

The Jesuits in Spanish America in 1767

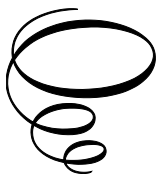
The Jesuits in Spanish America in 1767

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Society of Jesus came into existence with Papal approval in 1540 at the height of the Protestant reformation. The Jesuit leadership sought to take their message of the true faith to the world. The first members of the Society arrived in the Americas in Peru in 1568, and to Nueva España four years later in 1572. Over the next two centuries the Society of Jesus expanded their activities throughout Spanish America. Despite their growing importance in colonial society, their numbers were never great. At the time that King Carlos III ordered their expulsion, there was somewhere between 2,200 and 2,400 members of the Society of Jesus across Spanish America.

The Jesuits staffed frontier missions, but also had an important educational and spiritual role in colonial Spanish American cities. The urban colegios were centers of education, but also attended to the spiritual needs of city-folk through centers for the study of the Ignatian exercises and the organization of “popular” missions to test doctrinal correctness. The Jesuits, as already noted, administered mission communities on the frontiers as part of an ongoing Crown sponsored effort to evangelize indigenous peoples and to indoctrinate them in European social-cultural norms. This the members of the Society of Jesus attempted and accomplished to a certain extent across Spanish America despite the small number of members of the Society in Spain and the Americas. This was possible only because of the recruitment of members from among local elite families.

The Jesuits received donations of money and rent producing properties to support their activities in Spanish America, and created economic networks for the marketing of the products they produced and to procure the articles they needed. They also invested in the construction of large churches and colegio complexes in the cities, and oversaw construction on the mission communities they administered along the lines of urban development on the grid plan as established by Crown law. The most sophisticated urban plan was found on the Jesuit missions among the Guaraní, and in Chiquitos and Moxos in what today is Bolivia. An analysis of mission urban development is important for understanding the social-

political structure of the mission communities, as well as demographic patterns. This is one of the topics examined in this volume.

The Jesuits left an important historical and architectural heritage and patrimony that are the subjects of the essays in this volume, and that continues our exploration of these related themes in the format of a visual catalog that combines historical information and maps and images of historic structures.¹ Our most recent entry examined Jesuit frontier missions, but also included preliminary information and images of urban colegios.² This volume continues the series, and focuses on the architectural heritage of the Jesuit urban institutions in Spanish America through historic maps and diagrams, historic photographs, and contemporary images that document what remains of these complexes. This is presented as an appendix, along with a glossary of architectural terms found in seventeenth- and eighteenth century diagrams of Jesuit colegios. The historical importance of this architectural patrimony is recognized as national monuments or as a part of the UNESCO World Heritage List, and a list of these recognitions is also included in the Appendix.

A central theme of this tome is the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, and one aspect of this history is what happened to the urban complexes following the expulsion and in the nineteenth century when governments such as that of Mexico redefined the relationship between church and state based on the implementation of liberal precepts. The history of four Mexican colegio complexes illuminates the development of the Jesuit urban presence, and the use of the colegios following the expulsion. The largest concentrations of Jesuits were in Mexico City and Puebla de los Ángeles, and the discussion of urban Jesuits in Chapter 2 outlines the development of the colegio complexes in the two cities. The Jesuits established colegios in a number of smaller cities, and case studies of three are presented here. They are the colegios in Zacatecas, Antequera (Oaxaca de Juarez) and Veracruz. The discussion of the colegio in Veracruz provides an opportunity

¹ Robert H. Jackson and Fernando Amador, *A Visual Catalog of Sixteenth Century Central Mexican Doctrinas* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016); Robert H. Jackson, *A Visual Catalog of Spanish Frontier Missions, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018); Arturo Vergara Hernández and Robert H. Jackson, *Las doctrinas franciscanas de México a fines del siglo XVI en las descripciones de Antonio de Ciudad Real (O.F.M.) y su situación actual* (Pachuca: Universidad Autónoma Estado de Hidalgo, 2018).

² Robert H. Jackson and Juan Antonio Siller Camacho, *A Visual Catalog of Jesuit Missions in Spanish America* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2021).

to explore popular perceptions of the Black Robes through an analysis of the song and dance *El Chuchumbé* investigated and banned by the Inquisition in 1766, one year before the expulsion. The song lyrics that satirize the mores of Jesuits, Franciscans, and Mercedarians, provide a counter-narrative to the official history found in documents and chronicles written by members of the orders. The context to this historical episode is found in the importance of Veracruz as a port of entry for African slaves.

At the time of the expulsion, the Jesuits administered missions on the frontiers of Spanish settlement in what today is northern Mexico, in Colombia and Venezuela, in parts of the larger Amazon region including Marañón, in what today is eastern Bolivia, and the larger Rio de la Plata region. In terms of total numbers the Province of Nueva España had the largest number of Jesuits, but the Province of Paracuaria that included parts of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia had the second largest number. Until the mid-eighteenth-century, the Rio de la Plata was a relatively underdeveloped colonial backwater that received less Crown attention than did other regions such as Mexico and Peru. However, the Jesuit mission program was important for the stability of Spanish control of the region. For one, the Guaraní mission militia organized in the 1630s following bandeirante incursions was vital for the defense of the region, and participated in campaigns in the ongoing Spanish-Portuguese conflict over the disputed borderlands in what today is Rio Grande do Sul and Uruguay. At the time of the expulsion, for example, 80 Jesuits staffed the thirty missions among the Guaraní, and this was the largest number of missionaries the Jesuit leadership assigned to missions in Spanish America. They were also the most populous of the Spanish American missions. In 1768, Yapeyú had a population of some 8,500, and was the most populous. Buenos Aires, the largest Spanish settlement in the region, had a population of around 12,000.

