

Creole Jesuits: A prosopographic Study of the members of the Society of Jesus in Mexico City, Puebla de los Angeles, and Frontier Missions in 1767

Jesuitas criollos: un estudio prosopográfico de los miembros de la Compañía de Jesús en la Ciudad de México, Puebla de los Ángeles y las Misiones Fronterizas en 1767

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On June 25, 1767, royal officials in Spain, Spanish America, and other Spanish territories initiated the implementation of the royal order of King Carlos III (r. 1759-1788) to expel members of the Society of Jesus. The title of the decree was the *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 his reasons for ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits, but the Kings of Portugal and France had already ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759 and 1764 respectively. In Spanish America royal officials arrested the Jesuits, and sent them to major ports to be shipped to the Puerto de Santa María located near Cádiz in southern Spain. In the case of Nueva España, this was the port of Veracruz. From there, they were sent by ship to Italy, and final exile in the Papal States. Six years later, in 1773, the Pope suppressed the Society of Jesus.

The process of expulsion also entailed the confiscation of the Jesuit building complexes, urban and rural properties, and other resources. Many of the expelled Jesuits received a pension. The process was highly bureaucratic. Royal officials had to organize transport from the Americas to Spain, and to manage the confiscated properties and building complexes. This has left detailed records useful in providing an overview of the Society of Jesus at the moment of expulsion.

Who were the members of the Society of Jesus in Mexico in 1767? What happened to them following the expulsion? It is known that the majority of the Jesuits in the Americas were born there. Aliocha Maldavsky, for example, cited evidence of the increasing recruitment of Americans into the Society of Jesus during the seventeenth-century.¹ In the case of the Jesuit Provincia of Perú, for example, the number of American-born Jesuits increased from 13.6 percent in 1601 to

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68 percent in 1685. A similar process occurred in the Provincia of Nueva España. In 1600, 25 percent were Americans, and this increased to 71 percent in 1708. María Torales Pacheco documented that in the mid eighteenth-century the majority of Jesuits were American-born.² Documents generated as a consequence of the Jesuit expulsion allow for a refinement of the model of the importance of creole Jesuits in the Americas through a detailed prosopographic analysis that includes the place of origin of the Jesuits in 1767, the age structure of the members of the Society in the Provincia of Nueva España, and their fate following the expulsion. This study focuses on the Jesuits in Mexico City and Puebla de los Ángeles that, at the time of the expulsion, had the largest number of members of the Society, but also offers comparison with three smaller urban institutions as well as of missionaries stationed on the northern frontier.

Three detailed documents provide information to construct a profile of the Jesuits in Mexico and their fate following the expulsion. The first is a 1769 report and list of the Jesuits transported from the Americas to the Puerto de Santa María, including those who died at sea in route to Spain. The list does not, however, include those who died before boarding ships for Spain.³ The second is a detailed 1775 accounting expelled Jesuits. The document reported, for example the number of Jesuits who escaped exile, those who remained in Spain, and the foreign-born who did not receive pensions.⁴ It also reported the names of those members of the Society of Jesus who died between their arrival in Spain through October of 1775. It also provided a summary of the total number of Jesuits in Spain, the Americas, and the Philippines at the time of the expulsion. Most of the Jesuits lived the rest of their lives and died in exile in Italy, but for the majority who had been in Mexico this was an exile in a foreign land since many Americans had joined the Society.

The third document is a Catalog of the Jesuits in the Province of Mexico in June 1767, and their fate following the expulsion.⁵ The exiled Jesuit Rafael Zelis, a native of Veracruz, first drafted the document in 1786, and continued to update it until his death in 1798 at which time Pedro Muñoz assumed responsibility for the updates. The document provides detailed information such as the date and place of birth, where available the date and place of death including those who died in Mexico and at sea, and their assignments on June 25, 1767. This document is more complete than the two previous documents, and particularly the 1769 list that was more concerned with documenting the removal of the Jesuits from the Americas. According to Zelis's figures the number of Jesuits in Province of Mexico on June 25, 1767 was 678, which is the most accurate

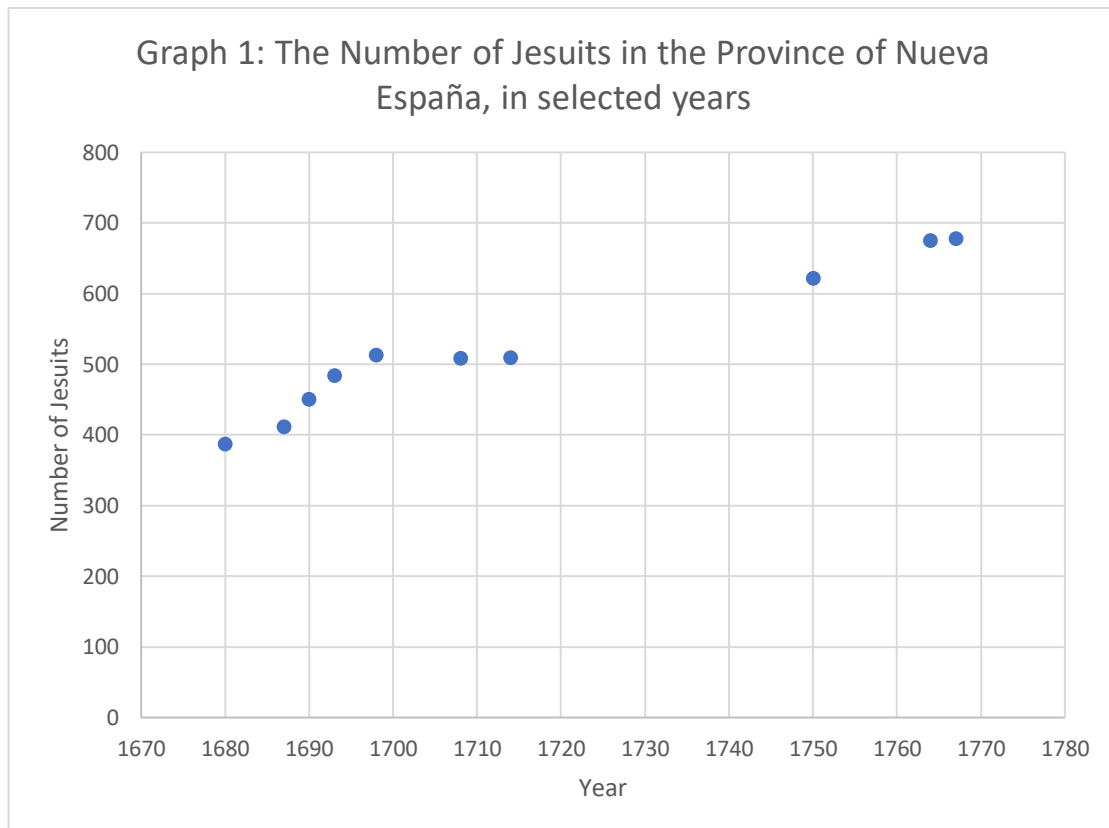
figure for this jurisdiction. Of this number 464 were natives of the Americas, 153 were from Spain, and there were 61 foreigners.

A twentieth-century publication provides additional information on the members of the Society of Jesus at the moment of the expulsion. It is the last two volumes of the 16-volume *Diccionario Bio-Biográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*.⁶ It relies heavily on information from the Zelis document, but also supplements it with information from other Jesuit sources. However, it does not make use of the 1769 and 1775 documents discussed above. This publication is useful for confirming the data from the three eighteenth-century sources.

The Jesuits in Spanish America and the Provincia de Nueva España

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).⁷



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 (see below). The Jesuits played an important role in colonial Spanish American cities. Their churches catered to city-folk, they educated the children of wealthy citizens and of the indigenous elites, and organized urban missions known as “popular missions.” The popular mission was designed to ensure popular conformity with Catholic doctrine, and to eliminate doctrinal errors. 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. A second institution was the *colegio menor* that generally taught grammar. 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. 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 Tepetzotlán, Estado de México.⁸

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 Potosí, 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. The number in México increased up to the point of the expulsion order. The two urban centers with the largest presence were México City and Puebla de los Ángeles (see Table 1), 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.

