputation of a false Vatican in the middle of the enlightenment of the nineteenth century.”<sup>269</sup> To Pazos Kanki, the Incas were an important standard in South American’s shared history, and he lauded their accomplishments, suggesting the example of the Incas pointed to the promise of South Americans. He even thought of them as a possible model for the nation he wanted to create as he noted that he did not contend “that the government of the Incas was free from evils. The Peruvians were essentially free; they exercised the right of self-government, and lived under rulers of their choice, and the history of Peru, even as related by the Spaniards, records no feature of systematic oppression or of wanton encroachment, by the Incas, on the rights of the people.”<sup>270</sup> Instead, Pazos Kanki proposed to model parts of the future government

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<sup>266</sup> Pazos Kanki, *La Cronica Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 28 September 1816.

<sup>267</sup> Pazos Kanki, *La Cronica Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 28 September 1816.

<sup>268</sup> Pazos Kanki, *La Cronica Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 28 September 1816.

<sup>269</sup> Pazos Kanki, *La Cronica Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 28 September 1816.

<sup>270</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1819), 250-252.



of the United Provinces of South America on elements of the Democratic-Republican principles of the era.

Despite having reservations regarding the Inca plan being discussed during the congress of Tucuman, Pazos Kanki still attempted to publicize the actives of this congress. So he translated the Declaration of Independence of South America into the indigenous languages of Quechua and Aymara to promote the idea of independence rather than the return of an Inca Monarchy.<sup>271</sup> Pazos Kanki hoped by translating and circulating news of these political events he could help to forge a national consciousness and unite much of South America into a broad federal system of government. Pazos Kanki envisioned a republican nation that could “establish and maintain that political balance which ought to exist between the people and the government.”<sup>272</sup> He thought through using the memory of the Inca and the promise of avenging the conquest, he could promote the benefits of republican institutions, and that Alto Peruvians would rally around this new political consciousness.

Writers like Pazos Kanki, although relegated to Buenos Aires, were able to effectively transport their messages far into the interior of South America during much of the war. In October of 1810, the viceroy of Peru, Jose Fernando de Abascal, mentioned the revolts unfolding in Alto Peru and was particularly concerned with the propaganda sent by the revolutionaries in Buenos Aires. The viceroy included a copy of one seditious document to give the crown “an idea of the perverse scheming of the infamous Junta in

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<sup>271</sup> “Acta de Independencia Declarada Por el Congreso de La Provincias-Unidas en Sud America” (Buenos Aires, 1816).

<sup>272</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1819) 58–59.

Buenos Ayres.”<sup>273</sup> According to the viceroy, “they had introduced [in Alto Peru] more than two-hundred copies, directed by the postal service to many groups and particular individuals.”<sup>274</sup> Chasquis, like Monteagudo, Pazos Kanki, and Mancocapac, and many unnamed revolutionaries, were spreading an alternative vision for the future by rumor, manuscript, and print around Alto Peru. In an effort to combat this flow of information, the viceroy sent out his own proclamation to condemn their seditious plot “to introduce the spirit of revolution in all of South America.”<sup>275</sup> The viceroy tried to expose revolutionaries as fraudulent and commanded “Spanish Americans: now that you see these demonstrations of treachery, and false claims with which the insurgents of the capital of Rio de la Plata try to deceive you, don’t listen, burn with disdain” these seditious papers.<sup>276</sup> Despite the viceroy’s condemnations, the contagion of revolutionary literature continued flowing around Alto Peru.

The chasquis of liberty generally made pleas for independence and offered real concessions relevant to indigenous communities. In 1813, the General Assembly of the provisional government in Buenos Aires published a decree which abolished “tribute, and also repealed the mita, the encomiendas, and the yanacozgo, and the personal service

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<sup>273</sup> Carta n° 57 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, al ministro de Estado, 22 October 1810, Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 739, N.25.

<sup>274</sup> Carta n° 57 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, al ministro de Estado, 22 October 1810, Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 739, N.25.

<sup>275</sup> “El Virey de Lima a Los Habitantes del Peru” in Carta n° 57 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, al ministro de Estado, 22 October 1810, Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 739, N.25.

<sup>276</sup> “El Virey de Lima a Los Habitantes del Peru” in Carta n° 57 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, al ministro de Estado. 22 October 1810, Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 739, N.25.

of the Indians” into Quechua, Aymara, and Guarani languages.<sup>277</sup> A few years later, in 1815, the viceroy of Peru again uncovered a newspaper from Buenos Aires that contained a proclamation made by an Alto Peruvian priest, who they had previously believed was a staunch loyalist. This proclamation was according to the viceroy, an “anathema of justice” because it openly called for support for the revolutionary government in Buenos Aires and advocated for independence.<sup>278</sup>

These messages reached numerous indigenous communities in Alto Peru. In 1816, the viceroy reported that indigenous communities were even helping to spread revolutionary messages. According to the viceroy’s report, an Indian “from the miserable post of Pandura has made himself Caudillo of insurgents” and was “publishing...in the form of a proclamation” a report that announced “the troops of Argentina were getting close.”<sup>279</sup> The viceroy’s report indicated that the Indian from Pandura put himself in charge of the communities in order to ensure the revolutions’ “triumph and the ruin of the troops of the king.”<sup>280</sup> As these examples show, there was a frequent and illicit flow of information between revolutionaries in Buenos Aires and likeminded allies in the interior

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<sup>277</sup> Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata. Asamblea General Constituyente (1813-1815) et al., *Decreto.: La Asamblea General Sanciona El Decreto Expedido Por La Junta Provisional Gubernativa De Estas Provincias En 1.o De Setiembre De 1811, Relativo Á La Extincion Del Tributo, Y Ademas Derogada La Mita, Las Encomiendas*. ([Buenos Aires, 1813), JCB, Argentina.

<sup>278</sup> Carta n° 132 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, a Pedro Cevallos, secretario de Gracia y Justicia. 6 May 1816, Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 752, N.16.

<sup>279</sup> Carta n° 148 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, a Manuel López Araujo, secretario de Hacienda. 20 May 1816, Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 752, N.20.

<sup>280</sup> Carta n° 148 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, a Manuel López Araujo, secretario de Hacienda. 20 May 1816, Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 752, N.20.

provinces of Alto Peru. Their works and their military advances into the interior were meant to spread the rebellion into all of South America and convince the nested communities of Alto Peru that their emerging United Provinces of South America was a better alternative to remaining loyal subjects of the Spanish monarchy.

### **Conclusion**

As the chasquis of liberty traversed the Viceroyalty of Rio de La Plata, these revolutionaries made an independence movement and a national political consciousness possible. Chasquis, like Pazos Kanki and numerous other unnamed messengers, physically and ideologically connected nested communities into a common cause and helped the region develop a broader political consciousness. Therefore, the birthplace of Alto Peruvian nationalism was not in any singular location, but in the chasquis' travels and in the exchanges of ideas made possible by their movement.<sup>281</sup> This flow of people and ideas across space transformed the local outbursts of unrest in 1809 into a national project that sought to avenge the Spanish conquest. By connecting their movement with the Spanish conquest of the 1500's, the chasquis of liberty depicted Spanish rule as brutal and illegitimate, and the chasquis offered to instead found a new government that was "just and equitable" like the Inca Empire. The chasquis began putting this plan into action by abolishing indigenous tribute, repealing of the mita, and offering the possibility of citizenship to indigenous communities in the new nation. Indigenous communities in Alto Peru rallied to the calls of revolution by the chasquis of liberty. As we will see in the

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<sup>281</sup> Jose Luis Roca, *Ni Con Lima ni con Buenos Aires: La Formacion de un Estado Nacional en Charcas* (La Paz: Editores Plurales, 2007); Charles W. Arnade, *The Emergence of the Republic of Bolivia* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1970); Javier Mendoza Pizarro, *La Mesa Coja: Historia de la Proclama de la Junta Tuitiva del 16 de Julio de 1809* (La Paz: Editores Plurales, 2009).

following chapters, Alto Peruvian men and women embraced this movement to avenge the conquest.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> See chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 5

### LIBERTY IN ALTO PERU: RURAL DEMOCRACY IN ALTO PERU, 1810-1817

One morning in 1812, Manuel Sánchez de Velasco —a lawyer, militia leader, and loyalist official in Poopó, Alto Peru—awoke to find a revolutionary pasquine “placed on the front door of [his] house.”<sup>283</sup> Sánchez de Velasco had led a campaign to suppress the revolutionary literature carried by the chasquis of liberty in order to stop burgeoning independence movement in Alto Peru.<sup>284</sup> His actions, however, could not subdue the revolutionary fervor in the province of Paria, which was increasingly becoming a site of military conflict. Sánchez de Velasco was incensed and frightened by the illustrated document plastered to his entryway, which depicted a caricature of the loyalist leader hanging from “a small gallows.”<sup>285</sup> Sánchez de Velasco would often think back to that brazen threat in the months that followed, as Baltazar Cárdenas —an independence leader from Alto Peru of indigenous descent—and his numerous allies captured, imprisoned, and sent him to the independence stronghold of Cochabamba, Alto Peru to await trial. Sánchez de Velasco ultimately escaped his imprisonment, but the pasquine on his door

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<sup>283</sup> Carta n° 186 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, 6 June 1819, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Audiencia de Lima, 760, no.14.

<sup>284</sup> For more on the chasquis of liberty see Chapter 3.

<sup>285</sup> Carta n° 186 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, 6 June 1819, AGI, Audiencia de Lima, 760, no.14.

foreshadowed the repeated hardships and dangers he would face while fighting against the independence armies of Alto Peru.

Following the exile of Sánchez de Velasco , Cárdenas took control of the region of Paria and founded a new political system in the area. From 1812 till 1816, revolutionaries, like Cárdenas, continued fighting for independence even as many of the chasquis of liberty, like Monteagudo and Pazos Kanki, fled to safer locations in Rio de la Plata. Cárdenas and his followers in Alto Peru organized themselves in a *republiqueta*, or a small pro-independence enclave.<sup>286</sup> Within these small enclaves, Alto Peruvians dismantled the Spanish colonial world by removing unpopular leaders, reimagining colonial hierarchies, and reclaiming communal lands. These actions addressed longstanding social demands that had plagued Alto Peruvian society for much of the colonial period. After dismantling the colonial model, revolutionaries created a new political order that enshrined communal democracy, encouraged multi-ethnic citizenship, and exported this new form of liberty into neighboring regions. To achieve this new order, they coordinated with factions of the broader independence movement, including leaders in far-away Buenos Aires.<sup>287</sup> By late 1812, revolutionaries in Alto Peru were willing this future into existence.

The actions of the republiquetas citizens reveal their vision for an independent America, and therefore this chapter contributes to current historiographical discussions on the formation of republicanism, race, and nations. From the early nation period,

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<sup>286</sup> Bartolome Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano y de la independencia argentina*, (Buenos Aires, 1887).

<sup>287</sup> Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002) 277.

historians have researched the Alto-Peruvian republicuetas and their political ideology. Early nationalist writers in both Bolivia and Argentina celebrated the republicueta's persistent support of a creole-led nationalist movement in South America.<sup>288</sup> In reaction to this nationalist narrative, more recent scholars have offered a revisionist interpretation and have argued the republicueta citizens were un-interested in creole leaders' nationalism. Instead, this new line of scholarship suggests revolutionaries were fighting for alternative political aims such as local autonomy, indigenous resistance, or economic agenda.<sup>289</sup> These works have established indigenous political history, but they have argued that it should be viewed separately from the Bolivian and Argentine national history, because the local and national agendas are depicted as clashing. Instead of treating national, class, and racial movements as distinct options, this chapter seeks to find a middle-ground to understand the political goals and motivations of largely indigenous communities.

The men and women in the republicuetas of La Laguna, Chayanta, and Ayopaya fought for an independent South America in the early nineteenth century, and they began to organize governments in Alto Peru that suited their interests. Reports from Spanish officials, letters from independence leaders, and a diary of a member of the republicueta

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<sup>288</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Letters to the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1819); Bartolomé Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano y de la independencia argentina*, (Buenos Aires, 1887); Gabriel Rene Moreno, *Últimos días coloniales en el Alto-Perú*, (Santiago, 1896).

<sup>289</sup> Tristán Platt, *Estado Boliviano Y Ayllu Andino: Tierra Y Tributo En El Norte De Potosí* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982); José Luis Roca, *Ni con Lima ni con Buenos Aires: la foramacion de un estado nacional en Charcas*, (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2007); Javier Marion, "Indios Blancos: Nascent Polities and Social Convergence in Bolivia's Ayopaya Rebellion, 1814-1821," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Fall 2006).



of Ayopaya frequently hint at the republiquetas' political ideology, and these sources reveal a glimpse into the hearts and minds of Alto Peruvian revolutionaries. During the wars for independence, Alto Peruvians were able to experiment with new political models for the future of their region. Some Alto Peruvians, like Cárdenas, envisioned a political future defined by a loose, republican confederation—called the United Provinces of South America—that allowed communal democracy to flourish at the local level in Alto Peru. Indigenous, mestizo, and creole Alto Peruvians rallied together in a cross-ethnic coalition and risked their lives to make it a reality. Through their actions, Alto Peruvian revolutionaries contributed to the political debates of the nineteenth century by developing an innovative definition of liberty that transcended the usual geographical, racial, and social barriers that defined the Age of Revolutions.

### **Baltazar Cárdenas and the Republiqueta of Chayanta**

In the early years of the independence movement, Alto Peruvians descended into a military contest over political sovereignty, and by 1812, Baltazar Cárdenas took control over the regions of Chayanta and Poopó. Cárdenas, an indigenous or mestizo man from Alto Peru, was a skilled military leader with a strong personality, and he quickly amassed a large indigenous following. A diplomat from Argentine noted that Cárdenas had the ability to “revolutionize all of Peru,” because “the Indians seem to be beginning to take part in the insurrection, now that there is a cacique called Cárdenas...of much power and influence.”<sup>290</sup> Cárdenas attracted a large native following that numbered in the thousands, and Cárdenas and his followers established a republiqueta stronghold in the region of

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<sup>290</sup> “Diputados de los insurgentes de Buenos Aires,” 13 September 1815, AGI, ESTADO, 98, N.34.

Chayanta.<sup>291</sup> After securing political control of their local community, they began to imagine a new political future and outlined the tenants of the burgeoning independence platform: attacking Spanish loyalist, establishing a representative government, and coordinating with revolutionary allies in Alto Peru and beyond. This vision for the future established local democratic communities that incorporated creole and indigenous citizens while acting in coordination with the broader independence campaign that dominated South America.

For loyalists, the rise of Cárdenas marked a dangerous departure from the colonial social order. These men had been the local representatives of Spanish authority, and they often benefited from colonial policy. Within the community of Chayanta, Marcos Guzmán represented the local face of the Spanish empire. Guzmán was a priest and vicar of the community of Sacaca. A native of Cochabamba of well-to-do parents, Guzmán attended the prestigious University of San Francisco Xavier and served “fifteen long years as the priest of Indians in the delicate province of Chayanta.”<sup>292</sup> According to Guzmán, he had kept the peace in Chayanta and had never appeared in a tribunal “for a complaint or demand filed against him.”<sup>293</sup> This proved quite the accomplishment because the region of Chayanta was known an epicenter for unrest.<sup>294</sup> Chayanta was

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<sup>291</sup> “Diputados de los insurgentes de Buenos Aires,” 13 September 1815, AGI , ESTADO,98,N.34; Bartolomé Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano y de la independencia argentina*, 208.

<sup>292</sup> Carta n° 104 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, al Secretario de Estado y Despacho Universal de Indias (Ramo de Gracia y Justicia). 20 January 1816, AGI, Lima, 754, N.7.

<sup>293</sup> Carta n° 104 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, al Secretario de Estado y Despacho Universal de Indias (Ramo de Gracia y Justicia). 20 January 1816, AGI, Lima, 754, N.7.

