

## **Pax Porfiriana rules summary**

**Object:** Pax Porfiriana is Latin for “The Porfirian Peace” which refers to the 33-year reign of Mexican dictator Porfirio Diaz. As a Hacendado (rich businessman) in the pre-revolutionary borderlands of the U.S. and Mexico, you compete to build business empires of ranches, mines, rails, troops, and banks while subverting your opponents with bandidos, Indians, and lawsuits. To win, you need to accumulate enough Loyalty, Outrage, Command, or Revolution points to topple Diaz, either by succession, Mexican annexation, coup, or popular revolt, respectively. If Diaz is still seated at game’s end, the player with the most gold is the winner.

**Setup:** The white, red, and blue disks are worth one, five, and ten gold, respectively. The red disks are also used for Unrest and the blue disks are used for a jailed Hacendado.

1. Set aside the Play Aid, six Hacendado, four Regime, two Public, and four Topple cards.
2. Shuffle the remaining cards, and then count out 50 cards plus 10 cards per player. Shuffle these cards and create six stacks of about the same size.
3. Shuffle one Topple card into each of four of the six stacks.
4. Put the six stacks on top of the each other, placing the two stacks without Topple cards on top. This is the Play Deck. Put the remaining cards back in the box.
5. From the top of the Play Deck, lay out 12 face up cards in two rows of six each to form the Market. Note: if playing with 5-6 players, draw these 12 cards from the unused cards in the box instead.
6. Lay the two Public cards on the table, separate from the Market.
7. Stack the four Regime cards nearby with the Pax Porfiriana regime on top, color-side face up.
8. Shuffle the six Hacendado cards and deal one to each player. Put the unused Hacendado cards back in the box. Place your Hacendado in your row with its Loyalist side face up.
9. Each player is given 15 cubes of an available color. Place two of your cubes in the upper right of your Hacendado card.
10. Randomly determine the starting player.
11. Give four gold to the starting player, five to the second player, six to the third, etc.

### **Terms:**

Half – if something in the game is halved (indicated by the + icon), round up.

In Play – cards in your row, your Private Army, and your Extorting Troops, but not victim-awarded cards in your Prestige Stack.

Nationalization – when applied by certain Black and Headline cards, the enterprise is discarded. A troop present must be discarded or Retreated.

Prestige Point – the green, blue, white, and red ovals representing Loyalty, Outrage, Command, and Revolution, respectively. They are inactive if upside down (e.g., on slave plantations or newspapers), or on an enterprise with any Unrest Disks, or on an Extorting Troop on the same enterprise.

Prestige Stack – cards that are victim-awarded to you are stored half-under your Hacendado card with their Prestige Points visible.

Row – the area for your Hacendado, enterprises, and partners in play.

**Component Limitations:** You are limited to the 15 cubes of your color.

**Game Turns:** On your turn, complete the following four phases: Action, Discard Headlines, Restore Market, and Income.

The cards in your hand are secret, but your gold, the cards in your row, and any cards in your Prestige Stack are open for opponents to examine.

Deal Making – you may never transfer cards or money, but can otherwise make any deal. Deals are not binding.