Jesuit Colegios in Mexico City

There were five Jesuit institutions in México City, of which parts of four of the complexes still exist today. One is the ex- Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo founded in 1574 and two related colegios that occupied two complete urban blocks behind the metropolitan cathedral and close to the main square. The Colegio Máximo and the colegio of San Gregorio occupied a single large urban block, and the complex included two churches. One was the church of San Pedro y San Pablo of the Colegio Máximo that still exists, and the second was the church of San Gregorio that was replaced by a new church dedicated to the Virgin of Loreto following the Jesuit expulsion. The Colegio de San Ildefonso occupied an adjoining but smaller urban block, and had a small chapel. The church of San Pedro y San Pablo is a single nave structure built between 1576 and 1603. In 1822, it served as the meeting place of the Constituent Congress of newly independent México, and now is a museum open to the public. Construction of the Colegio Máximo concluded in 1643. Following the Jesuit expulsion royal officials assigned the complex to Pedro Romero de Terreros, the Conde de Regla, for the Sacro y Real Monte de Piedad de Ánimas.¹¹ The other two were the Colegio de San Gregorio and the Colegio de San Ildefonso.



Figure 1: Detail of a 1760 diagram of Mexico City showing the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo, the Colegio de San Gregorio, and the Colegio de San Ildefonso.



Figure 2: The church and main patio of the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo.

Another Jesuit complex in México City is the ex-casa profesa San José él Real, where Jesuit priests lived before having taken their final oath of obedience to the Pope. What remains of the complex is the church built in baroque style between 1714 and 1720. The interior and main altar, however, are neoclassical in style. Manuel Tolsa designed the revamped interior in 1805. The cloister, however, was demolished in 1861. Following the Jesuit expulsion royal officials assigned the complex to the Congregation of the Oratory of San Felipe Neri, although it is popularly known today as “La Profesa.”¹² It still functions as an active parish church, and is open to the public.



Figure 3: The church and demolished cloister of San José él Real.

The Jesuits also administered another colegio named San Andrés that has now completely disappeared. It initially was named Santa Ana, but the name had changed by 1676 when a church was completed. In 1750, the Jesuits dedicated the *casa de ejercicios* built on one side of the colegio. Prior to its construction, the casa de ejercicios was a part of the complex of San José él Real. The casa was a center where lay people could come and practice the Ignatian Exercises, and was an important part of the Jesuit urban mission. Following the Jesuit expulsion, the colegio served as a hospital, and in 1784 the *Panteón* de Santa Paula was added to the hospital. The church became a parish.¹³ In a notorious act of public theater, the military leader and 11-time president of México José Antonio Santa Anna had his leg buried in Santa Paula. Santa Anna lost the leg to a cannon ball during the 1838 French bombardment of Veracruz during the so-called “Pastry War” (1838-1839). The casa de

ejercicios became a *vecindad*, or low-cost housing. In 1867, the emperor Maximilian lay in state in the church of San Andrés, but in the same year the government had it demolished. The rest of the former Jesuit complex was demolished in the late nineteenth century.¹⁴

Jesuit Colegios in Puebla

The Jesuits five separate colegios in Puebla de los Ángeles, that played different roles within the scheme of urban education (see Table 7). The largest complex in terms of its size and the number of Jesuits stationed there was the colegio de Espíritu Santo, and San Ildefonso was the second largest. Both were educational centers: Espíritu Santo in grammar and rhetoric, and San Ildefonso in philosophy and theology. The seminary of San Jerónimo was across the street from Espíritu Santo, and San Ignacio across the street from San Ildefonso, was a *convictorio* that housed students that attended San Ildefonso. San Francisco Xavier, located on the edge of the city, was a center for training missionaries for missions among indigenous peoples, and included a program for the teaching of indigenous languages.¹⁵

A detailed 1754 map of Puebla (see Figure 4) shows the locations of the five colegios in the city. The main complexes of Espíritu Santo- San Jerónimo are close to the main square and cathedral. San Ildefonso-San Ignacio are located several blocks away. Following the Jesuit expulsion, the government used the ex-complexes for different purposes. San Ildefonso became the Hospicio de los Pobres in 1771, and following Mexican independence also was a barracks for soldiers. Espíritu Santo housed a state-run school, and in the nineteenth-century San Jerónimo was a customs office. In the nineteenth-century San Ignacio was also a barracks for soldiers, and San Francisco Xavier became a military hospital. Today San Francisco Xavier is a museum dedicated to military aviation, and the other four are administered by public state universities.

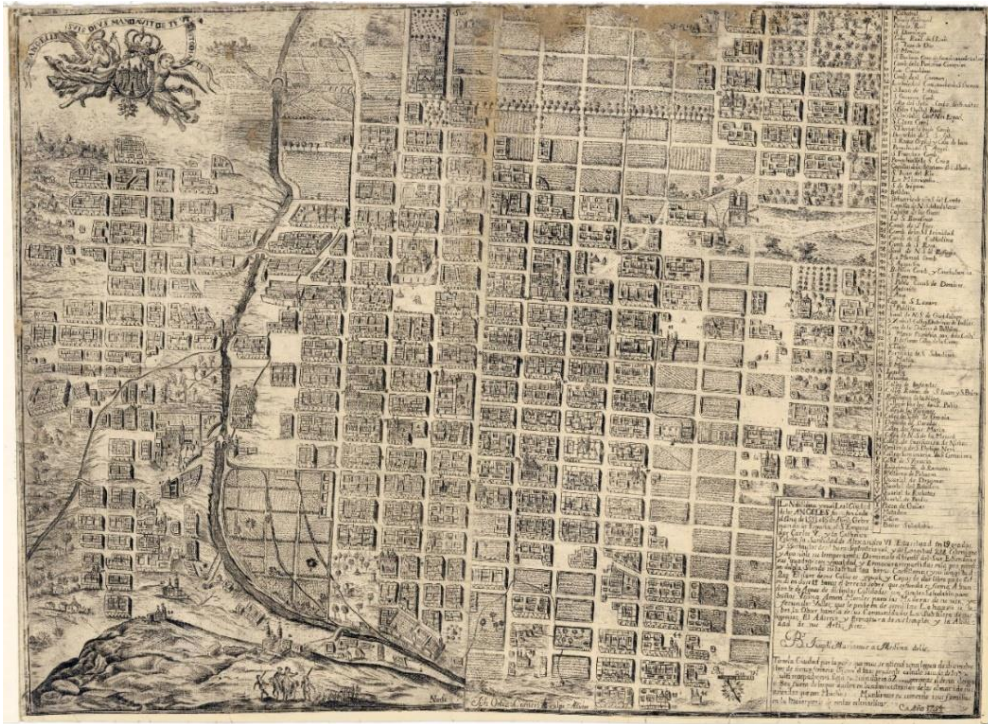


Figure 4: A 1754 map of Puebla.



Figure 5: Detail of the map showing Espíritu Santo and San Jerónimo (marked as 15 and O).



Figure 6: The ex-Colegio del Espíritu Santo (left) and San Jerónimo (right).



Figure 7: Detail of the 1754 map showing San Ildefonso (marked as 52) and San Ignacio (marked as P).



Figure 8: The ex-Colegio of San Ildefonso (left) and San Ignacio (right).



Figure 9: Detail of the map showing San Francisco Xavier (marked as 49).



Figure 10: The ex-Colegio of San Francisco Xavier.

The Colegio de Zacatecas

The Jesuit college in the mining center of Zacatecas in México provides a third example of the role of and particularly the financing of a Jesuit urban colegio in Nueva España, and the resources dedicated to the construction of churches. The Jesuits established the colegio de la Purísima Concepción in 1589. The college received a donation of land in the city as a site for the installation, as well as alms paid in money. Within two weeks of its founding 120 students reportedly had already been registered for the program in basic education. The Jesuits later added programs in grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. In 1756, they founded a second colegio and seminary named San Luis Gonzaga. The Jesuits also attended to the spiritual and physical needs of the people of the city, and organized two congregaciones dedicated to the Annunciata and Our Lady of the Sorrows.



Figure 11: The ex-Colegio de la Purísima Concepción.



Figure 12: The ex-Colegio of San Luis Gonzaga.