<sup>294</sup> Tristán Platt, *Estado Boliviano Y Ayllu Andino: Tierra Y Tributo En El Norte De Potosí* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982).

home to numerous Aymara indigenous communities with relatively intact ayllu structures, and the region was a large sending community for the exploitative mita labor draft. In the late colonial period, numerous communities in Chayanta had protested indigenous exploitation, demanded for the abolition of the mita, and clamored for a reduction or elimination of tributary payments.<sup>295</sup> In this difficult setting, Guzmán had continued collecting tribute and maintained relative peace in the province, but he had also alienated some of his constituents with his dogmatic support of Spanish policy.

Despite this long track record of effective service, Guzmán's life and the region of Chayanta faced new challenges in the second decade of the nineteenth century due to the "revolution that South America has suffered and suffers to this day."<sup>296</sup> Guzmán noted the changes he witnessed during "calamitous epoch." However, Guzmán ardently fought against the burgeoning independence movement that had swept over the viceroyalty of Rio de La Plata and was gaining traction in his province. According to Guzmán, "I have distinguished myself from the [revolutions'] beginning by preaching and writing against the system of liberty and independence."<sup>297</sup> Guzmán continued "I have contested with constant character all their written documents and their wicked form of government" by

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<sup>295</sup> Tristán Platt, *Estado Boliviano Y Ayllu Andino: Tierra Y Tributo En El Norte De Potosí* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982); Sergio Serulnikov, *Subverting Colonial Authority: Challenges to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth-Century Southern Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2003); Tristan Platt, "Simon Bolivar, the Sun of Justice and the Amerindian Virgin: Andean Conceptions of the Patria in Nineteenth-Century Potosi," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25, no. 1 (February 1, 1993): 159–85.

<sup>296</sup> Carta n° 104 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, al Secretario de Estado y Despacho Universal de Indias (Ramo de Gracia y Justicia), 20 January 1816, AGI, LIMA, 754, N.7.

<sup>297</sup> Carta n° 104 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, al Secretario de Estado y Despacho Universal de Indias (Ramo de Gracia y Justicia), 20 January 1816, AGI, LIMA, 754, N.7.

dictating proclamations, and he tried to purge his “region of [revolutionary] seducers.”<sup>298</sup>

The staunch loyalist Guzmán dedicated himself to defending Ferdinand VII and Spanish sovereignty in Alto Peru.

In 1811, Guzmán condemned the emerging revolutionary and their platform before a large crowd in Oruro, Alto Peru. Guzmán warned his audience that “the new government of Rio de la Plata is an antimonarchy government, a government that has been erected with the principal object to banish the sovereignty of Spain and the catholic religion....and supplant it with a democratic one.” Guzmán ridiculed this “barbarous” platform as the “chimerical hope of liberty and independence” and went on to argue that the revolutionaries’ arguments were “empty of any good meaning, they are not adoptable except by libertines.” He warned his listeners that the revolutionaries’ ideas were “no more than some flattering words to deceive those who live without morals, without religion, and with sentiments of honesty.”<sup>299</sup> Guzmán saw the present climate as a clear choice between the proven model of Spanish monarchism and radical, unproven government that gave sovereignty to Americans.

Unfortunately for Guzmán, many of his parish members did not see the two political options in the same light. The indigenous citizens of Chayanta were frustrated with their lack of ability to shape their own political futures as Spanish subjects. His

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<sup>298</sup> Carta n° 104 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, al Secretario de Estado y Despacho Universal de Indias (Ramo de Gracia y Justicia), 20 January 1816, AGI, LIMA, 754, N.7.

<sup>299</sup> Marcos Guzman, *Discurso en Celebridad del triunfo que la fidelísima villa de Oruro Alcanzo contra el exercito revolucionario invasor de Cochabamba, el 16 de Noviembre del presente año de 1811. El D.D. Marcos Guzman, cura y vicario del beneficio de Sacaca, lo pronuncio en la Iglesia Matriz de la misma villa, el 30 de dicho mes y ano. ; Lo publican sus amigos de Arequipa.* (Lima, 1813), John Carter Brown Library.

parish members had clamored for local political changes for decades, and they welcomed the chance to follow a new political system. In the late colonial period, Tomas Katari—an indigenous man from Chayanta—led a political and military campaign against Spanish exploitation and made his region one of the three major epicenters of indigenous unrest during the age of Andean insurrection, 1780-1783. As the wars for independence broke out, indigenous communities in Chayanta began to look for new leaders to step forward during the chaos and uncertainty that followed the Napoleonic invasions. Perhaps Chayanta communities met in 1811 and elected Cárdenas to represent their political interest.

In the neighboring republiqueta in Ayopaya, the wars for independence provided opportunities for oppressed castas to rise above colonial restrictions of ethnicity and class. Leadership in this republiqueta was determined by democratic elections. According to the revolutionary drummer and soldier Jose Antonio Vargas, when the republiqueta met, they held an election “to name a commander and chief by absolute plurality of votes.”<sup>300</sup> The elections were legitimated and maintained to provide each member of the republiqueta a say in the election. During one such election, “each person [made] their vote in secret and by written vote. The Indians that do not write, can dictate a vote secretly with someone that each Indian trusts.”<sup>301</sup> Indigenous communities had not held the right to vote during the colonial period, and would not have consistent access to

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<sup>300</sup> José Santos Vargas, *Diario de un comandante de la independencia americana, 1814-1825*, transcription by Gunnar Mendoza, (México City: Siglo veintiuno editores, S.A. 1982), 154.

<sup>301</sup> Vargas, *Diario de un comandante de la independencia americana, 1814-1825*, (México City: Siglo veintiuno editores, S.A. 1982) 274.

voting rights well into the nineteenth century.<sup>302</sup> This system of elections during the wars for independence gave indigenous a direct means of shaping the political and military campaigns that they were involved in and shows the flourishing of opportunities created in times of revolution. Within this new political setting, and support from indigenous communities, Cárdenas rose to power in Chayanta, and his armies began to wage his campaign to rid his region of oppressive Spanish loyalists. Throughout Alto Peru, revolutionaries were able to reclaim their local political sovereignty and ensure communal democracy was the norm again in the region.

Guzmán never adapted to this new political setting, and he maintained his staunchly loyalist stance within his community and tried to get his parish to continue offering financial and other support to the Spanish crown. Guzmán claimed that he “had facilitated within my congregation the contribution of tribute and donation” even though the Spanish metropole was discussing the abolition of tribute in Cadiz in 1811.<sup>303</sup> In effect, he tried to establish a voluntary tribute, although he acknowledged his role in compelling his parish to pay to finance the continuation of Spanish colonialism and the loyalist armies. Guzmán employed every skill in his arsenal to combat the independence movement brought into his province by revolutionary chasquis of liberty and continued his attempts to maintain the general peace in the area. These actions enraged his local followers, who began to look for a way to rid their community of Guzmán and Spanish influence.

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<sup>302</sup> Barragan

<sup>303</sup> Carta n° 104 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, al Secretario de Estado y Despacho Universal de Indias (Ramo de Gracia y Justicia), 20 January 1816, AGI, LIMA, 754, N.7.

The Chayanta priest Guzmán and his staunch loyalism soon became the target of Cárdenas and his followers. Guzmán reported suffering “arduous emigrations, frequent robberies of my assets, repeated plunders of my benefits and income” along with “personal imprisonment, and a hostile persecution that the rebels have declared against me, my rights, and my actions.”<sup>304</sup> These sufferings reached their apex in July 1812, when Cárdenas, who Guzmán described as “the most bloodthirsty caudillo” of “the present revolution” reached Sacaca.<sup>305</sup> Guzmán recalled “this monster [Cárdenas]...caught me by surprise in my parish house in Sacaca, escorted me in an armed guard to Buenos Aires.”<sup>306</sup> Cárdenas accused Guzmán of being “guilty of treason” against the insurgent patria of the United Provinces of South America and sent him for trial in the independent regions south of Tucuman.<sup>307</sup>

The actions of Cárdenas and his followers provide numerous clues about the ideology and goals of his revolutionary republicueta in Chayanta. Guzmán was a clear target for Cárdenas’ revolutionary forces because of his outspoken loyalism. Guzmán himself believed he was targeted “for having been faithful to my King Senor Don Fernando VII (Good bless him) and for having defended with a constant zeal his

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<sup>304</sup> Carta n° 104 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, al Secretario de Estado y Despacho Universal de Indias (Ramo de Gracia y Justicia), 20 January 1816, LIMA,754,N.7

<sup>305</sup> Carta n° 104 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, al Secretario de Estado y Despacho Universal de Indias (Ramo de Gracia y Justicia), 20 January 1816, AGI, LIMA,754,N.7

<sup>306</sup> Carta n° 104 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, al Secretario de Estado y Despacho Universal de Indias (Ramo de Gracia y Justicia), 20 January 1816, AGI, LIMA,754,N.7

<sup>307</sup> Carta n° 104 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, al Secretario de Estado y Despacho Universal de Indias (Ramo de Gracia y Justicia), 20 January 1816, AGI, LIMA, 754, N.7

Augustin rights.”<sup>308</sup> While his loyalist ideology played a part in his persecution, Guzmán’s continued collection of tribute and ecclesiastical payments into 1812 also would have alienated the indigenous majority of Chayanta. In the late colonial period and the beginning of the wars for independence, indigenous figures like the Canon Mancocapac had made clear that the end of tribute payment was part of their platform, and the revolutionary governments in Buenos Aires had already sent proclamations with the chasquis of liberty banning tribute.<sup>309</sup> Without a rightful king or clear governmental structure in place, indigenous communities questioned the legality of tribute payment and what purpose they served. So, Guzmán’s collection of tribute also could have upset the delicate political equilibrium in Chayanta.

Cárdenas had numerous reasons to target Guzmán, but his choice of punishment for the Chayanta priest illustrates how the Chayanta republiceta viewed their campaign. Despite being labeled “bloodthirsty” and a “monster,” Cárdenas and his followers’ actions show a restrained and measured punishment against a seemingly abusive priest. The revolutionaries sacked Guzmán’s house and stole assets from the priest in retaliation to the unjust tribute payments that Guzmán repeatedly collected into 1812. Beyond the robbery and arrest in his house, Cárdenas did not inflict any physical punishment or violence to the priest. Instead, Cárdenas charged him with treason, and sent him under armed guard along the path to Buenos Aires for trial and punishment. By choosing to send Guzmán to Buenos Aires, Cárdenas hints at his understanding of the independence

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<sup>308</sup> Carta n° 104 del virrey José Fernando de Abascal, Marqués de la Concordia, al Secretario de Estado y Despacho Universal de Indias (Ramo de Gracia y Justicia). 20 January 1816, AGI, LIMA, 754, N.7

<sup>309</sup> See chapters 1 and 3.



movement and connects the local actions of indigenous communities in Chayanta to the broader independence armies in Buenos Aires .<sup>310</sup>

Cárdenas and his followers clearly had local concerns in mind when they targeted Guzmán, as Guzmán had gone against the wishes of his parish. Cárdenas and his followers, however, chose to hand over jurisdiction of the loyalist priest to their allies in far-away Buenos Aires, a distance of over 1620 miles away. They saw their movement as part of a much larger anti-colonial rebellion that addressed local goals, like the ouster of an abusive priest and the rejection of tribute payment, but within a broader political movement that transcended the physical limits of Chayanta. If Cárdenas hoped to achieve local autonomy for Chayanta, he could have dealt with Guzmán in the parish of Sacaca. Cárdenas “surprised” Guzmán in his house, and the military leader could have carried out “communal justice” or “vigilante violence” within the parish as was common practice in the Andes.<sup>311</sup> Instead, Cárdenas placed his faith in his allies in Buenos Aires to punish Guzmán for his community abuses and royalism. Politically, Cárdenas determined his community’s goals were entwined with those of revolutionaries throughout South America, and he worked in tandem with fellow revolutionaries to liberate the United Provinces of South America.

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<sup>310</sup> Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001); Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); Forrest Hylton, Sinclair Thomson, and Adolfo Gilly, *Revolutionary Horizons: Past and Present in Bolivian Politics* (London; New York: Verso, 2007); Platt, Tristán Platt, *Estado Boliviano Y Ayllu Andino: Tierra Y Tributo En El Norte De Potosí* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982).

<sup>311</sup> Daniel M. Goldstein, *The Spectacular City: Violence and Performance in Urban Bolivia*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

Along this journey, however, Guzmán became sick, and the imprisoned priest avoided trial in Buenos Aires. Guzmán recalled that “thanks to an act of Divine providence I was left along an abandoned path” and he avoided his date in court. Cárdenas’s faith in revolutionary armies in Buenos Aires proved to be misplaced as his prisoner was able to make his way back to Alto Peru, but Guzmán would not return to his community in Chayanta. He instead went to the urban centers that were controlled by Loyalist in 1812 as an exile in search of a steady and safer vocation. The actions of Cárdenas and his followers rid their community of the Spanish official and provided them the opportunity to found a new era of communal democracy. By working within the broader independence process, they were able to elect a new leader, to overturn the colonial hierarchy, and to end exploitative colonial practices like tribute. However, the failure of their allies in Buenos Aires to discipline Guzmán reveals tensions in the broader effort to enact a revolution across a mass territory.

Having secured their local community, Cárdenas and his followers tried to expand their movement into neighboring provinces and started to expel other officials like Guzmán. Cárdenas rallied his allies in his own province and recruited new allies from outside his region. Perhaps, he used indigenous means to organize his political meetings. In the neighboring province of Sicasica the flow of information facilitated by the chasquis of liberty and other local chasquis helped with the growth of a revolutionary consciousness. According to the drummer Vargas, indigenous messengers played “their horns or pututos in various points (these instruments are the horns of bulls, like those that

the postal carries carry when delivering messages.)”<sup>312</sup> Using this traditional Andean method of communication, the Ayopaya republiqueta was able to forge a revolutionary consciousness that transcended the local ayllu affiliation and created a multiethnic community defined by communal democracy at the local level.<sup>313</sup> Cárdenas likely used a similar system and aroused followers to invade the neighboring province of Paria.

As he entered Paria, Cárdenas found many new followers and new targets. Shortly after invading the area, Cárdenas encountered Sánchez de Velasco who was still shaken by the pasquine he found on his door in 1812. Sánchez de Velasco, who served in the Real Audiencia of La Plata, was a militia leader for a small unit of loyalist forces in Paria during the wars for independence. As a military leader, Sánchez de Velasco governed the community of Poopó where he “actively and rapidly began the collection of tribute now made voluntary by the decree of the Courts.”<sup>314</sup> Like Guzmán in Chayanta, Sánchez de Velasco coerced indigenous communities to continue paying tribute after it was legally abolished by the Cortes of Cadiz.

Sánchez de Velasco collected a large amount of tribute from indigenous communities in the area in order to financially support the weakened Spanish colonialism and their army. Spanish officials reported that that the Sánchez de Velasco handed over a donation of 673 pesos delivered to him by “the cacique of Peñas, to cover the expenses

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<sup>312</sup> Vargas, *Diario de un comandante de la independencia americana, 1814-1821*, (México City: Siglo veintiuno editores, 1982), 188.

<sup>313</sup> Javier Marion, “Indios Blancos: Nascent Polities and Social Convergence in Bolivia's Ayopaya Rebellion, 1814-1821,” *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Fall 2006).

<sup>314</sup> Carta no 186 del virrey Joaquin de la Pezuela a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, 25 June 1819, AGI, Lima, 760, no.14.

that the military troops of the king demand.”<sup>315</sup> In total, Velasco was able to accumulate a reported donation of 1000 pesos from indigenous groups in Paria. However, Sánchez de Velasco’s persistent collection of tribute made him exceptionally unpopular. According to Spanish reports, “when, then, the tribute collection was activated....the revolution of the Indians of Sicasica, Corque, and Chayanta began, and they attempted to introduce the fire of discord in the party of Paria.”<sup>316</sup> Sánchez de Velasco collected tribute and inspired rancor by taking money from indigenous communities and giving it to the loyalist war effort.