**Action Phase:** You may perform up to three Actions from this list, in any order or frequency:

- Buy a Card from the Market – pay the gold cost associated with the card’s column in the Market. Buying a second card from the Market expends two actions. Purchased cards go into your hand except for Headline cards which are played immediately. Your hand size is 5 cards. If you are at your Hand Limit, then you can only purchase Headline cards. It is possible to exceed your hand size if cards are returned to your hand after being played (e.g., when an enterprise is Sacked).
- Buy a Public Card – purchase and immediately play one of the two Public cards, paying the price in the top right of the card. You can buy a Public card even if you are at your Hand Limit. Choose the side of the card to play. A Public card is not a Market card and does not affect the purchase of Market cards.
- Play a Card from Your Hand – pay the cost in gold in the upper right of the card or the cost of the Connection on the bottom of a Troop card that matches the destination.
- Sell a Card – discard a card from your hand or one of your cards in play and collect gold equal to the Economy of the current Regime card. Selling an enterprise in play causes any troop there to be Retreated or discarded by its owner and returns all cubes there to their owners’ reserves. You cannot sell an enterprise that has any Unrest Disks.
- Redeploy a Troop – move a troop to another destination by paying its Connection cost or redeploy in place for no cost. The card’s effects are not activated during a redeploy.
- Buy Land – expend two actions to add one Income Cube to your ranch or plantation by paying gold equal to the total number of cubes already on the card (e.g., Income, Connection, and Extortion Cubes).
- Upgrade Connection – place a Connection Cube on any Connection Oval on any enterprise in play (even an opponent’s) that does not already have its Connection upgraded. The cost is found in the Connection Oval.  
This upgrades the Connection to the level depicted, replacing the prior Connection. However, while the enterprise has any Unrest Disks the base Connection is used.  
Connection Cubes are immune to Extorting Troops.  
Upgrading an irrigation canal or steamship Connection provides extra income but does not change the enterprise’s Connection type of rail-connected.  
Chain Railroad – having one of your cubes on a rail connection with a chain icon (without Unrest present) allows you to build any Connection for only 1 gold. Also, you may play Federal (green) troops in either Sonora or Chihuahua.
- Police – pay three gold to remove an Unrest Disk from one of your enterprises, or zero gold if the enterprise either has troops present (regardless of who owns the troops) or during a Martial Law regime.  
Or pay 3 gold to get your Hacendado out of Jail (zero gold during a Martial Law regime).
- Speculation – place one of your cubes on any card in the Market that does not already have a Speculation Cube. If an opponent buys a card with your Speculation Cube on it, whatever he

pays for the card goes to you instead of to the pool. Any card can be speculated except for the fourth and final Topple card.

If the card is purchased or discarded, return the cube to your reserves.

You can also use this action to move one of your Speculation Cubes to another card.

If you are out of cubes, you can also use this action to shift one Income, Connection, Prestige, or Speculation Cube (but not an Extortion Cube) from one valid location to another (including back to your reserves).

You can also use this action to add a cube from your reserves to an enterprise that has fewer Income Cubes than allowed under the current Regime (e.g., because you were out of cubes earlier). However, ranches and plantations can never increase Income Cubes except via the Buy Land action (and certain Headlines) and Connections cannot gain cubes except by the Upgrade Connection action.

**Discard Headlines Phase:** Discard any Headline cards in the 0-cost column in the Market (including Topples) without effect into the discard pile that is only for Headline cards.

Each Headline card has a bull or a bear icon in the upper left.

Discarding a bear card on top of another bear card triggers a Depression.

Discarding a bull card on top of another bull card ends a Depression.

The current player decides the order in which the cards are discarded if both 0-cost slots have a Headline card.

**Restore Market Phase:** Refill empty slots in the Market by sliding cards away from the Play Deck and then flipping over cards to fill the empty slots.

**Income Phase:** Collect one gold for each cube of your color in your row and in the rows of other players (except for cubes on enterprises that have any Unrest Disks and any cubes on their extorting troops). This includes Income Cubes on your enterprises and Hacendado, Connection Cubes, Extortion Cubes, and Prestige Cubes on your Loyalty Points during a Pax Regime card. Do not count your cubes being used for Speculation Cubes.

**Hacendado Cards:** Below his name, each Hacendado has a starting ability on its Loyalist side. You may flip your Hacendado to its Partner side during a Toppling or a Retreat but then you lose its 2-cube income and starting ability. On its Partner side, your Hacendado is immune to conspiracies but not to Assassins (unless it has a Private Army). The colored boot or rail icon indicates its Faction Color and the Connection cost to Retreat your Private Armies.

Jail – if a victim-award from a Black or Orange card says that you have been Jailed, place a blue disk on your Hacendado. While in Jail, you only get two actions instead of three. If jailed during your turn, this effect activates as soon as your turn is over. Being jailed again while in jail has no additional effect. Getting out of Jail immediately restores your third action for the turn (but you keep your Prestige Point). If you have a partner that gives you jail-immunity, then Jailed has no effect (even if the immunity card itself is destroyed in the attack). If you acquire jail-immunity while in jail, you immediately get out of jail.

**Enterprise Cards:** When played, place it in your row with a number of your Income Cubes on the card indicated by the number in the upper left corner.