The Jesuits directed the construction of a large complex that still exists. In 1616, they received a donation of 8,000 gold pesos for the construction of a church. A document dated February 1, 1625 detailed the costs of the construction of the new church. One accounting noted an expenditure of 6,000 pesos for the woodwork, 2,000 pesos for the wood delivered for the project, 2,000 pesos for the master masons and workers, and 1,250 pesos for 50,000 bricks. The cost of the main altar reportedly was 8,000 pesos, the lead covering cost 4,000 pesos, and metal for the main door cost 500 pesos. These

and other costs totaled 29,990 pesos. There was an additional cost of 27,450 pesos for white stone for the church and two loads of stone for the church entrance. The total enumerated cost was 57,440 pesos.¹⁶ The Jesuits had the church rebuilt between 1746 and 1749. The colegio itself consisted to two cloisters built as a two-story structure.¹⁷

Following the Jesuit expulsion, royal officials closed the church and colegio complex for a number of years. The Dominicans petitioned to occupy the ex-Jesuit complex, and the ceremony of transfer took place on January 30, 1785.¹⁸ The Dominicans established a presence in Zacatecas in 1604, and built a complex on the southeast edge of the city.¹⁹ The Hospitalarios de San Juan de Dios occupied the former Dominican convent and modified it for use as a new hospital, and their Hospital also located on the edge of the city became an hospicio for the poor. The Hospitalarios de San Juan de Dios established themselves in Zacatecas in 1608.²⁰ The former Dominican church still exists and is now dedicated to San Juan de Dios, and the original Hospital built in the seventeenth century is a public primary school. The Dominicans occupied the main ex-Jesuit complex until 1859, and the implementation of anti-clerical liberal reforms. The former colegio became a jail, and served this purpose until 1962. It is now the Museo Pedro Coronel. The Colegio de San Luis Gonzaga remained closed until 1785, and in that year the *Junta Superior de Temporalidades* that administered the ex-Jesuit complexes approved a petition of the Zacatecas city government to reopen it as a school to teach grammar, philosophy, and rhetoric.²¹

The Jesuit Colegio in Antequera (Oaxaca)

The Jesuits arrived Antequera in 1579, and in the same year initiated the construction of a single nave church in the form of a Latin cross dedicated to San Francisco Xavier.²² The 1580 *Relación Geográfica* report of Antequera noted the presence of the Jesuits²³. There already was a church and small colegio staffed by eight brothers engaged in the education of the children of the city residents. They also administered a colegio that had been founded by a Dean of the Cathedral chapter. A Canon of the Cathedral Chapter donated houses to the Jesuits, and a city resident gave his haciendas to the Black Robes reportedly worth more than 40,000 pesos.

The Jesuit complex occupied an entire urban block or manzana adjoining the main square (see Figure 13). A 1688 diagram of the plaza of Santa Catarina Mártir prepared for the Marques del Valle shows the Jesuit complex in the early stage of its development, and before several earthquakes that badly damaged the complex. The church and colegio had simple tile roofs, and the colegio had not

reached the size it has today, and there was a Huerta or orchard. Earthquakes in 1696, 1702, and 1714 damaged many of the structures in Antequera, and the 1714 earthquake badly damaged the Jesuit complex. Restoration of the complex concluded in 1727. Capitán Gómez Márquez provided funds for the Project.²⁴ It most likely was at this time that the complex reached its current size. The fully developed colegio had four patios with Doric-Tuscan arches. Elements of the four patios exist today. In 1754 construction began on a new church that is the structure that exists today. The project concluded in 1759.

Following the Jesuit expulsion in 1767, the complex lay vacant for several decades. In 1790, the Conceptionist nuns occupied the complex, and rededicated the church to the Immaculate Conception. Their own complex was in poor condition because of earthquake damage.²⁵ Cartographic evidence documents the late eighteenth-century history of the former Jesuit complex. A 1777 map of Antequera identified the churches and convents in the city, and listed the ex-Jesuit complex as “Compañía” (see Figure 14). The original Conceptionist convent abandoned in 1790 was located two blocks from the Cathedral at a site now occupied by the Universidad Mesoamericana. An 1803 map of Antequera recorded the occupation of the ex-Jesuit complex by the Conceptionist nuns (see Figure 15-16). The map no longer showed the original convent of the nuns, and identified the ex-Jesuit complex as the “Monasterio Nuevo de Concepcionas” (marked as 44 on the map).

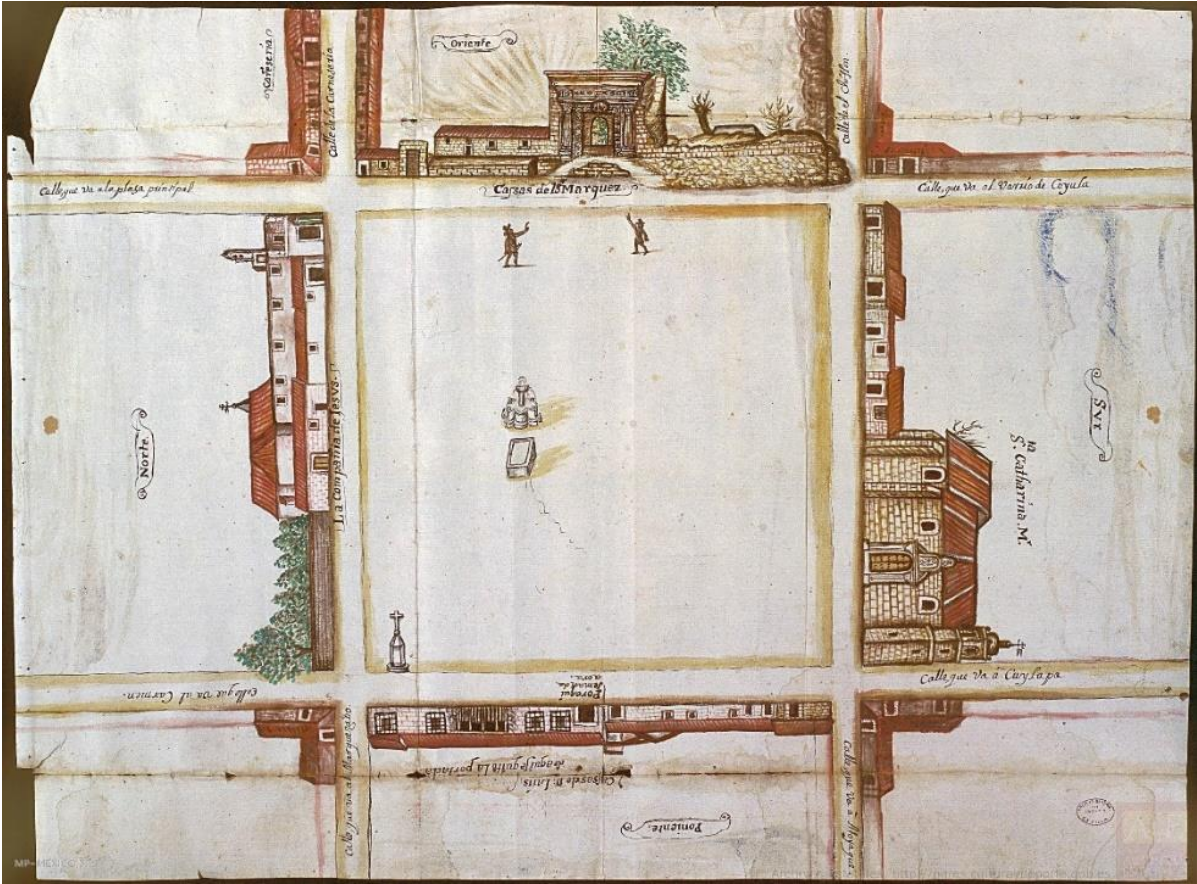


Figure 13: The 1688 diagram showing the Jesuit complex.



Figure 14: Detail of the 1777 map of Antequera shows the Cathedral (Marked as “A”), the ex-Jesuit complex (marked as “S”), and also the Conceptionist convent (marked as “N”) located two blocks from the Cathedral.

The Conceptionist nuns occupied the ex-Jesuit complex following the implementation of the 1856 reform law and desamortization of church wealth. Moreover, in 1861, the government forced the Dominican nuns of Santa Catarina de Siena to relocate to the ex-Jesuit complex, as the government confiscated their convent and used it as a municipal palace, school, and jail. The Conceptionists and Catarinas were relocated in 1867 to the Capuchan convent for Indias Siete Principes, and on May 16, 1867 the government closed all of the female convents. The process of desamortization also entailed an estimate of the wealth of the churches and convents in the city. The most valuable property was the Cathedral and its annexes which was evaluated as being worth 1,800,000 pesos. The ex-Jesuit complex was the second most valuable property. The church reportedly had a value of 83,000 pesos, and the colegio was worth 125,000 pesos for a total of 308,000 pesos. Following the removal of the nuns from the complex in 1867, it was used for businesses, small apartments, and a large *vecindad* (low-cost housing complex) that still exists today. The original Conceptionist church and convent had a value of 70,000 pesos. The site was divided into lots for sale, and the church closed. The value of all church properties in the city was 6,411,000 pesos.²⁶