Cárdenas entered Paria in 1812 and targeted representatives of Spanish authority, including Sánchez de Velasco. The loyalist Sánchez de Velasco reported “the caudillo Baltazar Cárdenas was my first tyrant” who persecuted him for his loyalist stance and his collection of tribute.<sup>317</sup> Eventually, Sánchez de Velasco was “made prisoner...by the Caudillo Cárdenas,” and the revolutionary movement “plundered [Sánchez de Velasco’s] interests and part of [the interests] of the King.” Following the sacking of Sánchez de Velasco’s property and the tribute he had been “voluntarily” collecting, Cárdenas imprisoned Sánchez de Velasco and handed him over to a couple neighboring caudillos located in Cochabamba, which was a rebel stronghold to the north of Cárdenas’ home territory of Chayanta.<sup>318</sup> Cárdenas again chose to expel a political and military opponent

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<sup>315</sup> Carta n° 186 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, 25 June 1819, AGI, Lima, 760, no.14.

<sup>316</sup> Carta n° 186 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, 25 June 1819, AGI, Lima, 760, N.14.

<sup>317</sup> Carta n° 186 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, 25 June 1819, AGI, Lima, 760, N.14.

<sup>318</sup> Carta n° 186 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, 25 June 1819, AGI, Lima, 760, N.14.

instead of putting Sánchez de Velasco on trial within the community. While in Cochabamba, Sánchez de Velasco reported “the tyranny of Cárdenas” along with “the despotism of Esteban Arce, and the oppression of Mariano Antezana,” two other revolutionary leaders in Alto Peru, “successively sentenced me to death, defiled me with insults, and held me in irons and a prison cell.”<sup>319</sup> Under the imprisonment of these Alto Peruvian caudillos, Velasco remained for a number of months but avoided execution.

The experience of Sánchez de Velasco has a number of parallels to Cárdenas’ other victim Marcos Guzmán. Like Guzmán, Sánchez de Velasco was targeted for remaining loyal to Spanish crown and the Courts of Cadiz during Napoleon’s Iberian invasion. Sánchez de Velasco, too, was very unpopular in his community for his active collection of “voluntary” tribute from indigenous groups. Cárdenas’ actions in both cases suggest that he was working unison with fellow pro-independence caudillos as he handed over Sánchez de Velasco to his allies, Arce and Antezana. Likewise, he entrusted Guzmán’s punishment to independence leaders in Buenos Aires. Cárdenas saw the neighboring communities of Cochabamba had the same interest as the republiqueta citizens of Paria and Chayanta.

While Velasco’s physical journey was not as drastic as Guzmán’s exile to Buenos Aires, the trip to Cochabamba covered a vast territory and marked an important shift in regional culture in Alto Peru. Cárdenas’ stronghold in Chayanta and the surrounding area was known as an Aymara region with a distinct language, culture, and history of mita

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<sup>319</sup> Carta n° 186 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, secretario de Gracia y Justicia. 25 June 1819, AGI, Lima, 760, N.14.

labor and retention of traditional communal living.<sup>320</sup> Velasco's ultimate imprisonment location, Cochabamba, had a vastly different history. Cochabamba was a region with a more temperate climate and numerous expansive valleys. The Cochabamba region was known for agrarian production, a vast system of haciendas, and a much larger mestizo population.<sup>321</sup> Despite these multiple, nested cultures, the wars for independence seem to have provided the opportunity for expanding trans-regional identity and political consciousness. The followers of Cárdenas and his allies in Cochabamba were unified by an ideology guided by the goals of founding political independence, ensuring the safety of communal democracy, and eliminating of social abuses like forced tribute. This political agenda tied most of South America into one large anti-colonial confederation, which helped transcend differences of race and region that had prevented the growth of a revolutionary movement in the past.

Ultimately, Cárdenas and his fellow caudillos did not execute Velasco, and the loyalist escaped incarceration in late 1812. At this time the invading independence armies from Buenos Aires were losing their first Alto Peruvian campaign and the loyalist forces of General Goyeneche were able to retake parts of Alto Peru.<sup>322</sup> In these military campaigns, the loyalist official Goyeneche was able to re-take Cochabamba, and liberate Velasco. According to Velasco, "divine providence saved me from the dangers, and risks of death, and the arms of the King granted me liberty to serve the cause another time."<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Tristán Platt, *Estado Boliviano Y Ayllu Andino: Tierra Y Tributo En El Norte De Potosí* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982).

<sup>321</sup> Brooke Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550-1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

<sup>322</sup> See chapter one for more on Goyeneche.

<sup>323</sup> Carta n° 186 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, secretario de Gracia y Justicia, 25 June 1819, AGI, Lima, 760, N.14.

After “the province of Cochabamba was subjugated” by the loyalists, Velasco briefly returned to Poopó before Spanish officials entrusted him with a new government commission in the region of Tomina, which remained in insurrection.

### **Padilla and Azurduy: the Republiqueta of La Laguna**

In Tomina, Sánchez de Velasco continued his service to the King and came under the persecution of another revolutionary Republiqueta led by Manuel Ascencio Padilla. Sánchez de Velasco served in a vastly different social world in Tomina than the one he left in the parish of Poopó. While Poopó sat between the important mining centers of Potosi and Oruro, Tomina was on the frontier of Alto Peru. To the west, Tomina bordered the important colonial administrative city of Chuquisaca, but to its east lay Santa Cruz de La Sierra, a sparsely populated edge of Spanish empire. Poopó had a large population of Aymara communities with a long history of forced mine work in the mita. Tomina instead had a large population of indigenous communities that were of Quechua descent, and the region’s economy was largely based on haciendas and agricultural labor. Tomina was a site of frequent conflicts between Spanish official and indigenous communities of Chiriguanos who were less integrated into the Spanish colonial world. Despite these vast cultural and social differences, Velasco’s approach to governance and ultimately the reaction of his new constituents and his ultimate fate mirrored his experience with the republiqueta of Chayanta.

When Velasco arrived in Tomina, the province remained in the control of Padilla and the followers in the republiqueta of La Laguna. Padilla was a creole born in Chayanta in 1774. As many Alto Peruvians, He had long supported the Spanish crown

and served in Spanish militias. Following his Spanish military service, Padilla attended the University of San Francisco Xavier. There would have read the revolutionary literature assigned by professors, like Victoriano Villava, and he would have met future revolutionaries, like Bernardo Monteagudo. When Padilla left the university in 1805, he married the mestiza Juana Azurduy. Like many Alto Peruvians, Padilla exchanged his political allegiance by the outbreak of the wars for independence with the possibility of a new and better future hinted at by the chasquis of liberty. He began fighting against the Spanish armies of Peru in a republiceta that controlled a broad region that included parts of Yampares and Tomina. Padilla took a position of power in the republiceta and attracted a large, multi-ethnic coalition that included indigenous and creole soldiers who held sovereignty over the region from 1810 to 1816.<sup>324</sup>

Sánchez de Velasco recalled that Tomina was “still in a state of insurrection” in 1813, and he lamented that he was still expected to govern the region “without other arms” until the royal army of Peru arrived. Spanish officials had sent instructions to “conserve the peace and tranquility” in Tomina, and they cautioned Sánchez de Velasco to use “prudence...[to] govern” the area.<sup>325</sup> He followed orders, to a degree, and delayed collecting tribute when he first arrived, but after a loyalist army arrived, Sánchez de Velasco began a forced collection of tribute. In addition to the typical tribute payments, he demanded the province contribute “supplies, mules, and horses to the [royal] army” which he was able to supply in the “short time” of little more than a month. While

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<sup>324</sup> Norberto Benjamín Torres, *Manuel Ascencio Padilla, 1774-1816: una biografía documentada*, (Sucre: Ciencia Editores, 2015).

<sup>325</sup> Carta n° 186 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, secretario de Gracia y Justicia, 25 June 1819, AGI, Lima, 760, N.14.



indigenous had long paid tribute to the crown, these additional tributes to fund the royalist armies alienated some communities of Tomina, including the small parish of Pomabamba which did not actively comply with Velasco's demands.<sup>326</sup> Sánchez de Velasco's demands put additional economic strains on his community, and they eroded any affinity for Spanish forces that existed in the region.

Angered by the lackluster compliance, Sánchez de Velasco began to investigate his province, and he learned more about Padilla and his alternative vision for Tomina. As Sánchez de Velasco waited for the "ungrateful Pomabambinos to comply to [his] equitable orders," he heard "the rumor of the seduction of Padilla" who he believed was organizing a plot to rid Tomina of Spanish rule. Velasco rushed to stop "the flight of the inquietude," but he fell prisoner to the republiqueta and its leader Padilla. Following his arrest, Padilla transported Velasco along the road to Buenos Aires where he was held in one of the Spanish missions and sentenced to death by the Caudillo Warnes, a close ally of Padilla who was in constant communication with the revolutionary forces of the United Provinces of South America.<sup>327</sup>

Sánchez de Velasco's second experience of imprisonment reveals that the republiquetas had established relationships that transcended the local region, and this suggests a degree of ideological similarity between the republiquetas. Sánchez de Velasco, the outspoken loyalist and tribute collector, was a consistent target of multiple pro-independence figures even after traveling to regions with markedly different

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<sup>326</sup> Carta n° 186 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, secretario de Gracia y Justicia. 25 June 1816, AGI, Lima, 760, N.14.

<sup>327</sup> Carta n° 8 del virrey José de la Serna a Felipe Benicio Navarro, secretario de Gracia y Justicia, 10 September 1822, AGI, Lima, 762, N.14.

histories. In both his arrests in Paria and Tomina, he was targeted for his outspoken loyalism and his forced tax collection. In Tomina, Velasco's tax collection and forced collection of goods and animals alienated communities on the edge of empire that lacked significant silver revenue. In both cases the republicquets seemed to have a script to deal with royalist enemies. In neither case did the communities take the punishment into their own hands. The leaders, instead, chose to ensure the just punishment of their prisoners to allies in the liberated portions of Rio de la Plata. Repuliqueta leaders found that they could address the issues that concerned their local communities by working within the burgeoning revolutionary project that was creating the United Provinces of South America, and they chose to coordinate with revolutionaries from Alto Peru and Buenos Aires because they believed the regions had similar goals.

Fighting in a broad confederation with groups from Buenos Aires allowed for the individual communities to determine their own leaders and establish a vibrant culture of communal democracy at the ground level. In the case of Tomina, Padilla and his followers were able to oust poor leaders like Sánchez de Velasco . But more broadly, revolutionaries established a democratic culture that allowed Alto Peruvians to transcend the limiting social norms of race, class, and gender that dominated the late colonial period.<sup>328</sup> While loyalists hoped to preserve the colonial order, and a social hierarchy that privileged Spanish ancestry, revolutionaries envisioned a more egalitarian and democratic future that allowed people of merit the ability to rise to positions of leadership. At the

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<sup>328</sup> Javier Marion, "Indios Blancos: Nascent Politics and Social Convergence in Bolivia's Ayopaya Rebellion, 1814-1821," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Fall 2006).

local level, the Andes had a long tradition of “communal” or “Andean democracy.”<sup>329</sup>

During the South American independence wars, however, revolutionaries hoped to export this more egalitarian model to the entire continent and beyond.<sup>330</sup>

Alto Peruvians were able to join and participate in Padilla’s republicueta in Alto Peru, and they were able to improve their social standing by breaking with the Spanish colonial model. In Padilla’s republicueta, a young indigenous man named Juan Wallparrimachi joined the commune to fight from 1811 until his death in 1814.

Wallparrimachi was orphaned at a young age, and Padilla, the upper-class creole, took charge of his care. Wallparrimachi was educated by the caciques of the Chayanta region, and he joined the wars for independence after they broke out.<sup>331</sup> While fighting with Padilla, Wallparrimari wrote numerous lyrical poems that followed the organization of the Quechan literature traditions. These poems dealt with topics of his lost love, who was sent away to Arequipa to join a convent, the natural environment, and other issues that concerned him.<sup>332</sup> Within the republicueta, Wallparrimari was still able to assert his Quechan identity, using indigenous language and covering themes he thought were important, even while fighting alongside creoles like Padilla and in coordination with rebels in Buenos Aires. Instead of a creole movement, Padilla’s enclave was quite multi-

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<sup>329</sup> Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule*, (Madision: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

<sup>330</sup> This chapter only discusses the South American continent, but I will continue this argument in Chapter 5.

<sup>331</sup> Silvia M. Nagy, “Juan Wallparrimachi, el poeta de la ausencia,” *Revista Signos: Estudios de Lengua y Literatura* 41 (1994), 7-33; Julio E. Noriega, “Wallparrimachi: transición y problematización en la poesía Quechua,” *Revista de Critica Literaria Latinoamericana* 33 (1991), 209-225.

<sup>332</sup> Silvia M. Nagy, “Juan Wallparrimachi, el poeta de la ausencia,” *Revista Signos: Estudios de Lengua y Literatura* 41 (1994), 7-33.

ethnic, and the republiqueta was able to create their own cultural expressions that privileged the Quechan lyrical tradition.

The soldier, drummer, and chronicler of the wars for independence Jose Antonio Vargas had a similar experience in Sicasca. Born in 1796 in the mining center of Oruro, Vargas was the son of Blas Marino Vargas, a local scribe for the Spanish courts. Vargas' father fought against the indigenous rebellions of the 1780s where he acted as an "instrument of pacification" and utilized his language skills because he had "knowledge of the two languages, Aymara and Quechua."<sup>333</sup> Vargas's father was likely a mestizo and his mother was also probably of indigenous descent. Throughout his journal, the revolutionary drummer Vargas always represented himself as a creole, but early national census records recorded Vargas as indigenous.<sup>334</sup> Despite his ambiguous racial status, Vargas reported that he had always taken a firm stance against the Spanish and against monarchism. Vargas recalled "I have always been for the party against the Spanish Monarch."<sup>335</sup> His anti-monarch stance arose while he was a young student and heard political rumors suggesting that it was time to sever political ties from Spain.

When the wars broke out in 1809 and 1810, Vargas was still too young to take active part in the rebellion, but by 1814 Vargas joined the local republiqueta of Ayopaya and served under the command of a number of local caudillos. According to Vargas, the republiqueta was loosely organized and created its own power hierarchies that reflected

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<sup>333</sup> "Blas Mariano de Vargas. Grados. Sueldos," 1790, Archivo General de Simancas, SGU, LEG, 6804, 26.

<sup>334</sup> Javier Marion, "Indios Blancos: Nascent Politics and Social Convergence in Bolivia's Ayopaya Rebellion, 1814-1821," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Fall 2006).

<sup>335</sup> Vargas, *Diario de un comandante de la independencia americana, 1814-1825*, (México City: Siglo veintiuno editores, S.A. 1982) 44.

ability and respect in within the organization. Within the republiqueta of Ayopaya, Vargas served under revolutionaries from Alto Peru and Buenos Aires. He served within an integrated army of indigenous and creole soldiers, and often mentioned indigenous languages and customs dominating interactions. In both cases, Vargas and Wallparrimari enjoyed the loose affiliation between like-minded revolutionaries. Revolutionaries organized the republiquetas and paved the way for a multi-ethnic federalist political arrangement that created a broad revolutionary union, while allowing for local democratic control of their own community.