We examine three issues related to the Jesuit administration of the missions among the Guaraní in their last years of tenure. One is a discussion of the effects of the regional Spanish-Portuguese conflict for control of the disputed borderlands of the Rio de la Plata. The mission militia participated in campaigns, for example, against the Portuguese outpost Colonia do Sacramento located in what today is Uruguay, and also against the rebellious settlers of Paraguay in the conflict known as the *Comunero* rebellion. Mobilizations in the decade of the 1730s occurred during a period of climate anomalies that resulted in crop failures and famine, and the absence of thousands of militiamen on campaign exacerbated the crisis. The discussion also includes the fall-out from the 1750 Treaty of Madrid that attempted to define the Spanish and Portuguese sphere of influences in South America.

The treaty provided for the transfer of the seven missions located east of the Uruguay River to Portugal, a provision the mission residents resisted until a joint Spanish-Portuguese army defeated the rebels in 1756.

Drought and over-night freezing conditions damaged crops on the mission communities. One cause of the climate anomalies may have been a volcanic eruption in the Canary Islands in the years 1730-1736. Crop failure and famine conditions, and resulted in the exodus of thousands of mission residents who fled in search of food. One group of fugitives created a community on the edge of the mission territory that was, in some regards, a parody of the mission communities as regards the norms of spiritual life. The movement of people facilitated the spread of contagion, and lethal epidemics occurred including a 1737-1740 smallpox outbreak. These calamities occurred, as already noted, during a period of mobilization of thousands of mission militiamen, and this reality exacerbated the problem. Altogether, more than 90,000 mission residents died during the period of crisis.

The Jesuits directed the development of mission complexes and urban plan on the grid plan, and along the lines established by law. In many regards the urban plan on the Guaraní, Chiquitos, and Moxos missions was the most sophisticated of the Jesuit missions in the Americas. That we can illustrate the configuration of the mission urban plan in detail was an indirect consequence of regional conflict in the Rio de la Plata. Following the treaties of Madrid (1750) and San Ildefonso (1777), Spain and Portugal created joint boundary commissions to delineate and map the boundary between the territories claimed by the two countries, and to set boundary markers. Professional engineers/cartographers such as José María Cabrer participated in the two commissions, and drafted plans of the mission complexes. Those of Cabrer showed the deterioration of the mission complexes under civil administration in the mid-1780s.

The mission communities also claimed lands for communal use such as *yerbales* for the production of yerba mate to sell in the regional economy, *vaquerias* or areas where feral cattle roamed and that the missions used to replenish their herds, the *chacras* or lands exploited by the Guaraní heads of household, and communal lands administered by the Jesuits. Prior to the expulsion, the Jesuit missionaries safe-guarded the written titles to mission lands, but following the expulsion the Guaraní community leaders maintained the land records as was the norm on other *pueblos de indios*. Land maps produced by Guaraní artists/cartographers accompanied the land titles, and a handful of these maps still exist. They were used, for example, as evidence in land disputes. Indigenous land maps that have been subject to academic study exist for other regions such as in central Mexico, but

maps for frontier missions are a rarity. One of the few parallels can be found in the *diseños* or plans drafted in California as a requirement for the titling of land grants made in the 1830s and 1840s to private individuals by the governors of Mexican California. Some grants were made from mission lands, and there are maps of the mission lands themselves.

As already noted, there was only a small number of members of the Society of Jesus in Spanish America on June 24, 1767. Who were the Jesuits expelled from Spanish America? The process of the expulsion was highly bureaucratic. Royal officials occupied and inventoried Jesuit colegios, missions, and urban and rural properties, and had to account for the expenses resulting from the transportation of the Jesuits to Spain and eventually into exile in the Papal States. One part of the process of the occupation of the colegios and missions was the elaboration of lists of the Jesuits and their employees. The Jesuits traveled to Spain on different ships, and a list exists of those who boarded the ships. There is also a record of those who remained in the Americas because of illness, who died on the way to or in the ports, and who died at sea. Most but not all exiled Jesuits received a pension, and a detailed 1775 report documented the status of the surviving Jesuits eight years following the Society's expulsion and two years following the Papal suppression of the Society of Jesus. These records are useful for approximating the number of Jesuits in Spanish America on June 25, 1767.

The young Veracruz-born Jesuit Rafael Zelis survived the trip to Europe, and went into exile in Italy. He kept a detailed record of the fate of the members of the Society of Jesus in the Provincia of Nueva España at the time of the expulsion, which, along with the other sources, allow for a construction of a profile of the expelled Jesuits who staffed selected urban institutions and frontier missions in what today is Mexico. The figures presented here perhaps come closest to documenting the number of Jesuits in Spanish America on that fateful day in June of 1767, and the institutions they staffed. Moreover, available sources allow for a detailed prosopographic analysis of the Black Robes. Most were *criollos* (creoles), or the American-born sons of local mostly elite American families. However, there were also Spanish-born Jesuits in the Americas, and non-Spanish Europeans. The Jesuit leadership relied on American-born members of the Society to staff urban institutions, but on some frontier missions they had greater confidence in the European-born. Most that survived the journey to Europe ended their lives in what today is Italy, but a small number were held in Spain, some as prisoners. At the same time, some non-Spanish European Jesuits returned to their provinces. Thus ended the presence of the Society of Jesus in Spanish America.