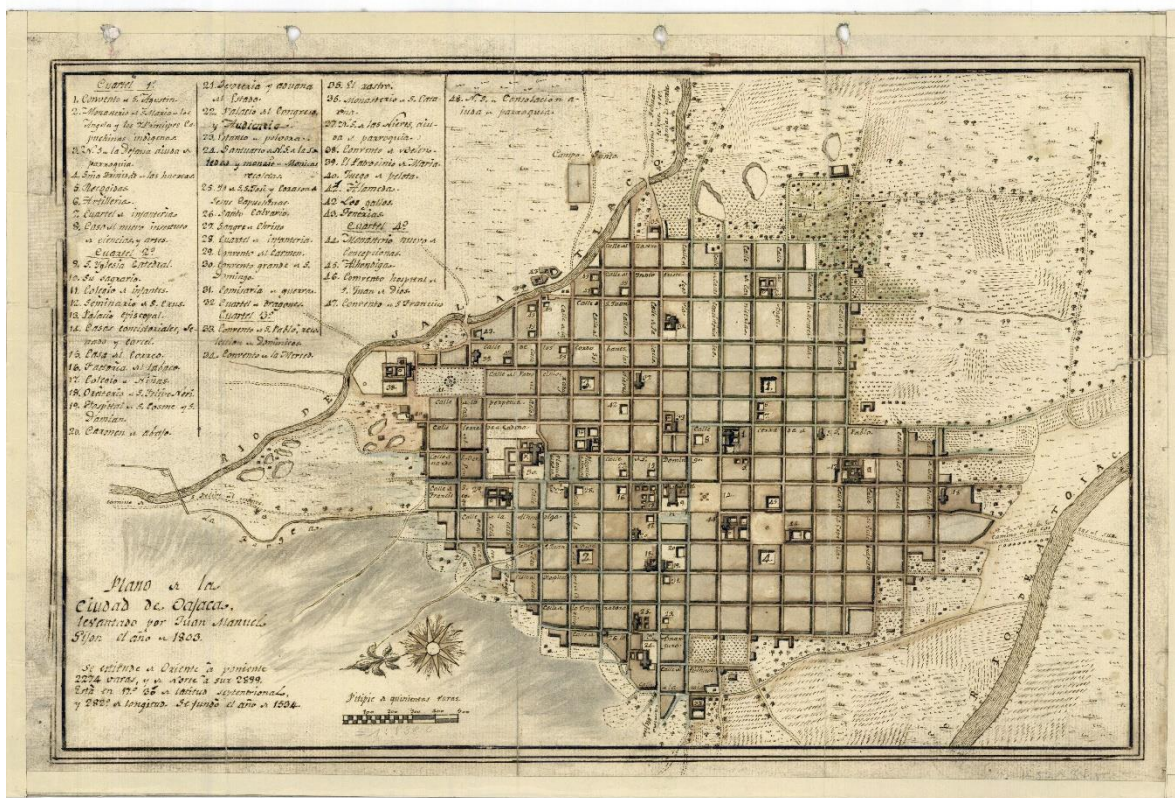


Figure 15: The 1803 map of Antequera.



Figure 16: Detail of the map showing the ex-Jesuit complex.

The de-cloistering in 1867 of the nuns that occupied the ex-Jesuit complex initiated a process of the privatization of the structure, and its modification. On the lower story of the colegio doors and spaces either already existed or were opened-up and adapted to create businesses that face the street (see Figure 17). The upper story was converted into small apartments, and balconies were added. The four patios have been put to different uses. The main patio that adjoins the church is now the parish office for the Immaculate Conception church. (see Figure 18). The main architectural elements of the patio remain relatively unchanged. The patio immediately behind the church is now a parking garage, but it retains architectural elements such as arches although it has also been modified. The upper story appears to be a series of small apartments. A clothing store now occupies another patio, and the last patio was, as already noted above, converted into a vecindad soon after the de-cloistering. It still serves that purpose today. Conversion to housing resulted in architectural modifications (see Figure 19). A number of arches on the lower story were filled in and doors and windows added to expand the size of the small apartments. The conversion to a vecindad provided to a social need for low-cost housing in a growing city. Ironically, though, it allowed the less affluent to share urban space with the elites who previously had exclusively resided in the city center.



Figure 17: A photograph of the church and exterior of the colegio showing the modification of the lower story of the complex to provide space for businesses.



Figure 18: The first patio of the ex-colegio that serves as a parish office.



Figure 19: Photographs showing architectural modifications made to the lower story of patio that is now a vecindad.

The Jesuit Colegio in Veracruz

Veracruz has had three sites during its history. The Jesuits had had a presence in the second site of the city at La Antigua by at least 1594 if not earlier. In that year they received lands for their installation.²⁷ In 1608, they relocated to the third and last site of the city known as Nueva Veracruz.²⁸ The identification of the installation as a residencia meant that it was not an educational institution.

The Jesuit leadership in México later elevated the residencia to the status of a colegio with an educational mission. In 1639, the Jesuits received a donation of a rural estate with a value of 45,000 pesos for the support of the Veracruz complex. In October of the same year Jesuit officials elevated the status of the residencia to that of a colegio for the basic education of children. The Jesuits had the first complex in Nueva Veracruz built of wood, but later had more permanent structures built of coral and stone. Following the Jesuit expulsion in 1767, the Augustinians occupied the ex-colegio of San Francisco Xavier, because their own complex was in poor condition. The government divided the former Augustinian complex into three *solares* or house lots granted to private individuals.

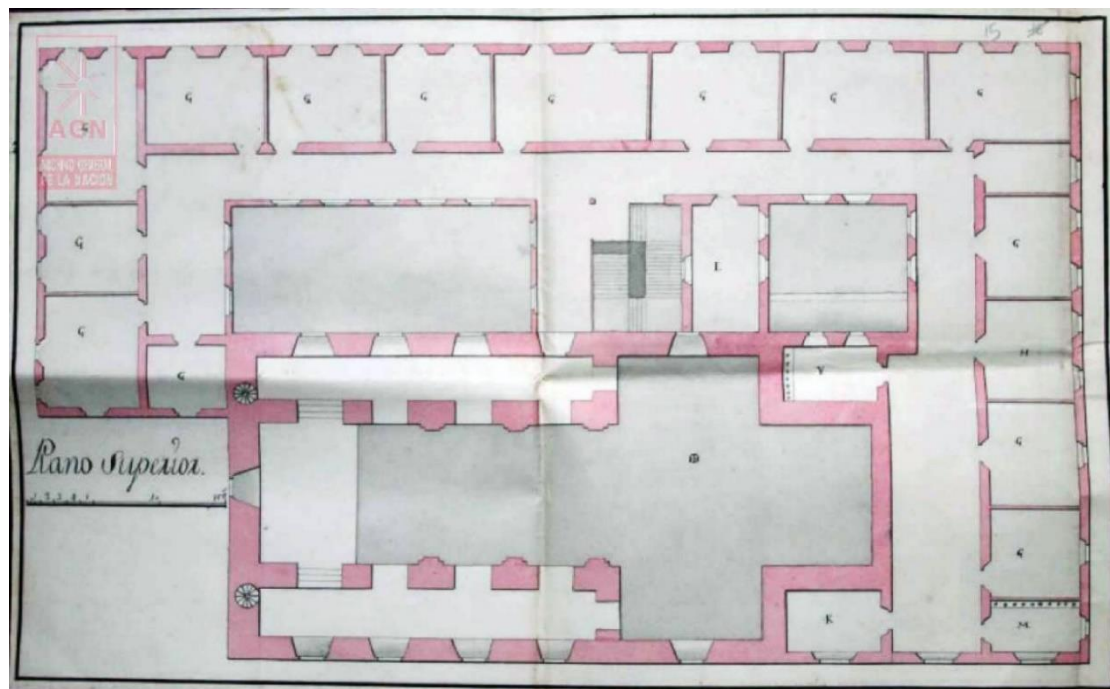


Figure 20: A diagram of the ex-Colegio of San Francisco Xavier.

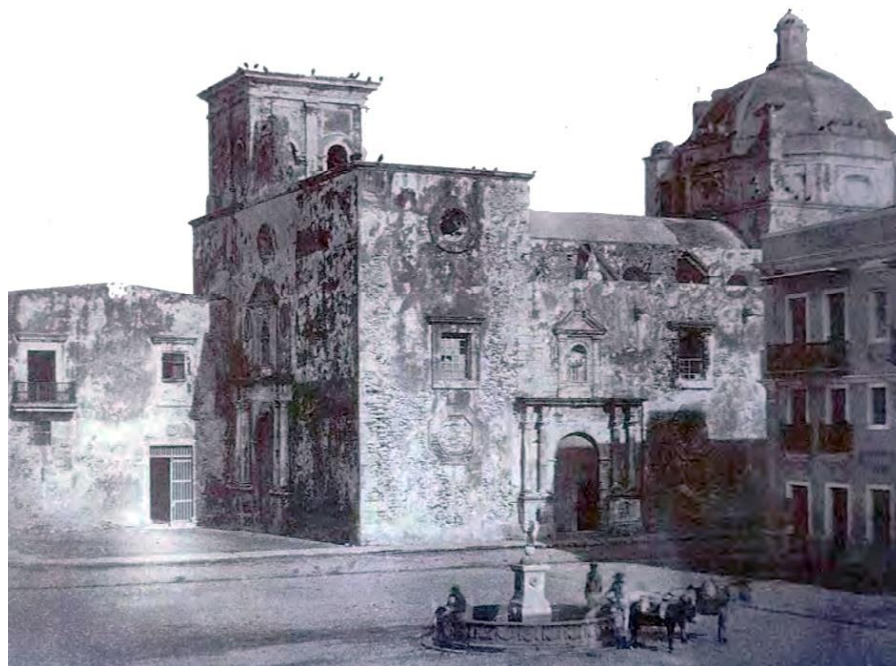


Figure 21: A historic photograph showing the ex-Jesuit church and colegio.