Indigenous soldiers made up the majority of the republiqueta troops, and they played key roles in the military successes or failures of the region. Following the Tupac Amaru II rebellion, the Spanish prohibited indigenous communities from serving in the military or carrying arms.<sup>336</sup> Independence forces, however, opened their ranks to indigenous soldiers. According to Padilla, his indigenous followers far outnumbered his creole and mestizo followers. These soldiers did not serve in a strictly auxiliary role but were integrated and often were the decisive elements in the success of Padilla's military campaigns. For example, while under attack in 1816, Padilla recalled that one of his commanders was stationed in the small community of Tarabuco with a large group of indigenous soldiers. Padilla reported, he had "30 infantry men and all the natives of that parish." This battalion with "bold energy, love, and intrepidity for the sacred cause of the patria, looked with disregard to their lives in order to crush the intruding enemies, and

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<sup>336</sup> Tupac Amaru II rebellion is covered in Chapter one, but it is the largest indigenous rebellion in Latin American history.

intercept their correspondence.”<sup>337</sup> The residents of Tarabuco and Padilla’s allies in Tomina were able to slow the first invasion of loyalist into their republiqueta with guerilla warfare tactics. Because of this valuable contribution, Padilla’s forces were able to rally and defeat the loyalist invasion, and they forced their enemies to retreat “to the city of Chuquisaca. Unfortunately, [the retreating general] was able to take “many mules, horses, and winnings, belonging to the neighbors of my province.”<sup>338</sup>

Enraged by this defeat, the loyalist commander Jose Santos de Las Herras sent another coronel “with the order to put an end to those natives” that “daringly” had defeated the previous invasion. Padilla recalled that without fear of firearms “the valiant naturals” fought the next round of insurgents, and “with the strength of the most unheard-of valor,” they defeated the loyalist completely. According to Padilla, his indigenous followers were key to the victory as “they had precipitated with so much energy and courage in the capture of these enemies.” In the fighting the natives of the republiqueta were able to kill 13 officials among them the commander Herrera. Padilla wrote to the far-away General Belgrano and the other officials in Buenos Aires, and he hoped they would recognize soldiers would be distinguished for their valiant service to the revolution. Padilla realized that the victory within their community had significance beyond it as it was a major defeat against royalist army that was attempting to retake control over all of the Spanish Americas. So, he sent a messenger to deliver the news of victory to his allies in Buenos Aires.

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<sup>337</sup> “Parte de Manuel Ascencio Padilla,” *Gazeta de Buenos Ayres*, 17 August 1816, John Carter Brown Library.

<sup>338</sup> “Parte de Manuel Ascencio Padilla,” *Gazeta de Buenos Ayres*, 17 August 1816, John Carter Brown Library.

By fighting with Padilla, indigenous groups were able to protect their own territory and contribute in the political and military campaign that dominated their era. The armies of Padilla were integrated, which offered a drastic contrast to colonial society that placed indigenous groups within a completely separate republic, a republic of Indians.<sup>339</sup> Further, during the wars for independence, concerns about race did not cloud Padilla's view of his soldiers. Rather, Padilla singled out the actions and bravery of the indigenous soldiers of the town of Tarabuco who he recommended be honored by the revolutionary government in Buenos Aires. Padilla and his *republicueta* had created a new world where indigenous communities transcended their normal social position and claimed new places in the political and military campaigns to end Spanish colonialism. This was something residents in Tarabuco were willing to fight and die for.<sup>340</sup>

The communication between Padilla in Tomina and the Argentines in Buenos Aires also shows that the soldiers saw their actions as part of a much bigger cause and not strictly defense of communal autonomy. Like his ally Cárdenas in Chayanta, Padilla expanded his sovereignty into neighboring communities in Alto Peru. At their apex, Padilla's military attacks extended into the urban centers, like Chuquisaca, which were over 50 miles from the rural community.<sup>341</sup> The symbolic and strategic assault on Chuquisaca, a well-protected city and royalist stronghold, frightened Spanish forces because they revealed Padilla's ultimate aims. Padilla and his forces wanted to rid South

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<sup>339</sup> This is covered in Chapter 1, but it is a separate legal and political category that segregated indigenous groups from Spanish, African, and mestizo Latin Americans.

<sup>340</sup> "Parte de Manuel Ascencio Padilla," *Gazeta de Buenos Ayres*, 17 August 1816, John Carter Brown Library.

<sup>341</sup> Carta n° 340 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela a José Imaz Altolaquirre, secretario de Hacienda, 8 February 1819, AGI, Lima, 761, N.9.

America of Spanish leadership and create a new world in their image: one that allowed creoles and indigenous citizens to shape their political future.

Padilla's wife, Juana Azurduy, like other Alto Peruvians, saw a meteoric rise in social position thanks to the disruptions caused by the wars for independence in Alto Peru. The now nearly mythical Azurduy, grew up as a mestiza woman in the provinces of Yampares and Tomina. Azurduy spent some time training to be a nun in a local convent before meeting and marrying Padilla. The pair settled down and had a number of children in Yampares during the late colonial period. After the wars for independence erupted, she too joined the rebellion in 1809 and took an active part in the republicueta as Padilla's confidant and an active military combatant in the numerous battles fought in Tomina.

In 1816, Padilla outlined the important role his wife played in a series of conflicts between his republicueta and loyalist forces. With his followers scattered around Tomina, and an important ally gone to Santa Cruz, Padilla caught word that "700 men and a cavalry left the city of Chuquisaca with the object to annihilate the troops that compose my division."<sup>342</sup> Padilla split his forces and left Azurduy in the community of Villar in charge of "30 infantry men and 200 natives with all armed."<sup>343</sup> When Azurduy and her followers met the invading troops, Azurduy's forces "completely repelled the loyalist forces," and the republicueta took an important strategic site as a result of the defeat.

These actions so impressed the Argentine general Manuel Belgrano that he recommended the "Amazon Doña Juana Azurduy" be nominated for distinction of

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<sup>342</sup> "Parte de Manuel Ascencio Padilla," *Gazeta de Buenos Ayres*, 17 August 1816, John Carter Brown Library

<sup>343</sup> I have struggled with the best way to translate this phrase. It is vague and he didn't provide much context. I cannot tell if he claims all the armies are armed, or they have all types of weapons. "naturales con todo arma"



military service by the revolutionary government in Buenos Aires.<sup>344</sup> Azurduy's actions and the respect of her contributions by Padilla and the Argentine general reveal the possibilities opened up by the political uncertainty during the wars for independence. Azurduy typically would have been constrained by the gender and caste expectations of the early-nineteenth century.<sup>345</sup> In this setting, she would have been expected to serve as a mother to her four children and assist her husband in the family's affairs. As a mestiza, Azurduy would have not fit neatly into either the Republic of Indians or the Spanish colonial world, since mixed race individuals were often criticized by both those of Spanish and indigenous descent. Some of these expectations clearly persisted because Belgrano's description of Azurduy compared her to an amazon. Azurduy, however, took advantage of the opportunities provided by the political disruptions and expand her influence.

Within the communal democracy of the Tomina republic, which allowed local men and women to rise to power, Azurduy rose above her socially assigned place in nineteenth-century Alto Peru. She led an integrated force of creole regular soldiers and the indigenous residents of Tomina. In the republic, Azurduy's ability and the respect she garnered made her one of the community's military leaders. This seems to be a common event in times of war as other women joined their husband in the political and military campaigns of the indigenous rebellions of the 1780s and the wars for

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<sup>344</sup> "Parte de Manuel Ascencio Padilla," *Gazeta de Buenos Ayres*, 17 August 1816, John Carter Brown Library

<sup>345</sup> Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru 1780-1854*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999)

independence.<sup>346</sup> Azurduy was seemingly well-suited for the military position, and she continued to play an important military and political role in Tomina. Azurduy's bravery and successful defeat of the loyalist forces brought recognition to both her and her husband. The news of Azurduy's bravery was republished in the Argentine press culture of Buenos Aires. South Americans celebrated her actions and awarded Azurduy an honorary position of military coronel by the revolutionary government of the United Provinces of South America.<sup>347</sup>

Although Padilla openly and enthusiastically tried to work with the Argentine generals like Belgrano, Padilla privately criticized the Argentines for their missteps in Alto Peru. He even complained to Belgrano that it was unfair for the Argentines to rely on his small, un-trained forces to continue fighting against the large royalist army of Peru. In this letter, Padilla questioned if the Argentines had the Alto Peruvians interests in mind and suggested that he and his followers might have to pursue another path forward if the Argentines could not pull their own weight. Despite Alto Peruvians continued efforts to work with Argentines, leaders, like Padilla, continued to be let down by the lack of forces sent from Rio de la Plata and the multiple prisoners that were released when they were sent South to Buenos Aires.<sup>348</sup>

The relationship between Padilla's republicueta and the overall independence movement was flexible enough that it allowed his followers to address their local

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<sup>346</sup> Pamela S. Murray, *For Glory and Bolivar: The Remarkable Life of Manuela Saenz*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010); Leon G. Campbell, "Women and the Great Rebellion in Peru, 1780-1783," *The Americas*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (1985), pp. 163-196.

<sup>347</sup> "Parte de Manuel Ascencio Padilla," *Gazeta de Buenos Ayres*, 17 August 1816, John Carter Brown Library.

<sup>348</sup> Carta n° 130 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela, a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, secretario de Gracia y Justicia. 17 December 1817, AGI, LIMA, 757, N.9.

concerns even when support from Buenos Aires was sparse.. Padilla soldiers were able to defend their territory and their goods against forced appropriation by the loyalist armies. The fighting also allowed them to expel local officials, like Sánchez de Velasco , that they did not want to rule their area. Further, Padilla’s army was also able to claim some important agricultural land from hacienda owners in Tomina as a result of the fighting. By working within an overarching project to end Spanish colonialism, Padilla and his forces were able to address local concerns that had plagued their region since the conquest, while working to liberate South America from Spanish rule.

Padilla and his followers were strategic when singling out individuals who were the representatives of Spanish authority and those who had abused their positions of power within their community. In regards to land seizures, their targets were not indiscriminate but often the most prominent local creole officials, like Francisco Entrambasaguas. Entrambasaguas, a lawyer and government official in Alto Peru, could track his household’s history all the way back to one of the first conquistadors of Peru, Santos Blazquez.<sup>349</sup> The Spanish crown granted his ancestors a massive encomienda in Alto Peru, and Entrambasaguas’ family had derived wealth and indigenous labor from this grant since at least the 1570s. Entrambasaguas and his “opulent” family remained staunch loyalists during the wars for independence and continuously defended the “sacred and Augustin rights of [their] majesty” by serving as a political advisor in the intendency of Yamparaes.<sup>350</sup> According to Entrambasaguas, he fought against Padilla’s

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<sup>349</sup> Carta n° 160 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela, a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, secretario de Gracia y Justicia, 10 September 1818. AGI, Lima, 758, N.6.

<sup>350</sup> Carta n° 160 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela, a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, secretario de Gracia y Justicia  
Archivo General de Indias, 10 September 1818, Lima, 758, N.6.

forces in the battle of *Carretas* and during Padilla's invasion of the city of Chuquisaca. However, the fighting got so contentious in 1815 that he was forced into exile.

Padilla's sovereignty over Tomina eventually came to an end after Spanish forces made him a military priority in September 1816. Spanish forces sent a large force into the region, and they were able to re-take and suppress the immediate military threat in Alto Peru. In the fighting, Spanish forces stabbed Padilla, a wound that ultimately killed him at the battle of La Laguna. Following his death, loyalist forces decapitated Padilla in a symbolic show of violence to assert their authority over Tomina and deter Padilla's followers from continuing fighting against Spanish rule. Following the ultimate death of Padilla and the installation of loyalist military rule in Tomina in 1816 and 1817, Entrambasaguas was able to return to his home and his family's land.

The land Entrambasaguas returned to was not as he had left it. According to Entrambasaguas, "my house, that in another time was one of opulence, now appears reduced to misery with the devastation that this criminal revolution has caused me."<sup>351</sup> His house in ruins, Entrambasaguas' land also had new owners. Entrambasaguas lamented that "when [he] returned, he encountered the lands that he possesses in the valleys of Mojotoro destroyed and bare of all farm instruments necessary to cultivate [the land]." He continued, "now [cultivation] is impossible, because groups of insurgent Indians that had been captained by the criminal Padilla now occupy that land."<sup>352</sup> Taking advantage of the military campaigns, Padilla's indigenous followers reclaimed their land

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<sup>351</sup> Carta n° 160 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela, a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, secretario de Gracia y Justicia, 10 September 1818, AGI, Lima, 758, N.6.

<sup>352</sup> Carta n° 160 del virrey Joaquín de la Pezuela, a Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, secretario de Gracia y Justicia, 10 September 1818, AGI, Lima, 758, N.6.

rights that had been granted to the Entrambasaguas family during the conquest.

Indigenous soldiers in Padilla's republiqueta were dismantling the Spanish colonial model and were reclaiming lands that had belonged to their ancestors prior to the conquest.

Indigenous communities in the late colonial period and during the outbreak of the wars for independence had made land governance an important part of their political agenda.<sup>353</sup> Fighting with Padilla and under the umbrella of the independence movement in Buenos Aires allowed for indigenous men and women in Tomina to re-claim land for their own use. However taking land from Entrambasaguas and his opulent family also carried symbolic weight. Padilla's fathers did not just re-take any land, but instead targeted the land of the descendent of one of the original conquistadors of Alto Peru. In their actions, they avenged part of the damage done by the conquest and their actions attempted to address exploitation caused by Spanish colonialism. The writings of the chasquis of liberty like Pazos Kanki and Monteagudo had always painted their movement as a vindication of the conquest and now the indigenous communities of Tomina had literally reclaimed land from an ancestor of the original conquistadors.

### **Conclusion: An Indigenous Vision of Independence**

During the South American wars for independence, Alto Peruvians fought to create a more egalitarian society that corrected many of the social and political problems that plagued their region in the late colonial period. They fought to expel Spanish leaders and end Spanish sovereignty in the Americas. In place of the colonial model, Alto Peruvians imagined a new republican confederation—the United Provinces of South

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<sup>353</sup> See chapter 1 and 3.

America—that brought together most of South America into a common union and allowed local indigenous communities to establish multi-ethnic democratic communities. Through this project, Alto Peruvians ousted oppressive leaders, abolished indigenous tribute payments, elected new leaders, and reclaimed land taken from native communities. Alto Peruvians were making this vision a reality in the republiquetas in the provinces of Tomina, Yampares, Chayanta, and Paria as they dismantled the colonial world that was created with the conquest, and they created a new American one through a re-conquest of South America.

Even though Padilla's and Cárdenas's republiquetas could not hold out against the much better armed Royal Army of Peru, their followers were able to envision and create a new model for an independent America. Despite the capture and execution of many of the republiqueta leaders, their surviving followers—including Juana Azurduy—continued the military and political campaign. They still believed their project—the United Provinces of South America—was attainable, and they continued fighting for an independent and more egalitarian American future until the world they imagined had been created. Their project was shared by some of the revolutionaries in Buenos Aires, and they made it their mission to find political and military aid for the burgeoning republic that the republiquetas were founding.

CHAPTER 6  
THE LAND OF LIBERTY: VICENTE PAZOS KANKI, THE AMELIA  
ISLAND AFFAIR, AND THE LIMITS OF HEMISPHERIC  
REPUBLICANISM, 1817

In October 1817, an Alto Peruvian revolutionary named Vicente Pazos Kanki and a group of his allies landed on Amelia Island, Florida with a plan to liberate Florida from the Spanish.<sup>354</sup> Pazos Kanki, a man of Aymara descent from Larecaja, Alto Peru, had traveled thousands of miles in the early nineteenth century, persistently promoting Alto Peruvian independence during stops in South America, Europe, and eventually Amelia Island. The other revolutionaries in his cohort had navigated equally extensive courses by 1817—some hailing from South America, a few from Europe, and others from Haiti. Upon landing on Amelia Island, this multiethnic group quickly overwhelmed the sparse Spanish defenses and burned a local plantation.<sup>355</sup> They then began envisioning a new political future for Amelia Island, one defined by republican principles and a remarkably inclusive conception of citizenship. In other words, they founded a land of liberty.<sup>356</sup>

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<sup>354</sup> Alto Peru is today Bolivia.

<sup>355</sup> Jorge Clarke to Governor, 5 October 1817, Microfilm reel 63, Special and Area Studies Collections, PK Younge Library of Florida History, George A. Smathers Libraries.