CHAPTER 2

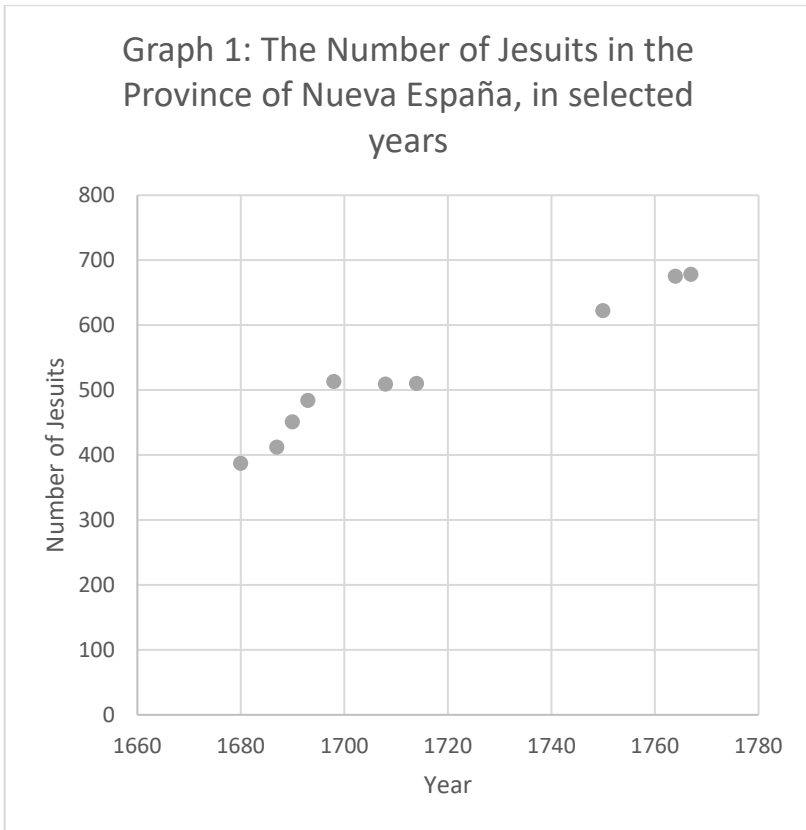
THE END AND THE BEGINNING

The Society of Jesus came into being in 1540 in the crucible of the Catholic Counter-Reformation in response to the challenge of Protestantism. Europe was divided along religious lines, and matters of faith were sufficient cause for repression and war. The political and cultural landscape of Europe was much different two-hundred years later in the mid-eighteenth century, and the Society of Jesus was no longer viewed as essential in monarchies that attempted to enhance and centralize their authority. Unlike other Catholic religious orders such as the Franciscans that were organized into national-level administrative units, the Society of Jesus was an international order that answered directly to the so-called “Black Pope” (General) in Rome, and to the Pope. In 1759, the King of Portugal José I (r. 1750-1777) ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits from his dominions. Five years later, in 1764, the French King Louis XV (r. 1715-1774) did the same.

In 1750, the Society of Jesus reportedly had 22,642 members, of whom 11,345 were priests. There were five national level administrative units known as *asistencias*: Itálica, Portuguesa, Hispánica, Gálica, and Germánica. Germánica was the largest in terms of total numbers, and had 8,747 members. The *asistencias* were divided into 39 provinces. The largest province in the *asistencia* of Hispánica was Castilla, that counted 718 members, and the largest province in Spanish America was Nueva España with 622 (see Graph 1).³

The regional administrative unit was the province headed by a provincial. The Jesuits developed their different activities in a variety of institutions. This included the urban institutions, and the Jesuits invested large sums in the construction of large building complexes that generally occupied strategic locations in city centers. The Jesuits played an important role in colonial Spanish American cities. Their churches catered to city-folk, and they educated the children of wealthy citizens and of the indigenous

³ María Cristina Torales Pacheco, “La provincia jesuita de Nueva España: Criollismo e identidad,” in *Jesuitas en las Américas: Presencia en el tiempo*, ed. Jorge Troisi Melean and Marcia Amantino (Buenos Aires: Teseopress, 2019), 91–125.



elites, and organized urban missions known as “popular missions.” One institution was the *colegio mayor* which was a university that focused on the teaching of theology and philosophy. There would also have been a *convictorio* (*domus convictorum*) or residence for the university students who did not have a place to live. One example was the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo located in México City (see Figures A20-A29). A second institution was the *colegio menor* that generally taught grammar. The Jesuits established three colegios in México City in the same large block as the Colegio Máximo. One was the Colegio de San Ildefonso (see Figures A30-A32), a second the Colegio de San Gregorio (see Figures A34-A36) founded in 1573 to educate the children of the indigenous elite, and another named the Colegio de San Andrés (see Figures A40-A42). The indigenous population of Tacuba initially supported San Gregorio, but in

the late seventeenth century Juan de Chavarria Valera donated 34,000 pesos and the hacienda of San José de Acolman for the construction of a church erected from 1682-1685.⁴

There were also *casas profesas* or a place of residence for the Jesuit priests who had taken the fourth vow of obedience to the Pope. An example was the casa profesa in México City of which only the church survives. During the Jesuit tenure the church was named San José el Real, but following the Jesuit expulsion royal officials reassigned the church and adjoining complex and it was renamed the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri. It is popularly known today as “La Profesa.” (see Figures A37-A39). Other Jesuit institutions included the *casa de ejercicios* that were devotional centers for lay people segregated by gender. There would be one for men and a second for women. Finally, there were *Noviciados* (*domus probationis, noviciatus*) or novitiates for the training of young men who wished to join the order. An example of a novitiate is that of San Francisco Xavier located in Tepotzotlán, Estado de México, México (see Figures A45-A51). A *residencia* was a Jesuit installation that did not have the status of a colegio, but established a Jesuit presence in an urban center.⁵

The Jesuits developed an extensive economic system to finance their urban and missionary activities. Studies have outlined, for example, the range of income producing operations in South America. One type of operation was an income producing rural estate that produced different products. In the river valleys of southern Peru there were Jesuit owned sugar estates worked, in part, by slave labor.⁶ A second example was of textile mills known as *obrajes* that operated in cities such as Quito in what today is Ecuador.⁷ A third example was Jesuit owned ranches located in what today is northern Argentina that bred mules for sale in Upper Perú (Bolivia), and particularly in mines such as Potosí.⁸

⁴ Luisa Elena Alcalá, Patricia Díaz Cayeros, and Gabriela Sánchez Reyes, “Solemn procesión a la imagen de Nuestra Señora de Loreto: La epidemia de sarampión en 1727,” *Encrucijada* 1 (2009), 22-51.