Figure 22: The two sections of the ex-colegio today.

In 1915, following the attack by the United States on Veracruz, Venustiano Carranza ordered the extension of a street that cut the former complex into two parts, and destroyed a part of the church. The main part of the ex-colegio now belongs to the Veracruz state government, but has sat abandoned now for more than a decade. The remains of the ex-church and colegio are now in deteriorated condition. The municipal government of Veracruz has proposed a project to restore the remains of the church and colegio, but the state government has taken no action. The smaller section of the ex-colegio has been greatly modified, but still contains some architectural elements from the colegio. A restaurant and hotel occupy most of this section.

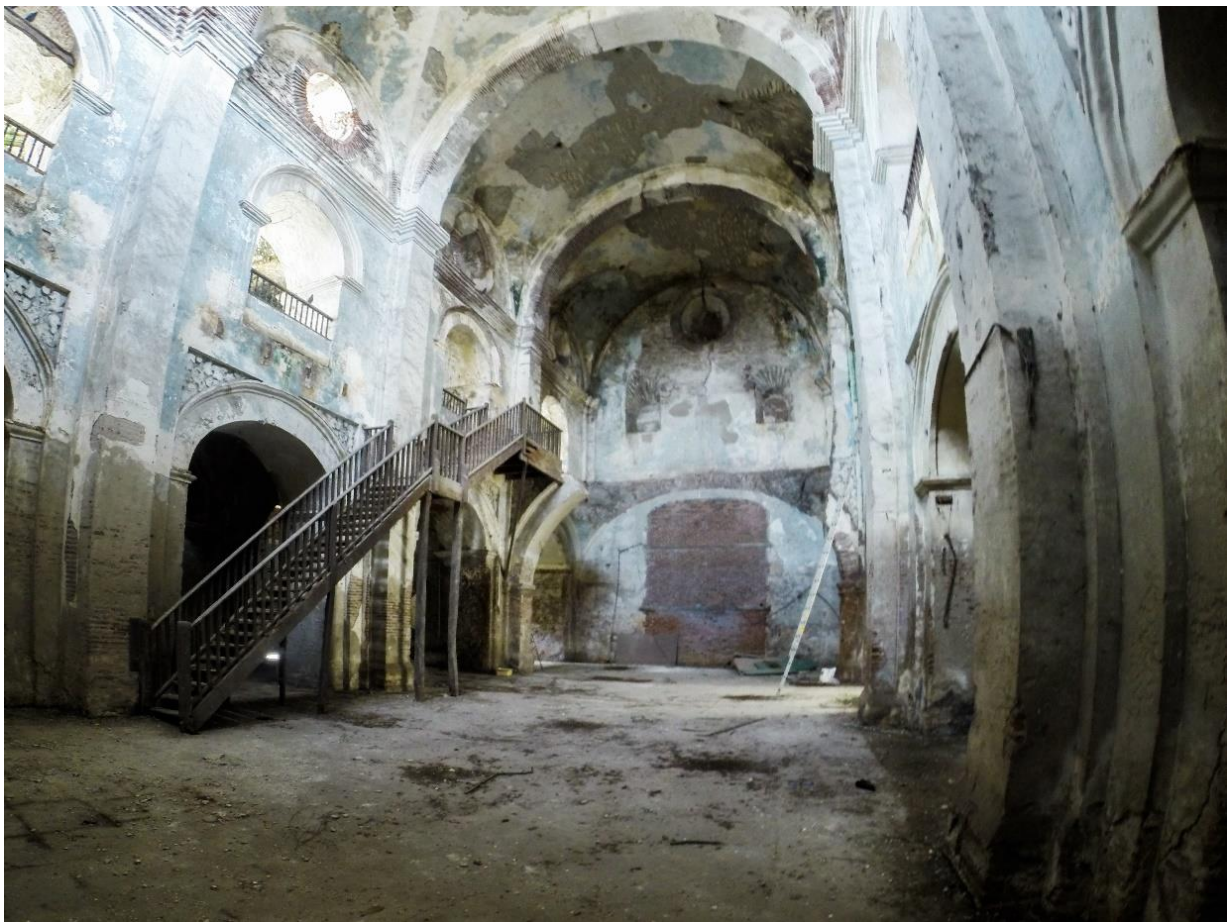


Figure 23: The remains of the church today.



Figure 24: The remains of the colegio today.

The Expulsion and Urban Jesuits

The list 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.²⁹ 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. Two 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.³⁰ Altogether the decree exiled 678 Jesuits in México and its dependencies that included Guatemala, Cuba, and the Philippines (see Table 1). Of this number 34 died of yellow fever in Veracruz, another 19 died in Cuba, 11 died at sea, and another nine in Spain.³¹