<sup>356</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in*

The Amelia Island Republic lasted less than a year, but during that short time, Pazos Kanki and his allies pushed the contemporary limits of republican thought. Their republic brought together indigenous, African, and European citizens under the shared idea that the revolutionary concepts of popular sovereignty and human rights applied to men of all races. The Amelia Island revolutionaries wrote a constitution, began recruiting Floridians of African and indigenous descent to join their newly-minted republic, and held elections in November 1817. The voters elected Pazos Kanki to the Supreme Council of Florida, making him one of the few popularly-elected, indigenous representatives during the Age of Revolutions. The republic they formed declared that democratic principles had no limit. The world they imagined stood in stark contrast to the other political projects around the Atlantic, and across Florida's northern border in the United States, where new-found republics guarded racial and social hierarchies handed down from the colonial era.

Through a focus on Pazos Kanki and his vision for the Amelia Island Republic, this article intervenes in current historiographical discussions on United States-Latin American relations and the development of republican thought. For nearly a century, scholars have advocated for a hemispheric approach to studying the Americas, developing innovative and comparative works that analyze the similarities and differences between the United States and their neighbors to the south.<sup>357</sup> Recently,

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*Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, (Philadelphia, 1818).

<sup>357</sup> Herbert E. Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America," *American Historical Review* 38 (April 1933); Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas*, (New York: Penguin Random House, 2012); Rebecca J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).



however, scholars have looked beyond comparative history and have focused on the political, social, and intellectual topics that crisscrossed national and regional boundaries around the globe during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, calling the epoch the Age of Revolutions.<sup>358</sup> Their works do not explicitly compare the two regions, rather they look for commonalities between revolutionaries from different nations. In spite of all the advances of this scholarship, many historians continue to overlook Latin America and depict revolutionary thought radiating out of the North Atlantic cores of France, the United States, and more recently Haiti—eventually reaching other regions, like mainland Latin America.<sup>359</sup>

This chapter flips that convention on its head, showing instead that revolutionary thought from Latin America was at the vanguard of hemispheric republicanism and shaped the constellation of political possibilities that defined and shaped the Age of Revolutions.<sup>360</sup> This approach allows a study of a short-lived republic to speak to scholars

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<sup>358</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1996); Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Reddiker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012); Eliga H. Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery,” *American Historical Review* 112 (June 2007).

<sup>359</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1967); Caitlin Fitz, *Our Sister Republics: The United States in an Age of American Revolutions*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016); Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750-1804*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016); Matthew Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).

<sup>360</sup> For others who take this approach see: Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995); Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); James Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Ernesto Bassi, “The ‘Franklins of Colombia’:

of both Latin America and the United States, and show that while there were convergences on political thought, Latin American revolutionaries also offered critiques and challenges to the existing Atlantic paradigms of racialized nationalism and the persistence of slavery. In effect, revolutionaries like Pazos Kanki were at once leaders of the Age of Revolutions and also offered a powerful challenge to what it had become by the nineteenth century. While the rest of the revolutionary Atlantic seemed to retreat from the egalitarian promises of the equality of all men, Pazos Kanki and his allies in 1817 tried to make that maxim a reality on Amelia Island.

Over three thousand miles from his Alto Peruvian homeland, Pazos Kanki hoped to found a republic that reflected his vision for independence. In each election, each proclamation, Pazos Kanki and the Amelia Island republic offered powerful social and political commentary on the tensions, conflicts, and issues of the early nineteenth century. Through their actions and proclamations, they critiqued other nations around the Atlantic World that limited citizenship with property and racial requirements. In its place, the Amelia Island revolutionaries envisioned an alternative vision of republicanism: a multiethnic society that brought European, African, and indigenous men together under shared revolutionary principles. This vision was inspiring to some, and terrifying to citizens in the United States and Spain who helped to ensure that the Amelia Island experiment and its vision for the future was ephemeral, thus ending the first wave of the Age of Revolutions in the North Atlantic. In the process, however, the Amelia Island

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Immigration Schemes and Hemispheric Solidarity in the Making of a Civilised Colombian Nation,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 50 (November 2017).

revolutionaries helped to re-ignite debates about the meaning of revolutionary principles and helped to re-draw the political and social boundaries in the Americas.

### **Liberation Theology: Incas, Republicanism, and the Education of a Revolutionary**

Pazos Kanki took a winding path to Amelia Island, but the lessons he learned along the way shaped him and his ideology. He was a man of humble origins, but his education was sound, and having traveled widely, he had a unique perspective on the world. Pazos Kanki grew up in an indigenous community—or *ayllu*—in Larecaja, Alto Peru, but left his home to embark on an odyssey that would take him on a tour of a great many sites in the world. He traveled to Cuzco, and Buenos Aires, then London, and finally to the land of liberty he helped to create on Amelia Island. On this chasqui-like journey, Pazos Kanki trained to be a Catholic priest, learned of the Inca past, read French revolutionary literature, and came to know quite well both the promises and limits of nineteenth-century thought.<sup>361</sup> What he learned along this journey both troubled and inspired him, and it led Pazos Kanki to develop his own unique vision for a better future: an ideology that merged thought from religious, indigenous, and enlightenment springs and went on to shape the wars for independence in South America and the Amelia Island Republic.

Pazos Kanki was born in the midst of the Tupac Amaru II rebellion in 1779, and this foundational event forever changed the world he lived in. Pazos Kanki recalled that

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<sup>361</sup> A chasqui is the rapid-traveling foot messenger of the Andean pre-conquest and colonial worlds.

he was “born among [Alto Peruvians], from an indigenous family.”<sup>362</sup> Having a Spanish father, who may have died in the Great Andean Rebellions, and an indigenous mother, Pazos Kanki spent most of his early years in an indigenous ayllu.<sup>363</sup> While in Larecaja, he claimed he “learned the language that our ancestors expressed themselves in the ancient Peruvian empire,” likely Quechua or Aymara.<sup>364</sup> In his native language, Pazos Kanki’s learned lessons in political thought. His region experienced a massive re-organization after the Great Andean rebellion of the 1780s. This rebellion, led by indigenous leaders Tupac Amaru II and Tupac Katari, attempted to create a reformed colonialism that addressed indigenous concerns. Pazos Kanki drew inspiration from this rebellion and called Tupac Amaru II “illustrious, because he was the first who rose up to deliver Peru from the calamities inflicted by the Spanish despotism.” He described him in letters to US Senator Henry Clay as a “valiant leader” who “died like a hero, leaving to posterity an example which will never be forgotten.”<sup>365</sup>

Although the great Andean rebellions were contained by Spanish forces, many indigenous communities saw a growth of communal democracy on the local level.<sup>366</sup> Within these communities, like Larecaja, indigenous men and women developed a remarkably egalitarian culture that allowed different factions and ideas to compete for

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<sup>362</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Memorias Historico-Policos de don Vicente Pazos*, (London, 1834), III.

<sup>363</sup> Charles Arnade, “Vicente Pazos Kanki Y La Florida Espanola,” in *Anuario del archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia*, (ABNB, Sucre: 2001); Charles H. Bowman Jr., “Vicente Pazos and the Amelia Island Affair, 1817,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Jan 1975), 273-295.

<sup>364</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Memoria Historico Politicos de don Vicente Pazos*, (London, 1834) III.

<sup>365</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (London, 1817).

<sup>366</sup> Sinclair Tomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003).

political prominence. Power in these ayllus was decentralized and decisions were based on the general will of the people. The communities would elect local leaders, called caciques, who protected their communal interests against a colonial system designed to squeeze indigenous communities for the benefit of the metropole. Pazos Kanki lived in and witnessed this form of democracy and carried these lessons with him. Even later in life, he still claimed, “the accents of this original language, so resonated with [him], do not cease to beat in my ears, like a spell.”<sup>367</sup> Pazos Kanki’s fluency in indigenous political processes made him especially sensitive to the needs and concerns of the indigenous communities in Alto Peru, which he would continue to support throughout his adult life.

At a young age, Pazos Kanki began studying with the local parish priests in Larecaja, and he was tapped to become a member of the clergy, so he traveled to La Paz, and later Cuzco, to advance his studies. It was during this training that Pazos Kanki went to what he called “the ancient Cuzco, metropolis of the Incas,” where he quipped that it was an odd place to learn “the rudiments of European knowledge.”<sup>368</sup> While there, he studied at one of the principal universities of Peru, the Universidad de San Antonio Abad del Cusco, and read the religious and philosophical literature of the Spanish world, including formally studying Quechua for the first time.<sup>369</sup> He took a particular interest in the Jesuit order, an order that explored the frontiers of faith and the Spanish empire.

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<sup>367</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Memoria Historico Politicos*, (London, 1834), III.

<sup>368</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Memoria Historico Politicos*, (London, 1834), III.

<sup>369</sup> Charles Arnade, “Vicente Pazos Kanki Y La Florida Espanola,” in *Anuario del achivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia*, (ABNB, Sucre: 2001). Charles H. Bowman Jr., “Vicente Pazos and the Amelia Island Affair, 1817,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Jan 1975), 273-295.

Pazos Kanki noted that the “dictionaries of the languages of Peru and the [Jesuit] Missions” give a sense of Aymara and Quechua grammar.<sup>370</sup> Along with language and historical knowledge, Pazos Kanki learned the moral lessons of the Catholic faith, which he grappled with for the rest of his life. He would go on to translate the Gospel of Luke into Spanish and Aymara.<sup>371</sup> These lessons guided Pazos Kanki and he drew from religious lessons throughout his life as he tried to create a more egalitarian society for his contemporaries.

During the course of his studies, Pazos Kanki also began seeing the limits of his theological training. Having grown up in an ayllu, Pazos Kanki knew intimately the relationship between a priest and his parish.<sup>372</sup> A well-meaning priest could be a great source of comfort and charity for a community, but in Pazos Kanki’s experience, they could often become what he saw as “an engine of...horrible oppression.”<sup>373</sup> He witnessed priests mistreat indigenous parishioners, demanding exorbitant payments for basic services like weddings or funerals, and Pazos Kanki took particular offence at European priests, who he accused of having “hearts colder than the gold they covet.”<sup>374</sup> He began seeing Catholicism and the clergy in Alto Peru as “so abused and transformed into a systematic mode of thieving and robbery” that it had become a “calamity more dreadful than a pestilence.”<sup>375</sup> Pazos Kanki, jaded by the failed promises of religion,

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<sup>370</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (London, 1817).

<sup>371</sup> Vicente Pazos-Kanki and Phelipe Scio de San Miguel, *El Evangelio Segun San Lucas en Aymara y Espanol*, (London, 1829).

<sup>372</sup> Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); William Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

<sup>373</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (London, 1817).

<sup>374</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (London, 1817).

<sup>375</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (London, 1817).

claimed that “South America will forever remain ignorant and enslaved, so long as the freedom of religious opinion is restrained.”<sup>376</sup> Having worked within the church and having experienced abusive clergymen from his life in the ayllu, Pazos Kanki knew both the value and limits of organized religion and wanted citizens to choose their preferred method of religion.

Pazos Kanki, disenchanted by theological studies, began to mine Cuzco’s deep history and extensive libraries for other veins of knowledge. He read widely about Andean history, and eventually, he encountered a book so infamous that it was banned in the Spanish colonies: Garliasco de La Vega’s *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas*. Pazos Kanki noted that “his imagination was absorbed” by the writings and history of Garliasco de La Vega, the famous chronicler of the Inca Empire, son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess. Within De La Vega’s account, a narrative that depicted a complex yet idyllic society disrupted by the Spanish conquest, Pazos Kanki read about “the injustice, betrayal, inhumanity, and tyranny” of the Spanish conquest.<sup>377</sup> Comparing his lived experience in Cuzco, Pazos Kanki suggested Alto Peru continued to be shaped by the “cruel and unrelenting spirit of the Spanish Government” of Carlos III and Carlos IV, which had “created an unhappy and deplorable state” in South America.<sup>378</sup> Drawing inspiration from Incan foundational tenets, Pazos Kanki hoped to build a future for Alto Peru that would mirror the complex and idyllic society like the one he read about in Garliasco de la Vega’s chronicle.

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<sup>376</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (London, 1817), 102.

<sup>377</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Memorias Historicas de don Vicente Pazos*, (London, 1834).

<sup>378</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1819).

During his time in Cuzco, Pazos Kanki also met and witnessed others who were inspired by the Ancient Incas, including a revolutionary generation that tried to overthrow the Spanish and re-install an Inca government in the 1805. The plot, led by a mineralogist named Gabriel Aguilar and Juan Manuel Ubalde, a member of the audiencia (or royal high court), organized an anti-colonial plot that brought together creoles, indigenous noblemen, and mestizos under the idea to bring about a return of the Incas.<sup>379</sup> Pazos Kanki witnessed Ubalde's execution. He recounted that "Ubalde... was hung in August 1805. He died with the serenity of a philosopher, without denying his principles, or the causes which led him to engage in the revolution."<sup>380</sup> In a letter to US congressman Henry Clay, Pazos Kanki described how Ubalde used his execution to make a passionate appeal that called on South Americans to continue the independence cause which Ubalde predicted "was not far distant."<sup>381</sup>

Following Ubalde's lead, Pazos Kanki quickly abandoned his path towards a religious career and began focusing on contemporary politics and revolutionary thought. In particular, he claimed to have been enthralled by "the vigor of the age," an era of debate and possibility and he threw himself into reading revolutionary authors. He commented that his "imagination was exalted with the lectures of Rousseau, Voltaire, Mirabeau, and other philosophers," whose ideas he considered and began applying to the

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<sup>379</sup> Alberto Flores Galindo, "In Search of an Inca," in Steve J. Stern ed., *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, (Madison: the University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), p. 193.

<sup>380</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1819) p. 29.

<sup>381</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1819), p. 29.



problems he saw in Alto Peru.<sup>382</sup> Pazos Kanki was not alone in this passion, and soon found himself with many peers who were intrigued by the debates of the era. According to Pazos Kanki, “the beginning of the movement for independence and political liberty....the youth took the lead, since they were the most avid followers of this new ideology.” This new generation became enchanted with the new political ideas being discussed in the Atlantic world and they began to consider how they could be applied to the social situation of South America. As a young adult, Pazos Kanki joined this revolutionary generation as a new branch of the Spanish-American enlightenment.

As the wars of independence erupted in 1809, Pazos Kanki continued his revolutionary odyssey and traveled throughout Alto Peru, migrating from Cuzco to Potosi, and to Chuquisaca, and eventually to the liberated costal region of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata. In Chuquisaca, he may have been involved in a conspiracy where indigenous men and women planned to assault the city like they had in May 1809.<sup>383</sup> After leaving Chuquisaca, he befriended Manuel Moreno and Bernardo Monteagudo, two of the leading pro-independence leaders in South America, who shaped his political beliefs and led him to Buenos Aires. There, Pazos Kanki worked as a journalist and joined fellow Alto Peruvian migrants who tried to promote and spread the growing independence process in South America.<sup>384</sup> In 1811, Pazos Kanki became the editor and principle publisher for the newspaper *La Gaceta de Buenos Aires*. Shortly thereafter, he

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<sup>382</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *Memorias Historico-Politicos de don Vicente Pazos*, (London, 1834).

<sup>383</sup> Diligencias seguidas en virtud de un parte de Manuel Guerra en el proceso para la averiguacion de la conspiracion sobre el asalto a la ciudad de La Plata, BO ABNB, Sucre, Bolivia, ALP Em 65.

founded his own newspaper *El Censor* where he was able to outline and broadcast his political ideas.

During his early journalistic career, Pazos Kanki boldly championed republicanism and liberty from Spain. Even as Spanish authorities promised to provide representation to the Spanish colonies through the 1812 Constitution, Pazos Kanki opposed any reconciliation with the Spanish metropole. He argued that “the name of the king is incompatible with free men” and even with political representation men were not truly free under a monarchy. He believed that “liberty only can exist under a democratic government.”<sup>385</sup> He was confident that the revolutionary climate of the early nineteenth century could lead to a more democratic and egalitarian future.