⁵ Carlos Page, “Los planos de los colegios jesuíticos de Lima, Ayacucho, y Sucre de la Biblioteca Nacional de Francia,” *ALTERITAS, Revista de Estudios Socioculturales Andino Amazónicos* 8 no. 9 (2019): 247-262.

⁶ Nicholas Cushner, *Lords of the Land: Sugar, Wine, and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru, 1600–1767* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1980).

⁷ Nicholas Cushner, *Farm and Factory: The Jesuits and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Colonial Quito* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1982).

⁸ Nicholas Cushner, *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650–1767* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1984).

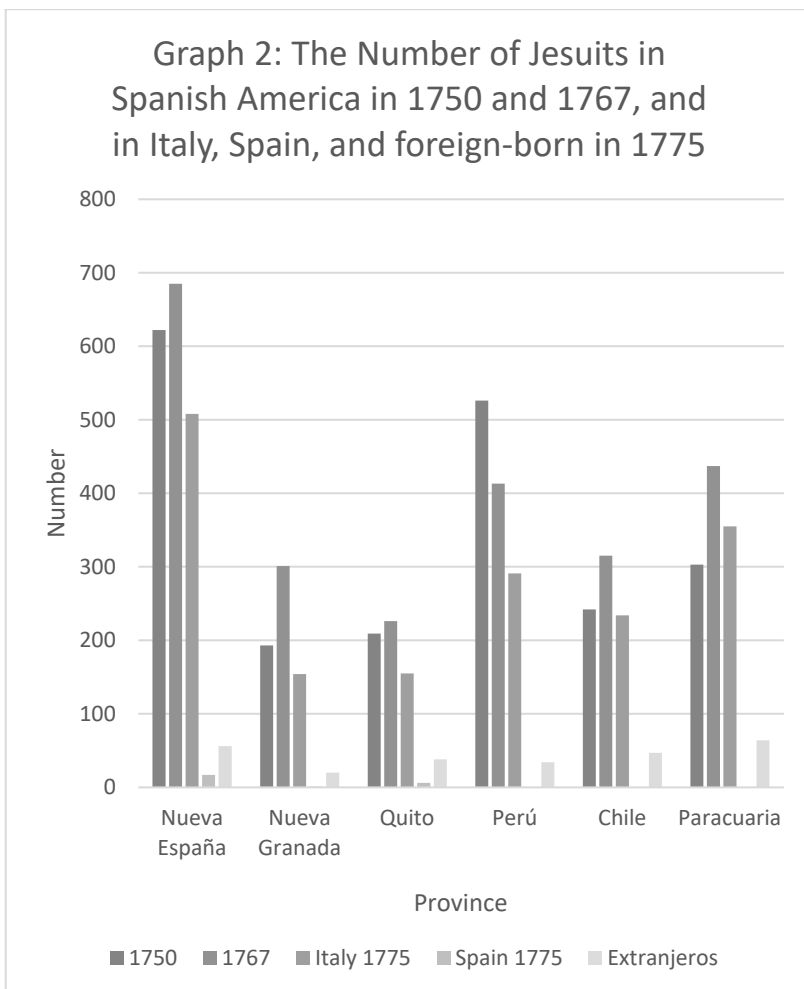
In addition to the urban institutions there were also Jesuit frontier missions to indigenous peoples in the provincial administrative unit. Typical was the province of Paracuaria that included parts of what today are the modern countries of Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Paraguay, and Bolivia, was typical. There were colegios in a number of the major urban centers including Buenos Aires, farming and ranching operations, as well as missions. Paracuaria had a number of groups of missions that included those among the Guaraní, on the Pampas and Chaco frontiers, and in the Chiquitania region of eastern Bolivia in what today is Santa Cruz Department. There was a separate administrative/economic system for the missions. There were offices in major urban centers known as *oficio de misiones/procuradurías* that marketed goods produced by Jesuit operations and also procured goods.⁹ The Jesuits stationed on the Chiquitos missions, for example, did business with the office in Potosi, whereas the missions among the Guaraní with the offices in Buenos Aires and Santa Fe. In the case of the missions established after 1697 in Baja California in northern México the Jesuits assumed complete responsibility for covering all of the costs of administration including the salaries and expenses of the military personnel. The Crown accepted this arrangement after its own colonization attempts failed.¹⁰

A 1750 inspection documented the extent of the Jesuit presence in Spanish America 17 years before the expulsion order. Altogether, and including the Philippines that was an appendage of Nueva España, there were 2,221 Jesuits, 83 colegios, 32 residencias, and 21 mission rectorates. The Mexican Province also included Guatemala and Cuba counted the largest number of Jesuits with 622. The Province consisted of 23 colegios, five residencias, and seven mission rectorates (see Table 1). The number in

⁹ Cynthia Radding de Murrieta, "From the Counting House to the Field and Loom: Ecologies, Cultures, and Economics in the Missions of Sonora (Mexico) and Chiquitania (Bolivia)," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, no. 1 (2001): 45–87; David Block, "Links to the Frontier: Jesuit Supply of Its Moxos Missions, 1683–1767," *The Americas* 37, no. 2 (1980): 161–78.