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.³²

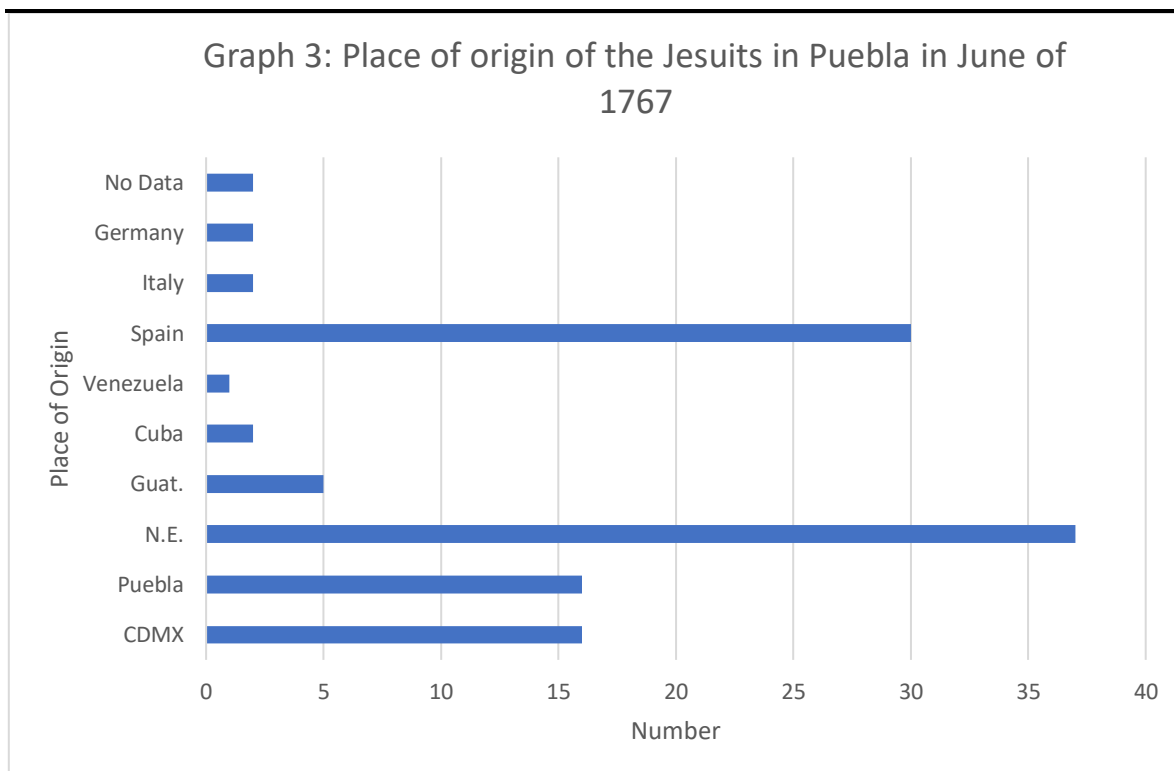
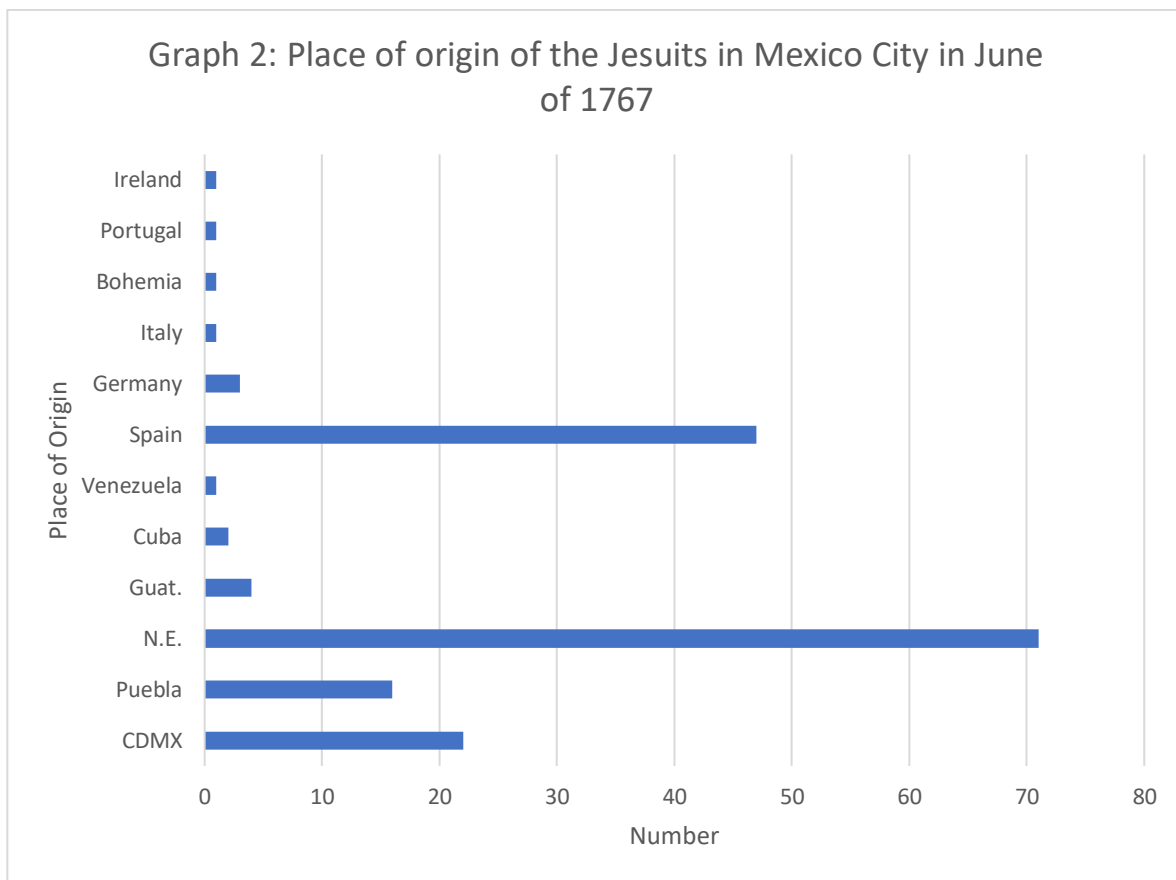
A 1775 report provided a more detailed accounting of the expulsion of the Jesuits, their distribution in different institutions, and their fate following their exile from the Americas and the Philippines.³³ The 1775 report documents the status of the exiles as of October 1, 1775. The largest group that 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 were held in the Puerto de Santa María, 17 were in other cities, two were in prison in Madrid including José Garrucho who had been a missionary in Sonora, and there is no information regarding one individual.

In 1767, the majority of Jesuits in the Province of Nueva España were from the Americas (464), the second largest group was from Spain (153), and there were 61 foreigners of whom 31 returned to their provinces following the expulsion. Hundreds of Jesuits from the Americas died in exile in Italy and Spain. The largest number came from what today is Mexico, and, as seen in the profiles of the Colegio in La Habana and the Residencia in Puerto Principe, both in Cuba, Mexican Jesuits also went overseas (see Graph 5). For example, three Mexican Jesuits, one from Guatemala, and one recruited in the Philippines were sent to the Province of Paracuaria in South America.³⁴ Mexico City and Puebla were important sources of new recruits, but most were natives of other communities in Mexico.

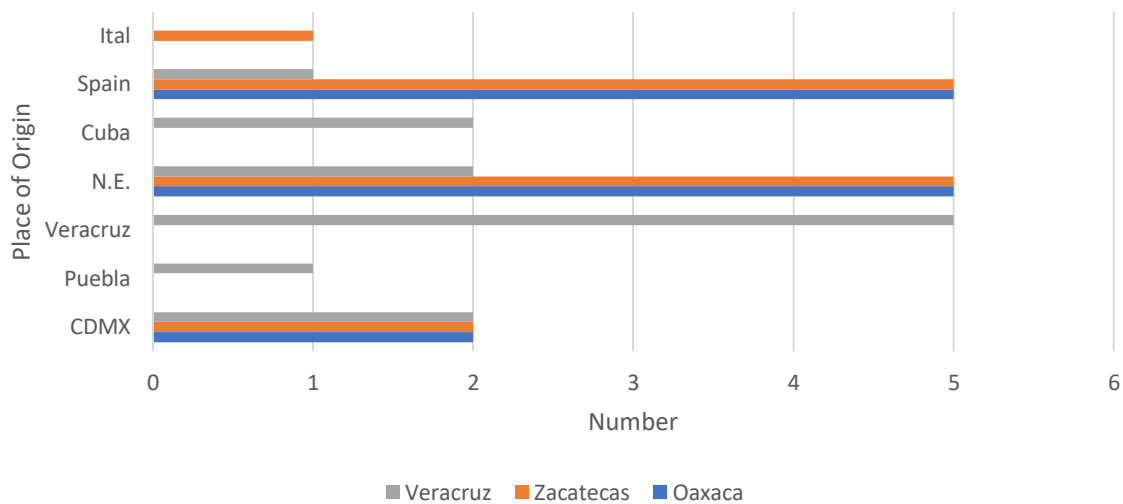
The cases of the colegios in Mexico City, Puebla, Antequera (Oaxaca), and Zacatecas in Mexico substantiate the general pattern (see Tables 2-13, Graphs 2-9). The majority of Jesuits who staffed the colegios in Puebla were natives of New Spain (69), eight were from other American territories, another 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. 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.³⁵

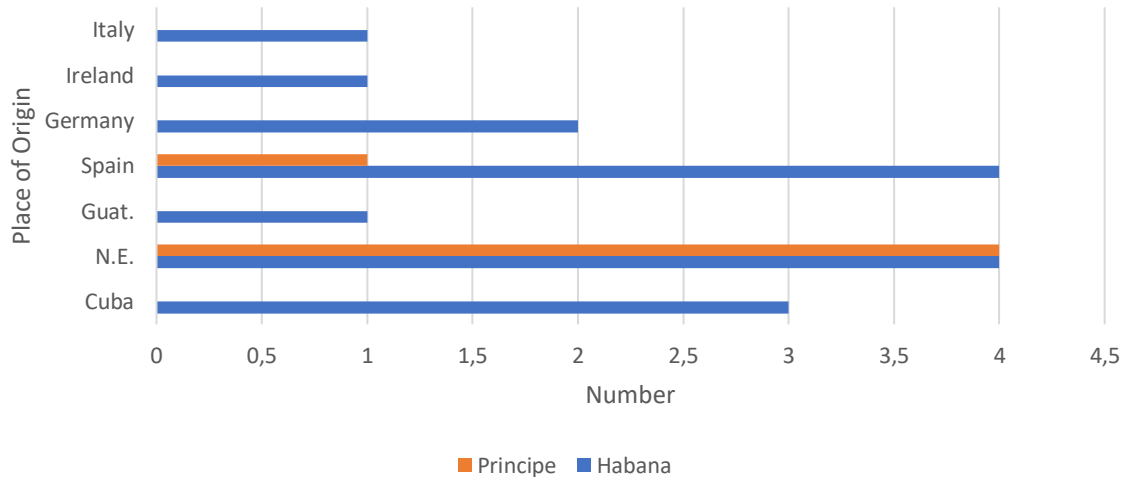
Life in the eighteenth-century was short for most people as shown in estimates of mean life expectancy at birth (MLE). For example, the MLE for Breslau (Germany) at the end of the seventeenth-century was 33.5 years, and 23.5 years for the population of Paris at the beginning of the eighteenth-century. Towards the end of the *ancien regime* in France the MLE was 28.8 years.³⁶ 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.³⁷ 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 1790-1834.³⁸ However, this is not 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. The residents of the colegios in Puebla, Veracruz, Zacatecas, and Antequera were both young men and veterans, while the profile for the colegios in Mexico City shows a larger number of young men who were in the process of formation and incorporation into the Society, or who had recently completed the process of formation. The Colegio Máximo was typical of this profile (see Graph 10). Of the 90 residents in June of 1767, 53 or 59 percent were in the age 15-19 to 25-29 cohorts. Of the others 25 28 percent were over age 40. The profile of the Colegio del Espíritu Santo in Puebla, on the other hand, showed a mix of younger members and veterans, and the older members were the majority. Ten or 16.4 percent were age 29 or young, and 39 or 62.3 percent were age 40 and over. This reflected the importance of the Mexico City institutions and particularly the casa profesa in the training of new members. Those who died in Veracruz in 1767 in transit to exile included older veterans, but also younger members of the Society.