Due to Pazos Kanki’s outspoken republicanism and his growing reputation as a controversialist, Argentine revolutionaries quickly looked to muzzle Pazos Kanki. In March 1812, Pazos Kanki published an article that criticized the contemporary political climate and the leaders of Argentina’s first triumvirate, and their plan to reinstall a South American Monarch to Power. Pazos Kanki, instead, hoped to found a republic. Pazos Kanki lamented “a general apathy and indolence which is apparent each day,” and he pondered if “the true interest of these provinces are confined perhaps due to treachery.”<sup>386</sup> A member of the revolutionary government, Pedro Jose Agrelo, took offense with Pazos Kanki’s statement and demanded an explanation from Pazos Kanki on the grounds that his attack “offends...the honor and purity of a government that has served the confidence of the people.”<sup>387</sup> Argentine government officials condemned Pazos Kanki and defended

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<sup>385</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *El Censor*, 25 February 1812. JCBL.

<sup>386</sup> Pazos Kanki, *El Censor*, 24 March 1812, JCBL.

<sup>387</sup> Pazos Kanki, *El Censor*, 24 March 1812, JCBL.

the governments' exclusive right to determine who to confide in and who was a traitor of the emerging Argentine nation. Pazos Kanki's Argentine peers forced him into exile following his outspoken critiques in which he called on them to fulfill their discursive promises of republicanism and to create a better government.

Pazos Kanki was unperturbed and quickly left the port city of Buenos Aires in search of American allies who would support Alto Peru's campaign to found a republican nation. Having read extensively about the other independence movements in the Atlantic World, he had long held an interest in North American political thought. Pazos Kanki thought highly of Thomas Paine's political tract, *Common Sense*, because it laid out in plain and persuasive language reasons a colony should break free from its colonizer, and translated it into Spanish in an effort to convince other South Americans that it was time to end monarchical governments in their region. During the early years of the wars for independence, he also formed a long-distance friendship with the Kentucky congressman Henry Clay.<sup>388</sup> Clay and Pazos Kanki exchanged hundreds of letters outlining their political ideas, and in Clay, Pazos Kanki found a strong supporter who respected the South American revolutionary's ideas.<sup>389</sup> Based off his communication with Clay and desire to truly implement the democratic ideas upon which the United States was founded, Pazos Kanki set off to the north in search of allies to aid the beleaguered independence fighters holding out in his homeland.<sup>390</sup>

Pazos Kanki and his shipmates eventually made it to North America, and he made stops in the port cities of Savannah, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. In each of these

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<sup>388</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1817).

<sup>389</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1817).

<sup>390</sup> Pazos Kanki, *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, (New York, 1817).

settings, Pazos Kanki tried to promote South American independence and republican government. He quickly formed friendships with South American expatriates like Pedro Gual, an ardent revolutionary from Gran Colombia, and sympathetic North Americans who threw their financial and political support to help promote Pazos Kanki's ideas. During his travels he was invited to become a member of the Historic Society of New York where he was able to publicize the independence struggles in South America.<sup>391</sup>

After spending a few months cultivating support for the independence movements in the Eastern port cities of the US, Pazos Kanki found a growing Latin American expatriate community in the US, including Pedro Gual, and they hatched a plan to help overthrow the Spanish in Florida and found a republican government. They settled on Amelia Island, a barrier island on the northern tip of Spanish Florida, that teemed with eccentrics and revolutionaries. The island, with its live oaks, brackish waters, and deep port, was a strategic location on the United States-Florida border and had changed hands numerous times—variously claimed by the British, the Americans, the Spanish, and sometimes pirates. Pazos Kanki and his multiethnic group believed it a fitting place for their Republic, which they hoped would become a symbolic and strategic victory for the Republican movement.

During his route to Amelia Island, Pazos Kanki developed a political ideology that was a patchwork of religious, indigenous, and revolutionary doctrines. He drew inspiration from the communitarian democracy typical of the late-colonial Andes that he was raised in and the Inca Empire's promise of a better life. Although disenchanted with

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<sup>391</sup> Vicente Pazos-Kanki and Phelipe Scio de San Miguel, *El Evangelio Segun San Lucas en Aymara y Espanol*, (London, 1829).

the inconsistencies of religious practice, he remained a steadfast believer in the moral lessons found in Christian doctrine. And he believed republican government, its representative design and its guarantees of human rights, provided possibilities for a better future for Americans. In his stops in Alto Peru and beyond, Pazos Kanki honed this political ideology, and became an outspoken revolutionary. Pazos Kanki brought these diverse strains of Age of Revolution thought together when he began shaping the Amelia Island Republic in 1817.

### **“The Refuse of All Nations”: The Multiethnic Republic of Florida**

In the summer of 1817, Pazos Kanki and his the rest of his company launched their plan to liberate Amelia Island and form their own government. Pazos Kanki recalled that the group, made up of revolutionaries from Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and France, was “full of the love of liberty” and began their “project of wresting from the hands of their enemies the provinces of Florida.”<sup>392</sup> They arrived to Amelia Island in three boats, and after a brief skirmish, took the island. Spanish observers reported that Pazos Kanki and company then began “seducing” others to their cause with political speeches, crafted a constitution, founded a newspaper, and held democratic elections on the island.<sup>393</sup> The world they formed was at once an example of the possibilities of the Age of Revolutions, and a critique of what other newly formed nations had become. It rejected limited citizenship and the continuation of slavery that defined much of the early-nineteenth

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<sup>392</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Vicente Pazos*, (Philadelphia, 1818).

<sup>393</sup> Jose Coppinger to Jose Cienfuegos, 11 October 1817, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Young Library of Florida History, reel 13.

century Atlantic World, and instead envisioned an inclusive republicanism that brought together what one observer called “the refuse of all nations” into a common coalition on Amelia Island.<sup>394</sup>

The sea-washed shores of Amelia Island had long been a haven for those searching for a different way of life, when in 1817, Pazos Kanki and his followers began trying to liberate Florida.<sup>395</sup> The island, a thirteen-mile-long barrier island on the northern edge of the Spanish American empire, was a contested space that served as home to a few thousand residents in the early nineteenth century. The Spanish had held nominal claim to Florida for much of the preceding centuries, but the British briefly controlled East Florida and Amelia Island from 1763 to 1783, leaving many colonists of English descent, like the Earl of Egmont who owned an indigo plantation on the island. Many empires explored the island’s potential without much financial success. While empires seemed to overlook Amelia Island, leaving it a backwater, visitors like William Bartram, an American naturalist, believed that the island with its “thorny thickets, and prickly vines,” “spacious forest of Live Oaks,” and “shelly paved sea beach” had the potential to become a “polite and hospital” setting.<sup>396</sup>

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<sup>394</sup> John Miller, *Narratives of a voyage to the Spanish Main, in the ship “Two Friends,”* (London, 1819).

<sup>395</sup> Jane G. Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Jane G. Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); David Head, *Privateers of the Americas: Spanish American Privateering from the United States in the Early Republic*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015); Deborah Rosen, *Border Law: The First Seminole War and American Nationhood*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); David Narrett, *Adventurism and Empire: The Struggle for Mastery in the Louisiana-Florida Borderlands, 1762-1803*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

<sup>396</sup> William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee country, the extensive territories of the Muscogulges or Creek confederacy, and the country of the Chactaws. Containing an account of the soil and*

By 1817, the Spanish once again held control over Amelia Island, but because of sparse defenses, runaway slaves, pirates, and adventurers largely held sway over the area.<sup>397</sup> Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Amelia Island would become the site of numerous experimental projects by travelers and pirates, becoming known for illicit trade and as an entry point for illegal slave trader and an escape route for runaway slaves. Despite numerous petitions from residents, like a local merchant Jorge Clarke, for added protections, colonial officials were still trying to shore up defenses in March 1817 with “the wood that is needed for works fortification.”<sup>398</sup> Pazos Kanki and his followers chose Amelia Island because the contested nature of this borderland territory, but also because of its symbolic and strategic importance being next to a Republic founded on the equality of all men, the United States. Pazos Kanki knew their political project, to found a multiethnic republic, would capture the attention of observers in the United States and beyond.<sup>399</sup>

Building on their early successes, Pazos Kanki hoped to create a revolutionary workshop on Amelia Island that would serve as “a school,” where South American “patriots would have been taught to imitate the heroic conduct held out by [the U.S.A] forty years ago.”<sup>400</sup> He believed that North Florida would be conducive to the growth of

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*natural productions of those regions; together with observations on the manners of the Indians. Embellished with copper plates, (London, 1794).*

<sup>397</sup> Deborah A. Rosen, *Border Law: The First Seminole War and American Nationhood*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

<sup>398</sup> Jose Coppinger to Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, 15 March 1817, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Younge Library of Florida History, Microfilm reel 13.

<sup>399</sup> Deborah Rosen, *Border Law*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

<sup>400</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in*

revolutionary ideas and serve as a rendezvous spot for South Americans to launch military campaigns to help support the military struggles in Mexico and South America. From his positive interactions in the United States and the reading of revolutionary literature, Pazos Kanki was convinced that US leaders would support his campaign, as he commented that the United States had “prepared the way to the emancipation and liberty of the New World” and the Amelia Island revolutionaries intended to continue the mission of spreading republicanism in the Americas, starting in Florida.

The revolutionaries began to put the plan into action in September 1817, when they sailed from Baltimore to Port-au-Prince to consolidate their forces. Unfortunately, some men deserted the cause and a number of damages to their vessel forced the group to postpone the attack for a few months. In June of 1817, General Gregor McGregor, a Scottish soldier and adventurer who had been named the brigadier general of the Independent American armies of Venezuela and New Granada, launched his assault on the island. McGregor’s small force was quickly able to gain a foothold on Amelia Island, and by June 30 they held an uneasy control over the area.<sup>401</sup> In the process, the revolutionaries “set fire to and robbed the Domingos Plantation,” one of the few large structures on the island.<sup>402</sup> After getting a foothold, Pazos Kanki and his cohort set out to create the revolutionary school of the Americas they had dreamed of during their travels.

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*Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, (Philadelphia, 1818) 21.

<sup>401</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, (Philadelphia, 1818).

<sup>402</sup> Jose Coppinger to Jose Cienfuegos, 11 October 1817, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Younge Library of Florida History, reel 13.



Pazos Kanki recalled that McGregor released several proclamations that attested “his love of order, and his exertions to prevent any violations of the laws of the United States.”<sup>403</sup>

As these plans played out, a power struggle emerged on Amelia island. Jorge Clarke, a small scale merchant in Florida, reported “there was a disorder larger than could be imagined” taking place on Amelia Island.<sup>404</sup> McGregor and Hubbard, a former police officer from New York, got into a power struggle over leadership and the direction of the burgeoning society on Amelia Island.<sup>405</sup> McGregor and Hubbard disagreed on the goal and plans for Amelia Island. McGregor still hoped to use the island as a meeting ground and revolutionary hub where revolutionaries could coordinate their political missions. Hubbard was less idealistic in his goals, and he thought of “nothing but mercenary speculations.”<sup>406</sup> These competing plans divided the small number of followers, and the island fell into a state of confusion for a short period. Hubbard and his followers “usurped the supreme authority” and forced McGregor to step down; however, McGregor sent word to his ally Luis Michel Aury, who was sailing in the Gulf of Mexico, for aid and support.

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<sup>403</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, p 13

<sup>404</sup> Jose Coppinger to Jose Cienfuegos, 11 October 1817, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Younge Library of Florida History, reel 13.

<sup>405</sup> Jose Coppinger to Jose Cienfuegos, 11 October 1817, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Younge Library of Florida History, reel 13.

<sup>406</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, p. 14.

Luis Aury, a former French sailor turned privateer, became a strong supporter of independence movements throughout Latin America.<sup>407</sup> He was known for his radical political stances, and his contemporaries believed that he “had acquired his ideas of liberty in the French revolutionary school.”<sup>408</sup> Aury, like many other contemporaries during the Age of Revolutions, wanted to take part in the broader campaign to create republic nations. He was commissioned by the South American revolutionaries in Cartagena and helped 3000 pro-revolutionary South Americans escape a Spanish blockade.<sup>409</sup> Aury transported some of these men to Port-au-Prince before eventually making his way to the United States. Below the deck of Aury’s ship, his eclectic group of shipmates made up of revolutionary thinkers of diverse national and ethnic backgrounds, including revolutionaries from New Granada and emigrants from Haiti. These sailors, and sailors more generally, were widely known for their egalitarian stances and the communitarian nature they cultivated aboard their ship.<sup>410</sup>

Aury, after being commissioned by the Mexican revolutionaries to serve as a mercenary sailor for the independence project, arrived and restored order and safety to Amelia Island on September 1817, and helped the South American revolutionaries take control of the island. Pazos Kanki claimed that Amelia Island “was closely besieged by a

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<sup>407</sup> Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolution*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010) 133-136

<sup>408</sup> John Miller, *Narratives of a voyage to the Spanish Main, in the ship “Two Friends,”* (London, 1819).

<sup>409</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American.*

<sup>410</sup> Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000).

force from St. Augustine, and about to surrender, when by the fortunate arrival of Aury, everything was changed.”<sup>411</sup> Jorge Clarke and his free, black wife named Flora, witnessed the arrival of Aury on 5 October 1817, when he reported that they “encountered a party of the enemies with seventy two men, in three armed ships,” who “disembarked in the firm land in front of Amelia Island.”<sup>412</sup> Aury and his crew were able to repulse the Spanish militia forces and ease tensions on the island. Amelia Island, safely under the control of Aury, hoisted an early version of the Mexican flag, one that represented the revolutionary forces in Mexico, and signaled a new era for their republican experiment.

On November 5, Pazos Kanki, Aury, and the revolutionaries declared martial law in order to stabilize the infighting between different factions on the island. Pazos Kanki and Aury released a proclamation that criticized the “scandalous transactions of a fraction...who have solely been engaged in subverting social order.” Instead they claimed that they came to Amelia Island for a different mission, proclaiming that they had “come here to plant the tree of liberty, to foster free institutions, and to wage war against the tyrant of Spain, the oppressor of America, and the enemy of the rights of man.”<sup>413</sup> Pazos Kanki outlined his vision for this liberty in his public defense of the Amelia Island affair where he claimed that liberty came from “the best precepts of legislation, which assure to man his social rights...his prosperity, and the sole exercise of his mental faculties.” They

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<sup>411</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, 15.

<sup>412</sup> *Charleston Courier*, 14 November 1817.

<sup>413</sup> *Charleston Courier*, 14 November 1817.

envisioned a new future for Amelia Island that would allow for the “authority of self-government” and an assurance of social and civil rights for its constituents.<sup>414</sup>

For Clarke, however, the defining feature of the group was not their political beliefs or ideas but their ethnic make-up. He commented that Commodore Aury sailed with “the *morenos* of San Domingo,” who took “possession of the battery,” echoing the events of the Haitian Revolution.<sup>415</sup> Other contemporary observers reported that Aury’s crew was diverse, writing that they were made up of “the refuse of all nations, and all colours, collected from the mass of iniquity spread over the islands of the West Indies, and the Spanish Americas.”<sup>416</sup> Beyond an integrated army, Jorge Clarke suggested that Aury’s forces were overturning the racial hierarchy of the early nineteenth century, as Spanish troops defending the island were disturbed that Aury’s black allies were both “rich and insolent.”<sup>417</sup> Even for Clarke, a man who lived with a free black woman, the integrated nature of the revolutionaries forces was noteworthy—they stood in contrast to other nations in the Atlantic World that continued to be defined racially. The diversity of the Amelia Island revolutionaries was purposefully their republic’s defining feature, as Pazos Kanki explained “the diversity of people which composes an army, has never

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<sup>414</sup> Vicente Pazos, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, 18.

<sup>415</sup> Jose Coppinger to Jose Cienfuegos, 11 October 1817, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Young Library of Florida History, reel 13.

<sup>416</sup> Miller, *Narratives of a voyage to the Spanish Main, in the ship “Two Friends,”* (London: 1819).