¹⁰ See, for example, Peter Masten Dunne, S.J., *Black Robes in Lower California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952); Ignacio del Río, *Conquista y aculturación en la California jesuítica, 1697–1768* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984); Ignacio del Río, *El régimen jesuítico de la Antigua California* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2003); Robert H. Jackson, *Missions and Frontiers of Spanish America: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Rio de la Plata Region and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*. (Scottsdale: Pentacle Press, 2005).

México increased up to the point of the expulsion order (see Table 2). The two urban centers with the largest presence were México City and Puebla de los Ángeles (see Table 4), and the Jesuits had a presence in most of the major urban centers. Perú was second in terms of the total numbers with 526 Jesuits, 15 colegios, and three residencias. The Province of Paracuaria ranked third in terms of the number of Jesuits that reflected the importance of its seven mission rectorates. The number of Black Robes totaled 303; there were 10 colegios, and one residencia.



The end for the Jesuits in Spanish America came in 1767. On April 2, 1767, King Carlos III (r. 1759-1788) issued a decree titled “Pragmática sanción de su Magestad en fuerza de ley para el estrañamiento de estos Reynos a los Regulares de la Compañía, ocupación de sus Temporalidades, y prohibición de su restablecimiento en tiempo alguno, con las demás prevenciones que expresa.” The King chose to not give the reasons for his order, but there was growing anti-Jesuit sentiment in Spain and its territories and there was the precedent established several years earlier by Portugal and France. A bread riot in Madrid in March of 1766 known as the Motín de Esquilache may have been a factor, and became a source of potent anti-Jesuit propaganda as they were blamed for the riot. In a real sense, and given the changed European political reality of Regalism, the Jesuits had outlived their usefulness.

Royal officials opened the decree on June 24, and on the next day began the process of arresting the Jesuits in their different institutions. The process took longer in frontier areas distant from the urban centers. A detailed document drafted in June of 1769 reported the number of Jesuits exiled from the Indies that arrived in the port of Santa María near Cadiz in Spain for their eventual exile in Italy.¹¹ The list contained the names of most but not all of the Jesuits expelled from the Indies, and did not include those from the Philippines. A total of 2,116 left the Americas, but 38 Jesuits died at sea including ten missionaries from the Guaraní missions lost in a storm, and 2,078 reached Spain where another 36 died. The largest number came from México with 553, but the second largest group was 449 from Paracuaria that again highlights the importance of the Jesuit missions in the region. Three examples illustrate the process of expulsion of the Jesuits. Royal officials in México City opened the expulsion decree on June 24, 1767. The following morning officials arrived at the novitiate at Tepotzotlán north of the city. At the time there were 76 Jesuits there, including 36 novices. The novices were given 24 hours to decide if they would remain in the order, or leave. All of the novices chose to remain in the order. On July 4, the group from Tepotzotlán left for Veracruz, and on November 21 boarded ships for Europe. There were 16 Jesuits in the colegio in Zacatecas.¹² Documents from Puebla in Mexico show that it was a military operation. After arresting the Jesuits, soldiers occupied the five colegios in the city. The largest number, 143, occupied Espíritu Santo, 24 in San Gerónimo, 65 in San

¹¹ Francisco Uruburu de Toro, June 30, 1769, “Lista de los jesuitas expulsados de Indias, llegados al Puerto de Santa María,” Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

¹² Emilia Recéndez Guerrero, *Legado de la Compañía de Jesús a un centro minero Zacatecas (1592-1767)*. (Zacatecas: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2013), 102.

Ildefonso, 22 in San Ignacio, and 81 in San Francisco Xavier.¹³ The Jesuits in Puebla left on their journey to Veracruz and exile in two groups. Royal officials placed those who temporarily remained in Puebla in different religious institutions in the city: Convento de Carmen 12; San Francisco 1; San Agustín 1; Santo Domingo 1; San Antonio 1; la Merced 7; the Hospital de Belén 8; and one remained in one of the colegios.¹⁴ Several in this group were too frail to go into exile, and remained and died in the city. Altogether the decree exiled 678 Jesuits in México and its dependencies that included Guatemala, Cuba, and the Philippines (see Table 4). Of this number 35 died of yellow fever in Veracruz, another 19 died in Cuba, 11 died at sea, and another nine in Spain.¹⁵ The pattern of mortality among the Jesuits in Veracruz suggests that they arrived in the middle of an epidemic. In Guanajuato the expulsion sparked an urban uprising in July of 1767 that royal officials brutally suppressed.¹⁶

A 1775 report provided a more detailed accounting of the expulsion of the Jesuits, their distribution in different institutions, and their fate following their exile from the Americas and the Philippines.¹⁷ Tables 2-4 summarize the number of Jesuits in Nueva España, the Philippines, and South America at the time of the expulsion. The 1775 report documents the status of the exiles as of October 1, 1775. The largest group that was in Italy totaled 1,697, another 80 remained in Spain for different reasons including 24 from the Americas, 317 had died, and 259 were foreign-born and did not receive a pension. Of those who remained in Spain, 37 lived in different convents and hospitals, 23 remained in the Puerto de Santa María, 17 were in other

¹³ (July, 1767) Estado de los Oficiales, Sargentos, Cabos, y Soldados que Desde el día de la fecha han de quedar en guardia de los cinco Colegios de esta Ciudad de Puebla, Fondo Jesuita, Archivo Nacional de Chile, Vol. 292.

¹⁴ Francisco Xavier Machozo Fiesco, Colegio del Espíritu Santo, July 11, 1767, Estado que manifiesta el numero de Rligiosos de la Compañía q(u)e se hallaron en los cinco Colegios de esta Ciu(da)d de la Puebla, Fondo Jesuita, Archivo Nacional de Chile, vol. 292.

¹⁵ Alma Montero Alarcón, *Jesuitas de Tepotzotlán. La expulsión y el amargo destierro*. (Mexico City: INAH, 2014), 65-67, 86, 103-104.