Each enterprise has a flag showing its District (Sonora, Chihuahua, or America) and a rail, mule, or boot icon indicating its Connection.

Some have one or two Connection Ovals indicating that the Upgrade Connection action can be used.

Some enterprises have a Prestige Point oval in the upper right corner.

Ranches – start with one Income Cube but can grow by using the Buy Land action.

Plantations – are treated like ranches but are vulnerable to Slave Revolts. If you cause the number of Unrest Disks to be greater than the total number of Income, Connection, Prestige, and Extortion Cubes on the plantation, you become the liberator. Several Rebel Troop Cards cause a Slave Revolt if used to extort a plantation. In either case, the plantation is victim-awarded to the liberator as a Revolution point and is stored in his Prestige Stack.

Mines – have Income Cubes (and Extortion Cubes) determined by the Mines value on the current Regime card. Adjust the number of cubes whenever the Regime changes or a Depression hits. Some mines are susceptible to Slave Revolts as per plantations above.

Banks – have Income Cubes (and Extortion Cubes) determined by the Economy value on the current Regime card. Adjust the number of cubes whenever the Regime changes or a Depression hits.

Gun Stores – the owner receives 2 gold from the pool every time any player (including the owner) plays an Orange Card. This is received even if the gun store is shut down by the Orange Card.

Smelters and Water Projects – have Income Cubes that depend on how many enterprises of the specific type (without Unrest present) are in play (with any players).

**Partner Cards:** These are specialists played in your row and are in four colors: blue (U.S.), green (Federal), red (Rebel), and white (Local).

Some provide a discount to play Enterprise Cards, however each enterprise can only be discounted by one partner.

Some offer a choice of orientation and Prestige Point that must be chosen when played.

**Public Cards:** These are a type of Partner Card and can only be purchased by the Buy a Public Card action.

When purchased, they are played immediately on the side/orientation of your choice. Any effects such as Strife, Regime Change, or Depression impact all players, starting with the player to the left of the purchaser.

**Headline Cards:** When purchased, they are played immediately. They can be played for the event or for Status Quo (no effect). The event and any effects such as Strife, Regime Change, or Depression impact all players, starting with the player to the left of the purchaser.

After playing, discard the Headline into the discard pile that is only for Headline cards. This can start or end a Depression.

**Troop Cards:** These are military forces deployed to “protect” enterprises, either yours or an opponent’s, and are in four colors: blue (U.S.), green (Federal), red (Rebel), and white (Local).

They can also be part of your Private Army by being played to your flipped Hacendado.

Each Troop has a flag showing the District (Sonora, Chihuahua, or America) where it has Jurisdiction (i.e., where it can be played). If conditions change, a troop is not required to leave the enterprise (e.g., a troop placed at a different District allowed by a Regime stays when the Regime changes) and it may Redeploy in place.

The cost to play or Redeploy a Troop depends on the Connection of its destination enterprise.

In the upper left corner is its type of Firepower: bow (1), rifle (2), or machine gun (3).

Each enterprise can only be occupied by one troop. If the enterprise already has a troop (regardless of ownership), your troop card must have greater Firepower in order to be placed there – this causes the original troop to be discarded.

When placed on an enterprise, place the troop half under the top of the enterprise card.

Remove a number of Unrest Disks from the enterprise equal to your troop's firepower.

You may take a Redeploy a Troop action to activate a troop without moving it. This costs no gold and removes Unrest Disks equal to your troop's firepower.

Your troop arriving at an opponent's enterprise becomes an Extorting Troop. You must have a cube in your reserve to move here. You cannot extort your opponent's Hacendado.

Replace one of the target enterprise's Income Cubes (or the Extortion Cube of the previous Extorter, if present) with one of your Extortion Cubes. You can place the Extortion Cube so that it straddles the enterprise and your troop to show ownership (although it is considered to be on the enterprise for game purposes).

If your extorting troop leaves the enterprise, convert the Extortion Cube back to the enterprise owner's Income Cube.