<sup>417</sup> Jose Coppinger to Jose Cienfuegos, 11 October 1817, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Young Library of Florida History, reel 13.

altered its *national character*; as individuals of different origin, united under the same laws, form but one nation.”<sup>418</sup>

Other commenters similarly reported that Aury “makes no difference between the complexion of one man and another provided they behave well.”<sup>419</sup> In an era of second slavery and attempts to reinforce a racial hierarchy in new republics, the Amelia Island revolutionaries envisioned a different future: a project that brought together people of indigenous, African, and European into a multiethnic republic. Like other nations in Latin America, that were experimenting with ideas of racial harmony and racelessness, Pazos Kanki and the Amelia Island republic experimented with the relationship between race and nation and they chose to establish a multiethnic republic defined by a political ideology—republicanism.

Having taken the island, Pazos Kanki and Aury began consolidating their power and started recruiting residents to their republican project. Jorge Clarke reported back to Spanish officials that the revolutionaries “have used a system of fine politics to seduce residents to their agenda.”<sup>420</sup> Clarke even saw “Commodore Aury among the islands inhabitants” spreading “some letters promoting a revolution.”<sup>421</sup> Under this leadership group, the island also tried to expand its political and social reach to other parts of

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<sup>418</sup> Vicente Pazos, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, p. 26. emphasis is original.

<sup>419</sup> “A letter to the editor by A Columbian,” *Daily National Intelligencer*, 24 October 1817, pg. 2.

<sup>420</sup> Jose Coppinger to Jose Cienfuegos, 11 October 1817, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Young Library of Florida History, reel 13. “el enemigo por su parte ha usado de una Sistema de politica fina para seducirles a sus fines.”

<sup>421</sup> Jose Coppinger to Jose Cienfuegos, 11 October 1817, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Young Library of Florida History, reel 13.

Florida. Pazos Kanki recalled that many residents of Florida “will retain a grateful remembrance of [Aury’s] conduct towards them” because he ordered “rations to be distributed daily amongst them from his own stores.”<sup>422</sup> There is even some evidence that the revolutionaries tried to recruit Florida’s Native Americans. As there were unconfirmed reports back to the King of Spain, Ferdinand VII, about rumored attempts to attract Indians to their project.<sup>423</sup> Those indigenous communities were in the midst of their own conflict with the United States government—the First Seminole War—and there is no evidence that the two projects allied together.<sup>424</sup> Aury and Pazos Kanki’s efforts to recruit followers caused some residents of Amelia Island to join in with the revolutionaries. One Florida resident, Miguel Mabrity, reportedly conspired with the invaders of Amelia Island and was elected to a position of power within the burgeoning republic.<sup>425</sup>

Carlos Seton, another Amelia Island resident, was accused of being a “rebellious individual” and “uniting with the insurgent government” on Amelia Island.<sup>426</sup> He forcefully denied this accusation. Seton, instead, testified that he “would have defended

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<sup>422</sup> Vicente Pazos, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, 17.

<sup>423</sup> Virrey Sobre las Floridas y la Isla Amalia, 30 September 1818, Archivo General de Indias, Estado, 32, N. 28

<sup>424</sup> Deborah A. Rosen, *Border Law: The First Seminole War and American Nationhood*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

<sup>425</sup> Prosecution of Miguel Mabrity for complicity with American invaders of Fernandina in 1817, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Young Library of Florida History, reel 128.

<sup>426</sup> Prosecution of Carlos Seton for complicity with rebels in capture of Fernandina, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Young Library of Florida History, reel 128.

the town until the last moment” if the leading officials of Amelia Island, the troops, and the militia did not have “a fixed determination to not fight or defend the town.”<sup>427</sup> Instead of fighting to defend his town and plantation he followed his neighbors in retreat, and he claimed the Amelia Island revolutionaries “carried off three of my slaves”: a “man named Moses, his woman named Benia, and a black named Susett.”<sup>428</sup> The enslaved were recaptured on the island after the Amelia island affair was resolved; given the open diversity of the revolutionaries, Moses, Benia, and Susett may have joined the republican project or they may have escaped to live on their own during their time as fugitives.<sup>429</sup> In either case, the revolutionaries upturned the colonial system on the island and opened up opportunities for people on the island: Mabrity got involved with the “fine politics” of the revolutionaries and the enslaved on his property used the opportunity to escape.

Having secured their space on the island and expanded their followers, the revolutionaries decided to have open democratic elections. On November 16, the burgeoning government issued a public notice summoning “the inhabitants of this Island of Amelia...for the purpose of electing Representatives whose duty it will be to frame and constitute a provisional Government.”<sup>430</sup> The summon allowed “every free inhabitant

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<sup>427</sup> Prosecution of Carlos Seton for complicity with rebels in capture of Fernandina, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Young Library of Florida History, reel 128.

<sup>428</sup> Prosecution of Carlos Seton for complicity with rebels in capture of Fernandina, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Young Library of Florida History, reel 128.

<sup>429</sup> Prosecution of Carlos Seton for complicity with rebels in capture of Fernandina, East Florida Papers, Special & Area Studies Collections, PK Young Library of Florida History, reel 128.

<sup>430</sup> Luis Comte, *Election*, (Fernandina, 1817).

who shall have resided fifteen days” on the island the opportunity to vote.<sup>431</sup> On the nineteenth and twentieth of November 1817, the free inhabitants of Amelia Island voted for local representatives and elected nine men to positions of power: “Pedro Gual, Vicente Pazos, Mr. Murden, Luis Comte, Coronel Irwin, Mr. Lavignac, Coronel Forbes, Miguiel Mabrity, and Doctor Chapelle,” while Luis Aury took the title commander in chief of the Republic of Florida.<sup>432</sup> This eclectic group hailed from all over the Atlantic world. Pazos Kanki was born in Alto Peru, Gual was from Venezuela, Aury was from France, Luis Comte was from Baltimore and part of an émigré family from San Domingue, J. Irvin was former US congressman in Pennsylvania, and Mabrity was a resident of Amelia Island. This group made up the Supreme council of the Floridas, and they would be in charge of the experimental republic, representing one of the most diverse collections of leaders in the world at the time.

Following the election, the new legislators of the Amelia Island set out to draw up a formal constitution for their burgeoning republic. The Supreme council named Pedro Gual, Murden, and Vicente Pazos Kanki to frame the provisional government for the Amelia Island Republic and they presented their report in early December. Their provisional government was in line with many of the constitutions created during the Age of Revolutions. It had democratic representation, with two elected officials for each district in Florida. It had checks and balances between three branches of government: executive, legislative, and judicial branches. It had guarantees on basic rights, like the

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<sup>431</sup> “Proclamation. Louis Aury, commander in chief of the Floridas,” *New York Daily Advertiser*, 19 December 1817.

<sup>432</sup> “Proclamation. Louis Aury, commander in chief of the Floridas,” *New York Daily Advertiser*, 19 December 1817.



freedom of the press and freedom of conscience. Their plan was to continue with a more exhaustive constitution in the near future.

What made this constitution and the Amelia Island Republic different was that it brought together such a diverse constituency and was designed by an indigenous man. For a few short months, on a small Florida island, Pazos Kanki and the “refuse of all nations” pushed democratic principles to their full extent. Citizens on Amelia Island, like some of their contemporaries throughout the United States, Europe, and Latin America, rallied together under a Republican ideology and its revolutionary promises. Pazos Kanki and his allies liberated an area from the Spanish empire, held democratic elections, and wrote a constitution that reflected the beliefs of the Age of Revolutions. Unlike many of their contemporaries, though, the Amelia Island republic had no racial or ethnic requirements, it burned plantations and liberated the enslaved, and the revolutionaries elected indigenous men to positions of power. Former slaves, revolutionaries from South Americans, and French privateers formed a nearly perfect union and filled abstract democratic thought with tangible content. They interpreted, quite literally, the abstract promises of the French and American revolutions, and they made them a reality on Amelia Island. In the process, they offered an alternative to the partial revolutions elsewhere around the Atlantic, and attempted to ensure that the Age of Revolutions would usher in a new more egalitarian future.

### **The Resemblance of Revolutions: Pazos Kanki defending the Land of Liberty**

With their power consolidated, their followers expanded, and their constitution framed, Pazos Kanki and his allies had visions of their “tree of liberty” taking root and

flourishing in Florida, but others around the revolutionary Atlantic held reservations about the Amelia Island experiment and its ideology. The Amelia Island Republic, which began during a conservative and reactionary period against revolutionary thought, soon faced off with Republican and monarchical governments that had culled the revolutionary branches from their trees. The small sects that had hoped to recreate the colonial social order were largely excluded from leadership or exiled to other regions. Meanwhile, Republics and European empires, like the United States and France, had found new forms of exclusion and had begun to create a different order founded on “Republican racism,” which defended slavery, emboldened racism, and promoted a new era of economic imperialism—one that looked similar to the colonial period. The experimental republic on Amelia Island was not compatible with this reactionary current. It was the antithesis. The burgeoning republic on Amelia Island, therefore, was rooted out by the United States military and was left to be protected by Pazos Kanki, who defended their ideals before the Congress of the United States in 1818.

The Amelia Island Republic, still in a tender age, could not stop the United States, and its president James Monroe, when they decided to intervene and put an end to the project on Amelia Island. Pazos Kanki reported that Amelia Island’s new Republic, which “had as yet counted but twenty days of existence,”...“was broken in upon by a military and naval force of the United States, who took possession of the island” in December 1817.<sup>433</sup> Outnumbered by the US military, the residents of Amelia Island

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<sup>433</sup> Vicente Pazos, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, p. 16.

peacefully surrendered to the armed forces. Following their surrender, according to one of the United States Senior Naval Officer, Commodore J.D. Henley, “the black troops of General Aury,” were “embarked on board one of their ships lying in the Port, and the remainder of his followers will be sent off the island.”<sup>434</sup> In this moment, the multiethnic republic on Amelia Island received neither ceremonial toasts nor support from their Sister Republic in North America. Instead, their project was rejected, and the black and mestizo citizens of Amelia Island were segregated according to the racial conventions of the United States.<sup>435</sup>

To symbolically show that the US had control over Amelia Island, Commodore Henley, the US naval commander who helped to overtake the island, took the supplies and ships of the Amelia island forces and raised the US flag over the island. One of the soliders, who oversaw the action, gloated in the victory: He asked one of the defeated men from Amelia, while pointing to the newly raised US flag, “whether the stars and stripes....did not form a better flag than the mottled and chequered colours of the united republics of Mexico and Venezuela.”<sup>436</sup> In this way, the Amelia Island Republic, and the first wave of the Age of Revolutions, ended. The promise of a multiethnic republic in Amelia Island was silenced.

Observers in the United States quickly began questioning the experimental republic on Amelia Island. North Americans were particularly concerned with the racial

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<sup>434</sup> Commodore Henley to the Secretary of the Navy, John Adams, 24 December 1817, in *British and Foreign State Papers*, (London, 1837), p. 761.

<sup>435</sup> Caitlin Fitz, *Our Sister Republics: The United States in an Age of American Revolutions*, (New York: Liveright, 2017).

<sup>436</sup> Miller, *Narratives of a voyage to the Spanish Main, in the ship “Two Friends,”* (London, 1819), p. 151.

makeup and social order on Amelia Island. A commenter from New York, who had followed the developments on the island, blamed Aury for ruining the original well intentioned project. He suggested that “Aury arrived with his traveling fleet of privateers, and his crews of blacks and mulattoes, and everything changed.”<sup>437</sup> The commenter, missing the purpose of the Amelia Island republic, was eager to support another project in the image of the United States, with limited and racially exclusive citizenship, but not one like the one Amelia Island. Pazos Kanki and the other revolutionaries on Amelia Island, therefore, soon found that they were being “confounded [with] pirates and freebooters” in the newspapers, private letters, and other publications in the United States.<sup>438</sup> Pazos Kanki passionately defended the Amelia Island project and the broader revolutionary movement in Latin America by telling the congress of the US that “the cause of liberty and independence...found ardent defenders in nearly eighteen millions of people” in the Caribbean, Mexico, and South America.<sup>439</sup> What they were proposing to implement was controversial to observers in other parts of the globe, it was an alternative to the republics of the early-nineteenth century.

US politicians also had concerns about the republican experiment right across their southern border. Beyond offering a critique and alternative to the racial practices in the USA, the growing society on Amelia Island also posed a threat to the United States’

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<sup>437</sup> “Amelia Island,” *National Advocate* (New York, New York), 02 December 1817.

<sup>438</sup> Vicente Pazos, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, p. 16.

<sup>439</sup> Vicente Pazos, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, p. 6.

expansionist goals. At this early period of the US republic, politicians wanted to assert their sovereignty in North America and claim their place among the world powers. Allowing a group of South American revolutionaries to take Florida would have prevented the United States from claiming Florida and its strategic location jutting out into the Gulf of Mexico. It would have also raised numerous questions about the United States' racial policies that congress was not interested in answering in 1817.

Pazos Kanki went to Washington D.C. to protest the actions of the US before congress on 5 February 1818. The United States claimed that it had the authority to invade Amelia Island, because the revolutionaries on the island were acting as pirates and also selling slaves across the St. Mary River into the United States. The United States congress had outlawed the international slave trade in 1808, but the illicit slave trade continued unabated well into the nineteenth century.<sup>440</sup> Pazos Kanki addressed these concerns directly in his protest by using the laws of Amelia Island. Before Congress, Pazos Kanki disputed that anyone in their group had been trading slaves into the United States. Instead he suggested, “the authorities at Amelia, following the orders of the republics of the south [meaning South America]...have prohibited the infamous traffic, would never have suffered it to be continued in the island.”<sup>441</sup> Pazos Kanki did confirm that the revolutionaries had captured a Spanish slaving vessel and carried the enslaved to Amelia island, but he argued that it was better to integrate the enslaved into Amelia Island than turn them back over to the Spanish. To confirm this defense, Pazos Kanki

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<sup>441</sup> Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, p. 25.

even got “respectable” citizens from across the United States’ border in Georgia to vouch that the burgeoning Florida Republic had not been introducing slaves into the United States.<sup>442</sup>

To combat the charge of piracy, Pazos Kanki compared the Amelia Island revolutionaries to Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and the other revolutionary founding generation of the United States. Pazos Kanki noted that Franklin had contracted privateers during the United States’ wars for independence. He also claimed Aury and his forces only attacked Spanish vessels since they were at war against the Spanish crown. In a self-reflexive moment, Pazos Kanki mused “Such has always been the fate of those who struggle for liberty; their sacrifices are numbered and praised by posterity, whilst the generation that witnesses them, seems to consider them as entitled only to derision or reproach.”<sup>443</sup> He sought to draw parallels between the Amelia Island group and their own founding fathers in an effort to show how the Amelia Island republic was continuing and advancing the republican experiments of the eighteenth century.

While on his stage in front of congress, Pazos Kanki also offered a damning critique of the United States’ alternating inaction and then action during the Spanish American wars for independence. Pazos Kanki described the “nearly eighteen millions” of “ardent defenders” of liberty and independence through Latin America. To him, the South American campaign was a struggle to establish sovereignty, restore “social and

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<sup>442</sup> James Monk to Dr. Chappell, in *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States*, (Boston, 1819).

<sup>443</sup> Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, p. 25.

civil rights,” and form Republican governments. He chastised the United States for their failure to recognize the revolutionaries or their new republics of Gran Colombia or the United Provinces of South America.<sup>444</sup> Pazos Kanki dreamed of the entire Western hemisphere joining together for a common cause as “the interest of the New World seems to enjoin the union of all Americans against their common enemies, the European monarchies.” Pazos Kanki asked “how can we account for the seizing of Amelia from the patriots, under pretense of fears....of some political contagion spreading amongst them, and disturbing their public tranquility” when all Americans seemed to be struggling to found governments on similar principles.<sup>445</sup>

But Pazos Kanki soon found that politicians had other reservations about a liberated Republic of Florida by South Americans. Anglo-Americans politicians had a difficult time seeing commonalities with their South American counterparts. John Q. Adams, the Secretary of State during the Amelia island affair suggested that “the struggle in South-America, is savage and ferocious almost beyond example. It is not the tug of war between Greek and Greek, but the tyger-conflict [sic] between Spaniard and Spaniard.”<sup>446</sup> He saw almost no reason to support South American independence or the Amelia Island affair, because he believed the South American patriots were not of the same stock as North American Republicans. Adams wrote to a friend, “The resemblance

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<sup>444</sup> Caitlin Fitz, *Our Sister Republics: The United States in an Age of American Revolutions*, (New York: Liveright, 2017); Don H. Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War*, (New York: Basic Books, 2017).