¹⁶ Carlos Ruiz Medrano, “El tumulto de 1767 en Guanajuato,” *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 19 (1999), 13-46.

¹⁷ Juan Antonio Archimbaud y Solano, 31 de octubre de 1775, Estado general en que se demuestra el número y clase de regulares de la extinguida religión de la Compañía [de Jesús] que existían en España cuando se les intimó el Real Decreto de expulsión: los que han llegado de los reinos de la América al Puerto de Santa María, los que han fallecido desde aquella época hasta [el] 31 de octubre de 1775, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Mss/9136.

cities, two were in prison in Madrid, and there is no information regarding one individual.

Many were natives of the Americas as seen in the cases of the five colegios in Mexico City, Puebla, Antequera (Oaxaca), and Zacatecas in Mexico (see Appendix 2). The majority of Jesuits who staffed the colegios in Puebla were natives of New Spain (69), eight were from other American territories, another 30 were from Spain, and four from other areas in Europe. Of those from New Spain, 13 were from Puebla City. The majority died in exile in a foreign land. Another 18 were classified as fugitives (see Table 5). Altogether, 40 Jesuits were classified as fugitives in Spain and the Americas. Of this number, 18 had gone missing at the time of the implementation of the expulsion order, and 12 embarked on ships bound for exile in Italy but then disappeared. This marked the last accounting by royal officials of the process of expulsion of the members of the Society of Jesus, and at the time of the report the Papacy had already suppressed the order. However, the exiled Jesuit Rafael Zelis maintained a detailed record of those who had been in the Province of Nueva España (excluding the Philippines), and others maintained the record after Zelis himself died.¹⁸

Life in the eighteenth-century was short for most people as shown in estimates of mean life expectancy at birth (MLE). For example, the MLE for Breslau (Germany) at the end of the seventeenth-century was 33.5 years, and 23.5 years for the population of Paris at the beginning of the eighteenth-century. Towards the end of the *ancien regime* in France the MLE was 28.8 years.¹⁹ Life was also short for indigenous peoples in the Americas brought to live on frontier missions. The MLE of the Guaraní populations living on the Jesuit missions was 21.5 years.²⁰ There were instances of lower life expectancies on missions on the northern frontier of Nueva España. The Jesuit mission Comondú in Baja California is an example. In the years 1736-1765 during the Jesuit administration of the mission, the MLE was 13.3 years, and dropped to a mere 1.1 years in the period 1766-1800 as the mission population rapidly declined. In contrast the MLE of the California presidio populations was 31.4 in the years 1790-1834.²¹ However, this is not

¹⁸ Rafael Zelis, S.J., *Catálogo de los sujetos de la Compañía de Jesús que formaban la Provincia de México el día del arresto 25 de junio de 1767* (México, D.F.: Imprenta de I. Escalante y Cia, 1871).

¹⁹ Aaron Antonovsky, "Social class, life expectancy and overall mortality," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 45:2 (1967), 31-73.

²⁰ Robert H. Jackson, "Una mirada a los patrones demográficos de las misiones jesuitas de Paraguay," *Fronteras de la Historia* 9 (2004), 129-178.

²¹ Robert H. Jackson, *The Bourbon Reforms and the remaking of Spanish Frontier Missions* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2022), 108, 254.

to say that some members of society, and particularly socio-economic elites, did not live longer. This can be seen in the case of the Jesuits in Puebla at the time of the expulsion, where a total of 58 percent lived beyond the age of 60. Moreover, at the time of the expulsion the majority of the Jesuits in Puebla had already lived longer than the average person (see Appendix 2, Graph 37).

The Beginning

The Society of Jesus came into existence in the sixteenth century at a period of religious and political conflict. The Protestant Reformation challenged the corruption of the Catholic Church and polarized the region as anti-Papal and anti-Catholic practices and rhetoric spread. In Germany, for example, the public rituals of Carnival known locally as *Fastnacht* evolved into popular expressions of anti-Catholic and anti-Papal sentiments. Carnival in German communities evolved into a mocking of the Papacy, Catholicism, and Catholic intellectuals such as the Strasburg polemicist Thomas Murner. In Wittenberg, for example, Protestants took effigies of the Pope, cardinals, and bishops to the market, where people pelted the figures with dung. In 1522 in Strasburg, Protestants carried a figure of Thomas Murner in the streets, and passed beneath his window.²² Catholics and Protestants went to war against each other and committed atrocities in the name of the Prince of Peace.

The first General was Iñigo López de Loyola who later took the name Ignacio de Loyola. He was born around 1491 to a good family in Azpetia in Castilla. He initially pursued a military career, but was wounded in battle in 1530 and had a slow and painful recovery. During this period, he read about the life of Jesus and had a spiritual rebirth. He decided to dedicate his life to God. In 1534, Iñigo López de Loyola was in Rome, and there he along with Francisco Xavier, and seven others founded the Society of Jesus. Pope Paul III authorized the new order six years later in 1540. Ignacio de Loyola became the first General in 1541. He died in Rome on July 31, 1556. Depictions of his life and death became an important theme in Jesuit iconography.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Jesuit Generals sent missionaries throughout the world to the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Jesuits found their way to Huronia in the French colony in Canada, the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia, Goa and other Portuguese outposts in India, the Ming

²² Bob Scribner, "Reformation, Carnival and the world turned upside-down," *Social History* 3 no. 3 (1978): 303-329.