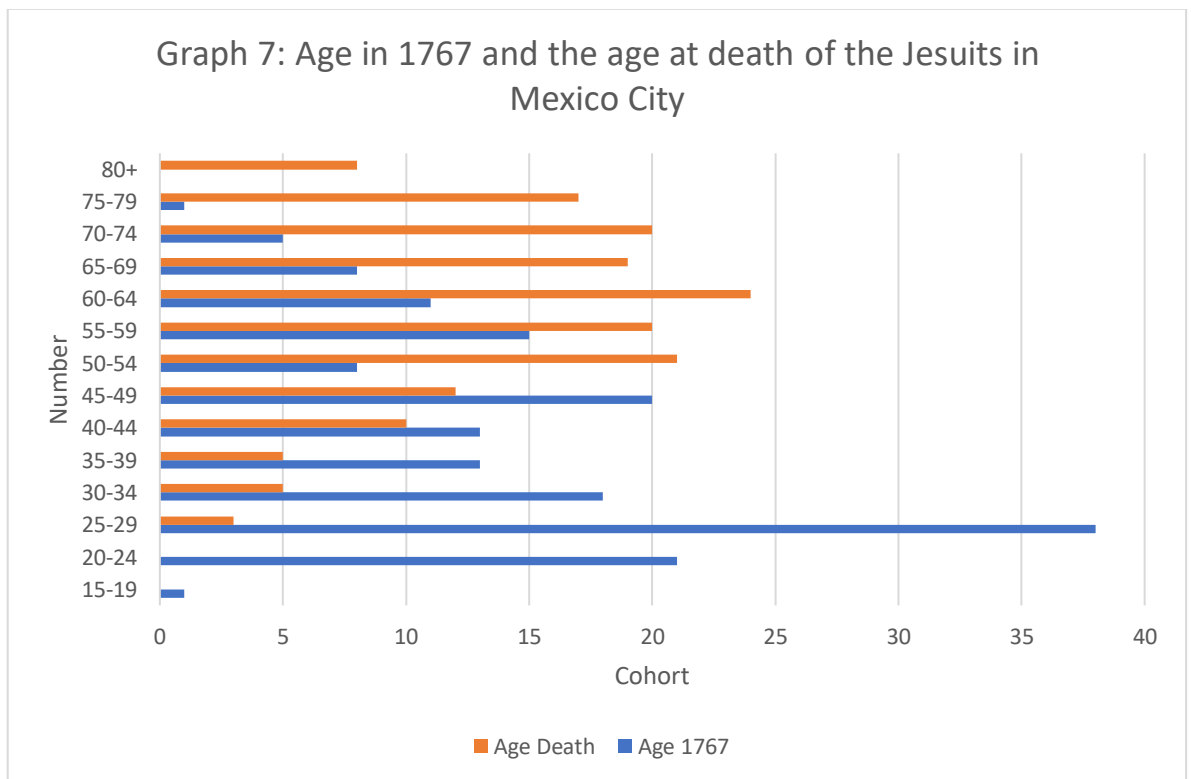
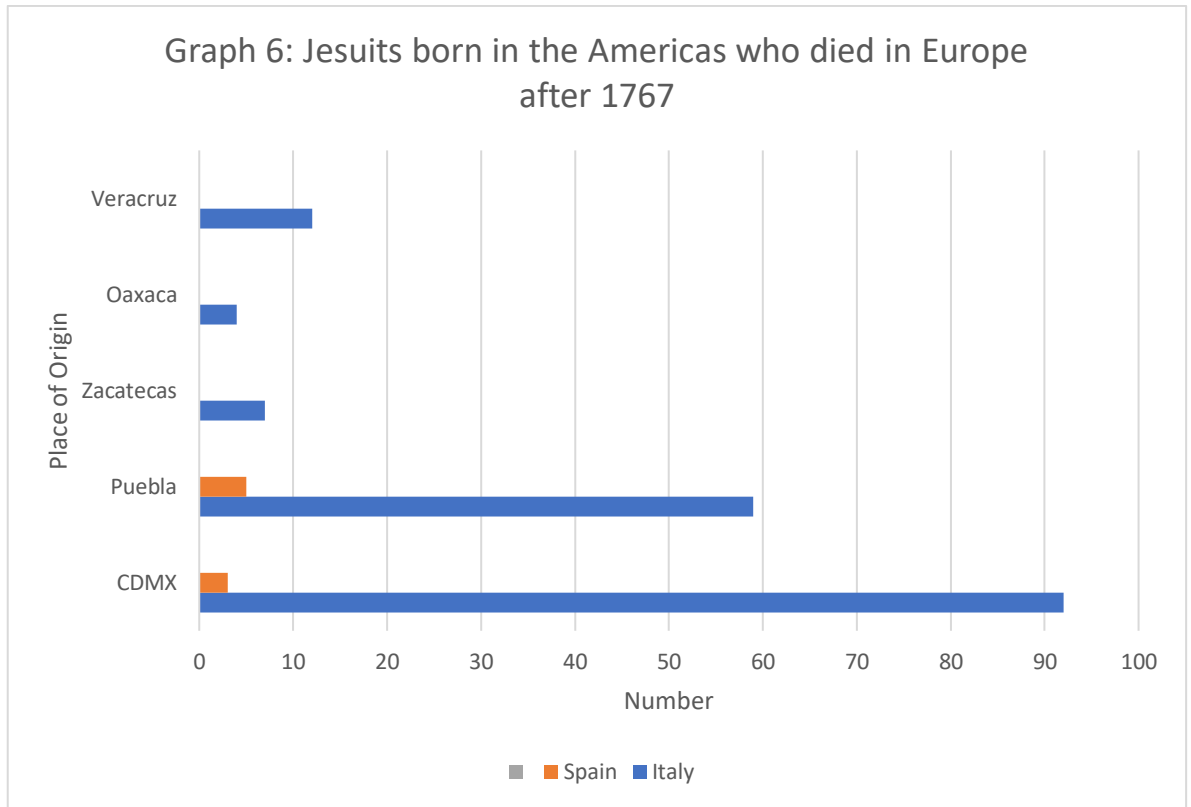