Sacked – if during the game your extorted enterprise must lose Income and Extortion Cubes (e.g., troop deployment, mines and banks during a Depression, smelters and water projects with zero income, or as a result of a Regime Change), remove the Income Cubes first and the Extortion Cube last (leaving any Prestige and Connection Cubes in place). If the Extortion Cube is removed, the enterprise is sacked. Note that your own troop can remain at your own enterprise and will not Sack it, even if it has no income.

Return the sacked enterprise to its owner's hand. The extorting troop is discarded or Retreated.

Retreat – if the enterprise that your troop occupies is nationalized, sold, Sacked, or Slave Revolted, you must either discard the troop or Retreat it into your Private Army. To retreat, flip your Hacendado to the same Faction color as the retreating troop (if not already flipped and if this color is available on your card) and immediately pay the Redeployment Cost based on the Hacendado's Connection. This does not count as an action.

Private Army – while your Hacendado is on its Partner side, you may play, Redeploy, or Retreat any number of troop cards of the matching Faction there and store them half-under the Hacendado card. These troops are in play and their Prestige Points (if any) are active. A Private Army protects your Hacendado from assassination. You may redeploy a Private Army to an enterprise.

**Black Cards:** These are one-time use, dirty-dealings played against other players (or against yourself).

You cannot play a Black Card if the process cannot be performed (e.g., the card says to remove an opponent's cube and he has none to remove).

Black Cards require 2 actions to play unless the specified Regime is in play.

The gold peso icon in the upper left corner indicates how much gold you steal from the victim (if the victim does not have enough gold to pay, you steal as much as he has).

If the card depicts an upside down Prestige Point at the bottom, it is victim-awarded. This means after the card is resolved, the target player stores the card as a victory point in his Prestige Stack.

Also, if specified, the victim is put in Jail.

Black cards that target an enterprise can do so even if it is protected by troops.

Player Assassination – the Assassination card can be played against a Hacendado that is flipped on its Partner side [EXC: Private Armies provide immunity to assassination]. An assassinated Hacendado is permanently flipped back to its Loyalist side.

**Orange Cards:** These are one-time use, and are played against enterprises (even your own), even if they are protected by troops.

The gold peso icon in the upper left corner indicates how much gold you steal from the victim (if the victim does not have enough gold to pay, you steal as much as he has) and the red icon indicates how many red Unrest Disks are placed on that enterprise.

If the card depicts an upside down Prestige Point at the bottom, it is victim-awarded. This means after the card is resolved, the target player stores the card as a victory point in his Prestige Stack. Also, if specified, the victim is put in Jail.

If the card has a flag(s), it can only be played against an enterprise in the same District(s).

**Strife:** Whenever certain Headline or Partner cards are played that have a fist icon, Strife immediately occurs between the indicated Faction Colors (green, blue, white, or red).

Strife forces all players with cards in play from both factions to discard all Troop and Partner cards of one of the colors.

Starting with the player to the left of the player that played the card, each player discards all cards from one of the two factions if he has both in play.

You are never allowed to discard your flipped Hacendado card and therefore if one of the colors matches your Hacendado's flipped partner side, you must discard the other faction's cards.

Strife is temporary and valid only on the turn the Strife occurs. During that turn, you may not play any cards with colors that are in strife with cards that you already have in play.

**Regimes:** Each of the four Regime cards depicts a form of government, values for Mines and Economy, and an effect.

- Pax Porfiriana (green) is Loyalty (Diaz retirement). Place a Prestige Cube on every Loyalty Point you control (this adds to your income each turn). When the regime changes, return the Prestige Cubes to your reserve.
- U.S. Intervention (blue) is Outrage (U.S. Annexation). U.S. Troop cards may be placed or redeployed into Sonora and Chihuahua.
- Martial Law (white) is Command (Coup D'etat). Police actions cost zero gold.
- Anarchy (red) is Revolution (Free Elections). All Troop cards may be placed or redeployed into any District.

Whenever certain Headline, Troop, Orange, or Public cards are played that have swirl-arrow icons, the Regime changes:

1. Place the new Regime card on top of the Regime stack.
2. Adjust the sum of Income and Extortion Cubes on each bank to equal the new Economy value on the Regime card (starting with the Income Cubes).
3. Adjust the sum of Income and Extortion Cubes on each mine to equal the new Mines value on the Regime card (starting with the Income Cubes).
4. Changing to/from the Pax Porfiriana regime adjusts Prestige Cubes as noted above.