Dynasty court in China, and to Japan where they baptized thousands until the government initiated an anti-Christian persecution that ultimately resulted in the expulsion of most Europeans and a policy of isolation that lasted for several centuries. The first act of persecution was the 1597 crucifixion in Nagasaki of Japanese Christians and a handful of foreign missionaries, a total of 26 men including three Japanese Jesuits. One was the Franciscan Felipe de Jesús who was a native of México City. Forty years later the Jesuits established a mission at the Guarani village of Caaró (Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil) that they named Los Santos Mártires del Japón to commemorate the Nagasaki martyrs. The Jesuits also came to the Spanish territories in the Americas. They arrived in Lima in the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1568 and in the Viceroyalty of Nueva España four years later in 1572. As more personnel became available, the Jesuits expanded to other parts of Spanish America.

The Jesuits had multiple roles in colonial Spanish America. One was in the cities, where they were educators and tended to the spiritual needs of urban-folk. They also organized what were called “Popular Missions,” or visitations to Catholic communities to test the doctrinal knowledge of the people and to correct errors in their understanding and practices. The Jesuits also staffed missions on the frontiers of Spanish America. The following chapters provide an overview of their activities at about the time of the Jesuit expulsion in 1767.

Table 1: The number of Jesuits in Spanish America in 1750

Province	Number Jesuits	Colegios	Residencias	Mission Rectorates
Perú	526	15	3	
Chile	242	10	10	
Nueva Granada	193	9	1	
México	622	23	5	9
Paracuaria	303	10	1	7
Quito	209	11		4
Philippines	126	5	12	1
Total	2,221	83	32	21

Source: María Cristina Torales Pacheco, “La Provincia Jesuita de Nueva España: Criollismo e Identidad,” in Jorge Troisi Melean and Marcia Amantino, coord., *Jesuitas en las Américas. Presencia en el tiempo*, (Teseopress, 2019). Internet site www.teseopress.com, 91-125.

Table 2: The Number of Jesuits in the Province of Nueva España in 1750, 1753, and 1767

Urban Institutions	1750		1753	1767
	Priests	Brothers		
Curia Provincial			12	
Casa Profesa (México City)	18	13	33	34
Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo (México City)	38	15	89	90
Colegio de San Andrés (México City)	12	17	15	28
Colegio de San Gregorio	6	2	12	12
Seminario de San Ildefonso (México City)	2	0	6	8
Colegio and Novitiate of San Francisco Xavier (Tepotzotlán)	10	20	62	77
Colegio de Espíritu Santo (Puebla)	40	17	65	61
Colegio de San Ildefonso (Puebla)	15	6	35	40
Colegio de San Francisco Xavier (Puebla)	8	3	11	13
Seminario de San Ignacio (Puebla)	2	0	2	2
Seminario de San Jerónimo (Puebla)	1	0	2	2
Colegio Misioneros de Lengua				1
Colegio de San Ignacio (Querétaro)	7	3	11	15
Seminario de Querétaro	1	0	2	2
Colegio de la Santísima Trinidad (Guanajuato)	4	2	9	10
Colegio de San Luis de la Paz (Guanajuato)	5	0	5	7
Colegio de San Ignacio (San Luis Potosí)	5	3	9	9
Colegio de la Purísima Concepción (Zacatecas)	6	3	10	12
Colegio de San Francisco de Borja				2
Colegio de Guadalajara	7	3	13	10
Seminario de San Juan Bautista (Guadalajara)	1	0	2	2
Colegio de San Francisco Xavier (Valladolid-Morelia)	8	1	10	17
Seminary Valladolid				1
Colegio de San Francisco Xavier Veracruz	5	2	9	12
Colegio de San Francisco Xavier (Mérida)	8	1	8	6
Seminary Mérida				2
Colegio de San Ignacio (Pátzcuaro)	4	1	7	8
Colegio de San Francisco Xavier (Antequera)	8	2	12	11
Colegio de Celaya	5	1	7	9
Colegio de Ciudad Real	5	1	6	6

Colegio de Durango	6	1	9	11
Colegio de León (Guanajuato)	5	2	7	7
Residencia Chihuahua	4	1	4	3
Residencia de San José (Campeche)	4	0	3	2
Residencia de Parral (Chihuahua)	1	0	3	2
Residencia de Santa María de Parras (Coahuila)	3	0	3	4
Outside of México				
Colegio de Guatemala (Antigua, Guatemala)	8	2	10	12
Seminario de San Francisco de Borja (Guatemala)	1	0	1	2
Colegio de Havana (Cuba)	8	2	12	16
Residencia de Puerto Principe (Cuba)	2	0	3	5
Missions in Northern México			96	
Nayarit	6	0		7
Piastla	10	0		
Sinaloa	16	0		20
Tepehuanes	11	0		
Tarahumara	13	0		13
Chinipas	7	0		19
Chinarras				1
Sonora	18	0		29
Pimeria Alta (Sonora)	9	0		
California	13	0		16

Source: María Cristina Torales Pacheco, “La Provincia Jesuita de Nueva España: Criollismo e Identidad,” *Jesuitas en las Américas*, Internet site www.teseopress.com; Francisco Uruburu de Toro, June 30, 1769, “Lista de los jesuitas expulsados de Indias, llegados al Puerto de Santa María,” Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, MSS/12870; Juan Antonio Archimbaud y Solano, 31 de octubre de 1775, Estado general en que se demuestra el número y clase de regulares de la extinguida religión de la Compañía [de Jesús] que existían en España cuando se les intimó el Real Decreto de expulsión: los que han llegado de los reinos de la América al Puerto de Santa María, los que han fallecido desde aquella época hasta [el] 31 de octubre de 1775, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Mss/9136. Rafael Zelis, S.J., *Catálogo de los sujetos de la Compañía de Jesús que formaban la Provincia de México el día del arresto 25 de junio de 1767* (México, D.F.: Imprenta de I. Escalante y Cia, 1871); Francisco Zambrano, S.J., *Diccionario Bio-Biográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México* 16 volumes (México, D.F: Editorial Jus/Editorial Tradición, 1961-197), vol 15, 378-379.