<sup>445</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents established at Amelia Island, in Florida under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South American*, p. 22.

<sup>446</sup> John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams, 14 April 1818, Founders Online, National Archives of the United States of America.

between this Revolution and ours is barely superficial.” He contrasted them as a differing in ideology and content, he claimed “ours was a war of freeman, for political Independence—this is a war of slaves against their master.” In some ways Adams was right. The Amelia Island Republic was different from the one in the United States. It was a critique of it.

Although short lived, the Amelia Island Republic reveals the promise and limits of the Age of Revolutions. The significance of the Amelia Island republic was the social and political commentary underlying each election, each proclamation. The republic on Amelia Island offered a powerful critique of the tensions, the conflicts, and the issues that still plagued republicanism in the early nineteenth century, like the racial paradigms and a social hierarchies handed down and jealously guarded from the colonial era. In its place, the Amelia Island revolutionaries envisioned its mirror image, a world where indigenous men rose to positions of power, where plantations burned to the ground, and where the “refuse of all nations” decided elections. Unfortunately, the United States military invaded the Amelia Island Republic and set into motion the process of acquiring and incorporating Florida into the United States. Pazos Kanki, after defending Amelia Island before the Congress of the United States, would once again try to create his vision of republicanism, this time, back in his homeland: Alto Peru.



## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

After fifteen long years of fighting, the community of San Pedro de Buena Vista, a community in Northern Potosi, was ready to celebrate. Men and women from Alto Peru had fought and struggled to gain political independence over the course of two decades and were now enjoying the completion of their struggle. So, on the 9 December 1826, the community organized a fiesta to celebrate the victory of Ayacucho, the battle which guaranteed the independence of South America. The day-long celebration included “a concert...in a gallery before the priest’s house,” where citizens could listen to music that celebrated the Bolivian nation. After the concert, citizens watched “a procession of notables” pass through the city streets, performing for the onlookers, where observers heard “a charming alternation of music.” The ceremony concluded with “various sonatas offered by the children of Manco Capac,” the indigenous majority of Northern Potosi, who performed a tribute to the Republic that they had helped to found. The citizens of San Pedro de Buena Vista commemorated, through song and pageantry, their long and winding path to create an independent republic.<sup>447</sup>

From 1809 to 1825, men and women in the valley region of what is today Bolivia fought against the Spanish colonial project, and in the process helped to shape political

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<sup>447</sup> Letter from a Chayanteno to the editor, *El Condor de Bolivia*, No. 56, Chuquisaca, 28 Dec. 1826.

debates not only in South America but the broader Atlantic. Some, like those in community of San Pedro de Buena Vista, grew up in the same region as the crown jewel of the Spanish colonial system—Sucre and Potosi. They fought in small republicuetas to help found a new nation that they could help to shape. Others from the region, like Jaime Zudáñez and Bernardo Monteagudo, helped the independence struggle from afar, traveling to present-day Peru and Argentina to fight in safer settings to ensure independence was achieved. What the revolutionaries formed was not perfect, but it was worth celebrating. Alto Peruvians had tossed off the yoke of Spanish colonialism and had created something of their own, something they could continue to modify and improve through their own participatory democracy. The citizens of San Pedro de Buena vista were celebrating the blood, toil, sweat, and tears that were required to form the Bolivian nation, and they were envisioning how they might continue to make it better.

The Bolivian republic was the ultimate outcome of the efforts of the multi-ethnic revolutionaries, like Pazos Kanki, Azurduy, and Vargas, but in the process of forming their own nation, Alto-Peruvians helped to shape broader political debates. These chasquis of liberty traveled countless miles and debated the precepts of the Age of Revolutions that encompassed Latin America, Europe, and the Atlantic World in the early nineteenth century. Through their travels, they connected disparate struggles for independence and made hemispheric republicanism a reality by forming alliances with other nation states' leaders. Revolutionaries like Pazos Kanki, envisioned an inclusive republicanism that stood in contrast to other republics in the Atlantic World that defended slavery and racial exclusion during the independence struggle. After the war was over,

and a republican state was formed, the chasquis of liberty continued their fight to expand liberty in South America.

### **Defining the Bolivian Nation**

Bolivians formally proclaimed independence on August 6, 1825, with the help of outside military aid from Simón Bolívar and Antonio José de Sucre. Bolívar and Sucre, both creoles from Northern South America, defeated Spanish forces in present-day Venezuela and Colombia and then turned to the last strongholds of the Spanish Colonial Army in Peru and Bolivia. In the Andean region, guerrilla warfare had pitted royalists against a growing number of independence fighters and left the region in a state of deadlocked civil war. Pro-Independence forces in Bolivia joined in with Bolívar's forces and decisively defeated the royalist forces on 9 December 1824 in the Battle of Ayacucho, effectively ending any possibility that the royalist would be able to hold on to the colonies for the Spanish Crown. Sucre continued his liberation march and defeated the last strongholds of royalist support in Alto Peru. With the royalist defeated, Alto Peruvians, with their war-time allies Bolívar and Sucre, began forming a nation in their own image.<sup>448</sup>

In 1826, Bolivian citizens and Bolívar designed a constitution that had both forward thinking and troubling elements. Like many of the newly formed nations in the Age of Revolutions, Bolivia was defined as “a popular Representative Government”

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<sup>448</sup> John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808-1826* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1973).

where “sovereignty emanates from the people.”<sup>449</sup> From the opening of the wars for independence in 1809, popular actors, like Francisco Rios, had demanded this type of participatory democracy, where they were allowed to shape the political future of their region. The constitution outlined that the popularly-elected government would then be “divided into four sections: Electoral, Legislative, Executive, and Judicial,” with each power acting as a check against the power of the other branches of the government, hoping to prevent the abuse of power that was common in monarchical governments.<sup>450</sup> Like their fellow-republics in the United States, Haiti, and South America, Bolivians would now have popular sovereignty, instead of being ruled by a European empire.

The 1826 Constitution defined the Bolivian nation and its citizenship in a comparatively inclusive manner, stating that Bolivia would be a “popular representative government” and that citizenship included “all natives of the Territory of the Republic” and “all those who, up to the present day, have been slaves, and who are de facto made free.”<sup>451</sup> These men and women were guaranteed all civil rights available in the new republic. This inclusive definition of citizenship was a central goal through many of the struggles of the chasquis of liberty, including Vicente Pazos Kanki and Bernardo Monteagudo, but it stopped short of extending voting rights to all. The 1826 Constitution required that voters be literate, at least twenty-one years old, and have some form of

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<sup>449</sup> David Busnell ed., *El Libertador: Writings of Simón Bolívar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

<sup>450</sup> David Busnell ed., *El Libertador: Writings of Simón Bolívar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

<sup>451</sup> David Busnell ed., *El Libertador: Writings of Simón Bolívar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

occupation that makes them financially independent, effectively putting class restrictions on the electorate.

Initially, the new Bolivian Republic also re-organized its method of tax collection. Indigenous communities had long demanded the abolition of indigenous tribute collection, and they had made major gains in getting both revolutionary and royalist forces to promise the abolition of the mita labor draft during the decades of warfare. In the early republican period, national leaders, like Bolivar, realized they could not immediately restore tribute labor. As one commenter noted, “many of the principal sources of revenue resorted to by the old government, would cease, as being oppressive and unpopular.”<sup>452</sup> So, Bolivar and the Bolivian Republic mandated that “the Indian tribute was abolished , monopolies done away, duties on imports and exports diminished, the alcavala reduced to a simple tax on retailers.”<sup>453</sup> Indigenous tribute was later reinstated in the early republican period, underlining the contested and debated nature of the early republic.

The early period of the Bolivian nation was defined by turbulence, with multiple competing factions trying to make and remake the republic in their own image. Bolivar shortly served as the first president of the Bolivian Republic, but was quickly replaced by his close friend Sucre. Sucre’s time in power was short lived and Bolivia would go on to have six presidents in their first five years as a new republic. During this period, Bolivians continued to experiment with their preferred method of organizing the government, and often, conservative factions gained political control, so like many

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<sup>452</sup> Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Voyage to South America, Vol 2.* (Baltimore, 1819).

<sup>453</sup> Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Voyage to South America, Vol 2.* (Baltimore, 1819).

revolutions—including those in the United States, France, and Haiti—not all the hopes and dreams were immediately achieved in the republican period. But the republican infrastructure offered popular classes a different way to engage with and shape their political future.<sup>454</sup>

### **Chasquis of Liberty and their Paths**

During this turbulent period, the chasquis of liberty continued to find a variety of ways to shape the Bolivian nation and other newly-formed republics. Even though the pro-revolutionary factions won the wars for independence, their work was not done. They continued to fight to improve the governments that they helped to create. Some stayed in what was Alto Peru and lived in the nation they helped to form. Others attempted to shape the political futures of other nations in South America as national leaders, diplomats, or citizens. Often they were competing against a new opponent—no longer Royalist, but those who hoped to limit the revolutionary changes in the republican period. So ardent revolutionaries, like the chasquis of liberty, continued to fight for the ideas that showed the possibilities of the Age of Revolutions.

José Manuel de Goyeneche, who was put in charge of announcing the news of the French invasion of Spain, remained a loyal follower of the Spanish crown, but was quickly replaced as Spain's political and military leader of South America. After relaying the news of Napoleon's invasion, Goyeneche became the key royalist figure trying to maintain a state of order in Alto Peru. After early riots, like the one in Chuquisaca on May 25, 1809, Goyeneche assumed a military role and fought against the growing

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<sup>454</sup> Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Oppressed But Not Defeated: Peasant Struggles Among the Aymara and Qhechwa in Bolivia, 1900-1980* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1987).

military presence in the region and the forces arriving from the Viceroyalty of Rio de La Plata. He struggled to maintain political order and lost a number of decisive battles, including the Battle of Tucuman in 1812 and the Battle of Salta in 1813. Along with losing battles, Goyeneche lost the confidence of the Spanish crown. The Spanish replaced Goyeneche with Joaquín de la Pezuela y Sánchez as the military and political leader of Alto Peru, ultimately an impossible mission with the rise of independence beliefs and forces. Goyeneche returned to Spain and lived out his life in the Spanish royal court.<sup>455</sup>

Francisco Rios, the leader of the May 25, 1809 riot in Chuquisaca, drifted into obscurity after helping to start the wars for independence in South America. Like many members of the popular classes, Rios did not reappear in either the colonial or national records after his actions in the Chuquisaca riot.<sup>456</sup> Rios testified about his actions in colonial courts in Oruro a few months after the riot, where he defended his actions by claiming to be a loyal supporter of the crown and suggesting alcohol contributed to his actions.<sup>457</sup> With the current records, it is unknown whether Rios took an active part in other moments of the independence record, but numerous other rioters played important parts in the later battles of the wars for independence—including Jaime Zudáñez who went on to campaign for independence in Chile and later became a political representative in congresses in Uruguay.

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<sup>455</sup> See chapter 1.

<sup>456</sup> Javier Mendoza Pizarro, *Quitacapas: Los sucesos revolucionarios de 1809 en el Alto Peru a traves de la participacion de un antiheroe ingorado* (La Paz: Plural editores, 2009).

<sup>457</sup> Javier Mendoza Pizarro, *Quitacapas: Los sucesos revolucionarios de 1809 en el Alto Peru a traves de la participacion de un antiheroe ingorado* (La Paz: Plural editores, 2009).

Bernardo Monteagudo, the revolutionary journalist of African descent, continued to fight for his vision of Latin American nationalism after the wars after revolutionaries won the wars for independence. During the wars for independence, he helped to promote the idea of republicanism in Buenos Aires and Chuquisaca, and revolutionaries spread his writings throughout South America. His most famous document, known simply as the Dialogue, helped to sway public opinion in Chuquisaca in favor of independence, and foretold the importance of Inca imagery in Andean nationalism.<sup>458</sup> After the conclusion of fighting, Monteagudo traveled throughout much of South and Central America, including Panama, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Colombia. Ultimately, Monteagudo became an early national leader of Peru. There, he advocated for a “general federation between Hispano-American states,” helped to design the political structure of Peru, and became a close ally of Simón Bolívar.<sup>459</sup> Monteagudo, unfortunately, was unable to see his plans put into effect. He was assassinated in January 1825 in a plot by a number of conservative Peruvians who felt Monteagudo’s reforms were too hasty.<sup>460</sup> Monteagudo, like many others striving for political independence, lost his own life for his political cause.

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<sup>458</sup> Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); E. Gabrielle Kuenzli, *Acting Inca: National Belonging in Early Twentieth-Century Bolivia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013).

<sup>459</sup> Bernardo Monteagudo, *Memoria sobre los principios políticos que seguí en la administración del Perú, y acontecimientos posteriores a mi separación* (Quito, 1823). Bernardo Monteagudo, *Ensayo sobre la necesidad de una federación jeneral entre los estados hispano-americanos, y plan de su organización* (Lima, 1825).

<sup>460</sup> Hernando Armaza Pérez del Castillo, *Libertarse De Sus Propios Libertadores: De Ayacucho a La Guerra Del Pacífico: Política Y Diplomacia, 1824-1884*, (La Paz: Plural editores, 2014).



While many of the revolutionaries who helped Bolivia gain independence ended up leaving the nation, others stayed in the region and celebrated their independence. Juana Azurduy, the mestiza woman who fought alongside her husband, Manuel Padilla, in small rebel enclaves, called *Republiquetas*, continued living in Bolivia after independence. She survived the frequent battles with royalist forces in a region which was prioritized by the Spanish and resulted in constant warfare over nearly two decades. After the war, she slipped into obscurity, living out her life in the same valley region that she had fought for during the wars for independence.<sup>461</sup> Another *republiqueta* veteran, José Santos Vargas, also survived the front lines of the independence wars and lived out his life in the town of Mohosa, Bolivia. Vargas enthusiastically supported the new republican Bolivia, and even wrote a diary of his time fighting in the independence wars. He submitted it to Bolivian officials and suggested that his diary “could be, in a great way, useful to the clarification and writing of our national history.”<sup>462</sup> For Vargas, political independence was not a continuation of the colonial past—a mirage of transition—but a tangible reminder of what he had fought for in the early nineteenth century.

Finally, Vicente Pazos Kanki, the indigenous, priest-turned-revolutionary, went on to assume a place in the diplomatic corps of the early Bolivian and Argentinian nations. After his exile from South America for his ardent support of republicanism, Pazos Kanki traveled throughout the Americas and Europe seeking to find international support for Latin American independence. His most extreme measure was trying to

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<sup>461</sup> Pancho O’ Donnell, *Juana Azurduy* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2017).

<sup>462</sup> José Santos Vargas, *Diario de un comandante de la independencia americana, 1814-182*, (México City: Siglo veintiuno editores, 1982), 39.

liberate Florida and creating a nation with multi-ethnic citizenship. While his vision for a Republican Florida was short lived, Pazos Kanki drew attention to the independence struggles and his allies in South America ultimately prevailed.<sup>463</sup> After independence, Pazos Kanki appointed himself ambassador for the United Provinces of South America—his vision for a federal alliance between all the newly-formed states in South America—and he resided in London.<sup>464</sup> As a diplomat, Pazos Kanki negotiated with European nations and reveals the opportunities the wars for independence created for visionaries like Pazos Kanki, who rose out of an indigenous village to become an international diplomat.

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<sup>463</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, commissioner on behalf of the republican agents established at Amelia Island, In Florida, under the authority and in behalf of the Independent States of South America*, (Philadelphia, 1818).

<sup>464</sup> Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance, and Protest of Don Vicente Pazos, commissioner on behalf of the republican agents established at Amelia Island, In Florida, under the authority and in behalf of the Independent States of South America*, (Philadelphia, 1818).

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