**Depression:** If two “bear” cards are placed in the Headline discard pile one after the other, place a red disk on the bear icon on the current Regime to indicate an economic Depression.

A Depression persists even if the Regime changes.

Mines and Economy are zero during a Depression, so remove all Income and Extortion Cubes from mines and banks, leaving only their Connection and Prestige Cubes. Even mines improved by patents fall to zero value. When an extorted mine or bank loses all of its Income and Extortion Cubes, it is immediately Sacked [EXC: your troops in your own row do not need Extortion Cubes and do not sack your enterprises].

After collecting your income during the Income Phase during a Depression, you must pay one gold for each card you have in play or discard it. This does not include your Hacendado or cards in your Prestige Stack.

If two “bull” cards are placed in the Headline discard pile in a row, the Depression ends and the red disk is removed from the Regime card.

**The Straw Man:** You may play Orange or Black cards against one of your own enterprises or partners as a “Straw Man Play”.

You suffer the attack but receive the victim-awarded Prestige Point.

You cannot play an Orange card against one of your enterprises that already has Unrest Disks.

You cannot play a card against yourself that specifies against an opponent (e.g., conspiracies and antitrust).

Stealing gold from yourself has no effect.

**Game End:** If you buy one of the four Topple cards from the Market, you must interrupt the game to see if one or more players topples Diaz and wins. If Diaz prevails, the game continues.

1. Flip over the current Regime card to see the Tripartite Defense (the Diaz value of 2 plus the matching Prestige Points from your two opponents with the lowest matching Prestige Points).
2. If the Regime depicted on the Topple card matches the current Regime, you choose whether to play the Topple card for the “Minus 1” Diaz defense modifier or for its Diaz rallies/recants side (ignoring the modifier but the Toppling still continues).
3. Starting with the player to your left and continuing clockwise, each player decides whether to “take a stand” and flip their Hacendado card to its partner side and choose an orientation (if they have not already done so) and whether to discard any “During Toppling” cards that they have in play to modify the Toppling. You go last.
4. To topple Diaz, you need more Prestige Points in play matching the current Regime than those held by the Tripartite Defense. Players do not count Prestige Points on enterprises with Unrest, or on Extorting troops on those enterprises.  
(See the rulebook for variants for 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 players.)

If there are multiple players toppling Diaz, the winner is determined by a Gold Victory among them.

Gold Victory – if nobody is able to topple Diaz on the fourth Toppling, then the player with the most gold wins. If tied, the tied player with the most income in gold per turn is the winner.

## Phases of Your Turn

**Action Phase:** perform up to three actions from the list below, in any order or frequency

**Discard Headlines Phase:** discard any Headlines (including Topples) in the 0-cost slot in the Market, with no effect

**Restore Market Phase:** refill empty slots in the Market

**Income Phase:** gain one gold for each of your cubes in play except those on enterprises with Unrest and on an extorting troop on the same enterprise

## Actions

**Buy a Card from the Market** – buying a second card costs two actions; Headline cards are played immediately; hand limit is five

**Buy a Public Card** – play immediately

**Play a Card from Your Hand**

**Sell a Card** – sell a card from your hand or sell one of your cards in play for the current Economy value

**Redeploy a Troop**

**Buy Land** – costs two actions and pay gold equal to the total number of cubes already on your ranch or plantation

**Upgrade Connection** – on any enterprise, even an opponent's

**Police** – three gold to remove one Unrest Disk or to get out of jail

**Speculation** – place or move a Speculation Cube to a card in the Market; or shift any non-Extortion Cube to a valid location if you are out of cubes

| Regime            | Prestige   | Color | Effect  |
|-------------------|------------|-------|---|
| Pax Porfiriana    | Loyalty    | Green | Place a Prestige Cube on every Loyalty Point              |
| U.S. Intervention | Outrage    | Blue  | U.S. troops may be placed/redeployed in Mexican districts |
| Martial Law       | Command    | White | Police actions cost 0                                     |
| Anarchy           | Revolution | Red   | Troops may be placed/redeployed in any district           |