Table 3: The Number of Jesuits in the Philippines in 1767

Colegio	Number	Missions	Number
Manila	34	Marianas	2
Sanboagan	2	Macinduque	2
Santa Cruz	5	Pintadas	49
San Felipe él Real	2	Tagalos	14
Cavite	2	Mindano	2
Zebú	1	Zamal	1
San Pedro Macutin	1	Aetas	1
Boxo	1		

Source: Juan Antonio Archimbaud y Solano, 31 de octubre de 1775, Estado general en que se demuestra el número y clase de regulares de la extinguida religión de la Compañía [de Jesús] que existían en España cuando se les intimó el Real Decreto de expulsión: los que han llegado de los reinos de la América al Puerto de Santa María, los que han fallecido desde aquella época hasta [el] 31 de octubre de 1775, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Mss/9136.

Table 4: The Number of Jesuits Arrested and Expelled in 1767 from the rest of Spanish America

Place	#	Place	#	Place	# J
Peru		Nueva Granada		Paracuaría	
Lima		Bogotá		CM Córdoba	144
CM San Pablo	118	CM S Ignacio	86	Buenos Aires	
Novitiate	23	C. Los Nieves	4	C. Máximo	43
C. Cercado	19	Seminary	2	C. Belen	9
C. San Martín	5	Other Locations		Other Locations	
Casa Profesa	15	C. Caracas	7	C. Montevideo	4
Other Locations		R. Maracaibo	4	C. Santa Fe	12
C. Pisco	11	C. S Domingo	8	C. Corrientes	16
C. Huamanga	11	C.N. Tunja	31	C. Asunción	17
C. Trujillo	13	C. Mompox	8	C. Rioja	8
C. Arequipa	19	C. Honda	4	Hosp. S Fernando	6
C. Callao	7	C. Antiochia	3	C. Tarja	12
C. Ica	14	C. SFX Mérida	5	C. Tucumán	11
C. Huancavelica	5	C. Pamplona	10	C. Potosi	4
Cusco		C. Cartagena	8	C. Santiago Estero	14
C. Cusco	48	R. Fontibon	1	C. S Felipe Lerma	12
C. San Bernardo	1	M. Orinoco	7	C. Salta	4
C. SF de Borja	2	M. Casanares	8	C. San Juan	1
Other Locations		M. Mata	6	Missions	1
R. Juli	6	Chile		M. Tarima	10
C. Moquegua	7	CM San Miguel	105	M. Chaco	26
C. La Paz	15	C. Buen Esperanza	5	M. Guaranies	80
C. La Plata	2	C. Quilota	7	M. Chiquitos	19

C. Potosi	6	C. Valparaiso	6		
C. Cochabamba	9	C. Bucalemu	22		
C. Chuquisaca	17	C. Coquimbo	8		
C. Oruro	8	C. Concepción	29		
R. S Cruz Sierra	5	C. Convictorio.	1		
M. Moxos	27	C. Mendoza	8		
Quito		C. San Pablo de Chile	13		
Quito		C. Santiago de Chile	4		
Colegio Máximo	90	N. SF Borja de Chile	26		
Sem. San Luis	11	C. Chillan	6		
Novitiate	10	C. la Serna	2		
Casa de Ejercicios	1	C. SFX de Chile	2		
Other Locations		C. Copiapo		3	
C. Panamá	9	R. San José Logroño	3		
C. Popayan	15	R. San Fernando	7		
C. Buga	5	R. Arauco	5		
C. Loja	7	R. San Juan	9		
C. Latacunga	4	R. S Luis de la Punta	4		
C. Villa Ibarra	8	R. S Agustín Talca	3		
C. Cuenca	11	R. Aconcagua	3		
C. Pasto	5	R. Melipilla	1		
C. SF de Sales	1	R. Valdivia	2		
C. La Tacunga	7	R. S F. de la Selva	1		
C. Guayaquil	12	R. Castro	1		
C. Riobamba	9	C. San Pablo de Chile	13		
R. Ambato	2	M. Chiloé	9		
M. Mainas	15	M. La Frontera	30		
M. Marañon	2				
M. Omaguas	2				
M. Río Napo	6				
M. Lamas	1				

C-Colegio, N-Novitiate, R-Residencia, M-Mission.

Source: Francisco Uruburu de Toro, June 30, 1769, "Lista de los jesuitas expulsados de Indias, llegados al Puerto de Santa María," Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, MSS/12870; Juan Antonio Archimbaud y Solano, 31 de octubre de 1775, Estado general en que se demuestra el número y clase de regulares de la extinguida religión de la Compañía [de Jesús] que existían en España cuando se les intimó el Real Decreto de expulsión: los que han llegado de los reinos de la América al Puerto de Santa María, los que han fallecido desde aquella época hasta [el] 31 de octubre de 1775, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Mss/9136.

Table 5: The Location of the exiled Jesuits as of October 1, 1775

Province	Italy	Spain	Foreign-born	Fugitives	Died
Perú	291	0	34	4	78
Chile	234	0	47	5	26
Paracuaria	355	0	64	0	77
Nueva España	420	16	42	0	84
Philippines	88	1	14	0	8
Quito	155	6	38	4	23
Nueva Granada	154	1	20	5	21

Source: Juan Antonio Archimbaud y Solano, 31 de octubre de 1775, Estado general en que se demuestra el número y clase de regulares de la extinguida religión de la Compañía [de Jesús] que existían en España cuando se les intimó el Real Decreto de expulsión: los que han llegado de los reinos de la América al Puerto de Santa María, los que han fallecido desde aquella época hasta [el] 31 de octubre de 1775, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Mss/9136.