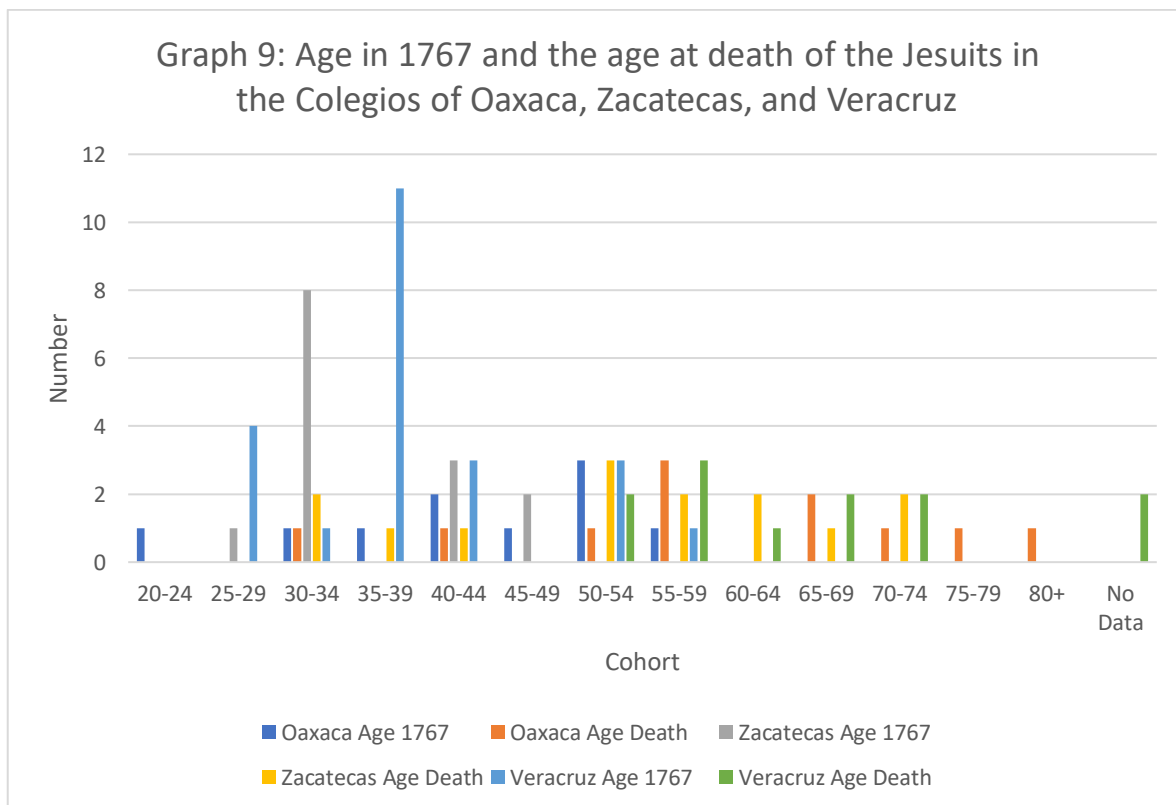
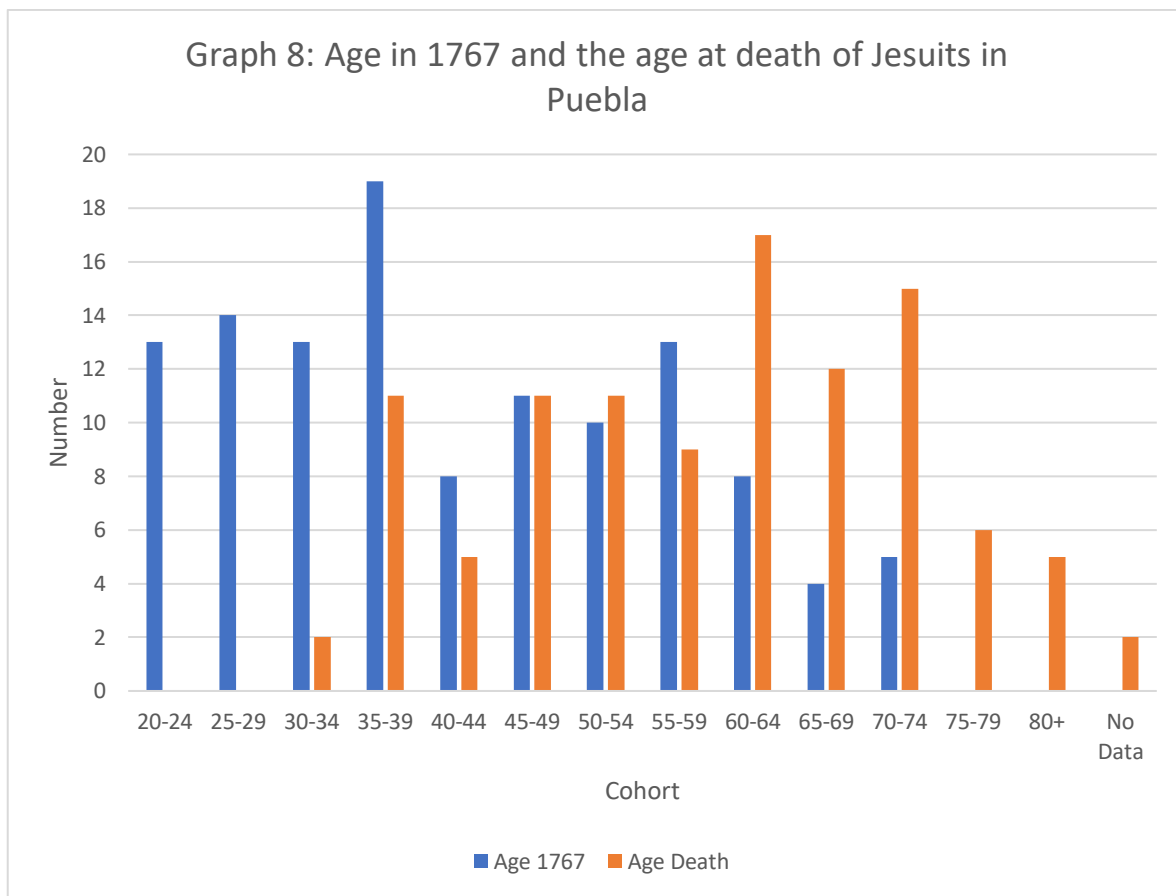
Graph 4: Place of origin of the Jesuits in Veracruz, Zacatecas, and Antequera (Oaxaca) in June of 1767

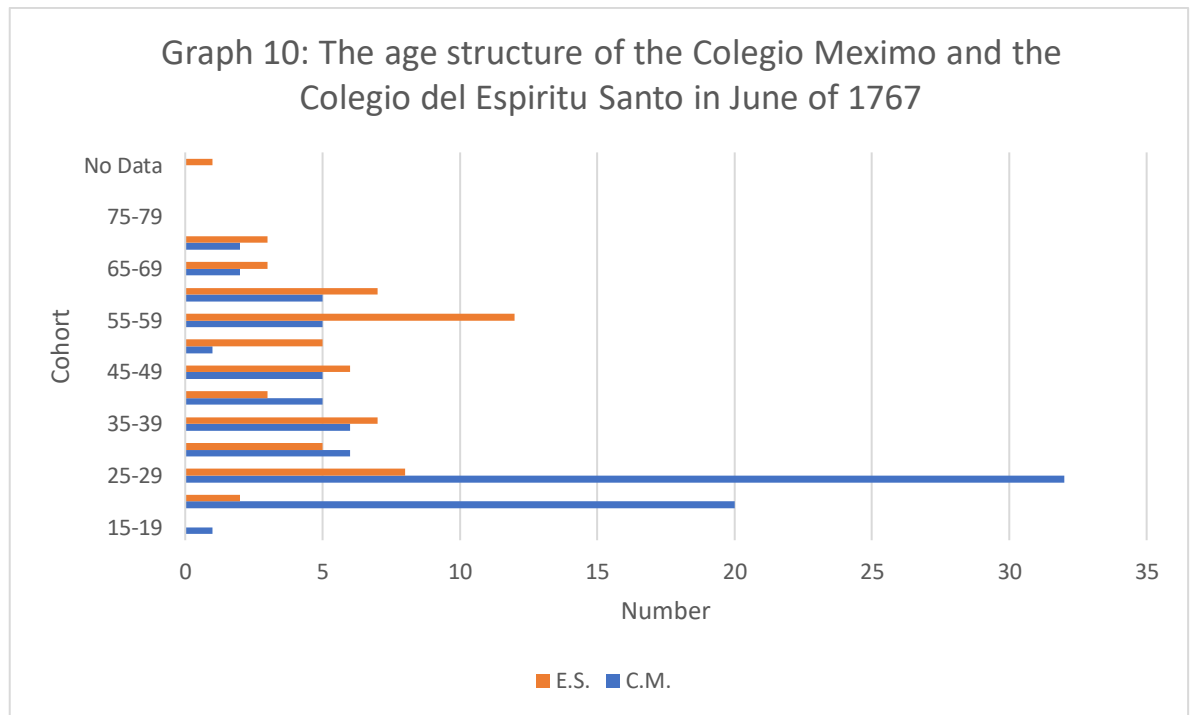


Graph 5: Place of origin of the Jesuits in La Habana and Puerto Principe (Cuba) in 1767









Frontier Jesuit Missions

The profile of the Jesuits assigned to frontier missions in northern New Spain was quite different, as seen in the cases of Chinipas that included Tepehuanes and Raramuri, Sonora and California. Unlike the urban institutions, American-born missionaries were the minority. The Nayarit and Sinaloa missions were the exception. The profile for the Chinipas missions shows one from Nueva España, four from Spain, two from Bohemia and one from neighboring Moravia, and one each from Germany and Italy. In the case of Sonora, eight missionaries were natives of Nueva España, including two from Mexico City and one from Puebla. However, 21 were from Europe, including 12 from Spain, six from what today is Germany, two from Bohemia, and one from Austria, all in the Asistencia de Alemania. The profile of the missionaries in California showed an even more marked preference for Europeans. Two were from Mexico City, and the rest were Europeans: six from Spain, three from Germany, four from Bohemia, and one from Austria. In terms of the age profile there was a mix of older veterans in their 40s and 50s, and younger missionaries. This profile strongly suggests that the Jesuit leadership had greater confidence in the ability of Europeans as missionaries on the northern frontier of Nueva España. This most likely

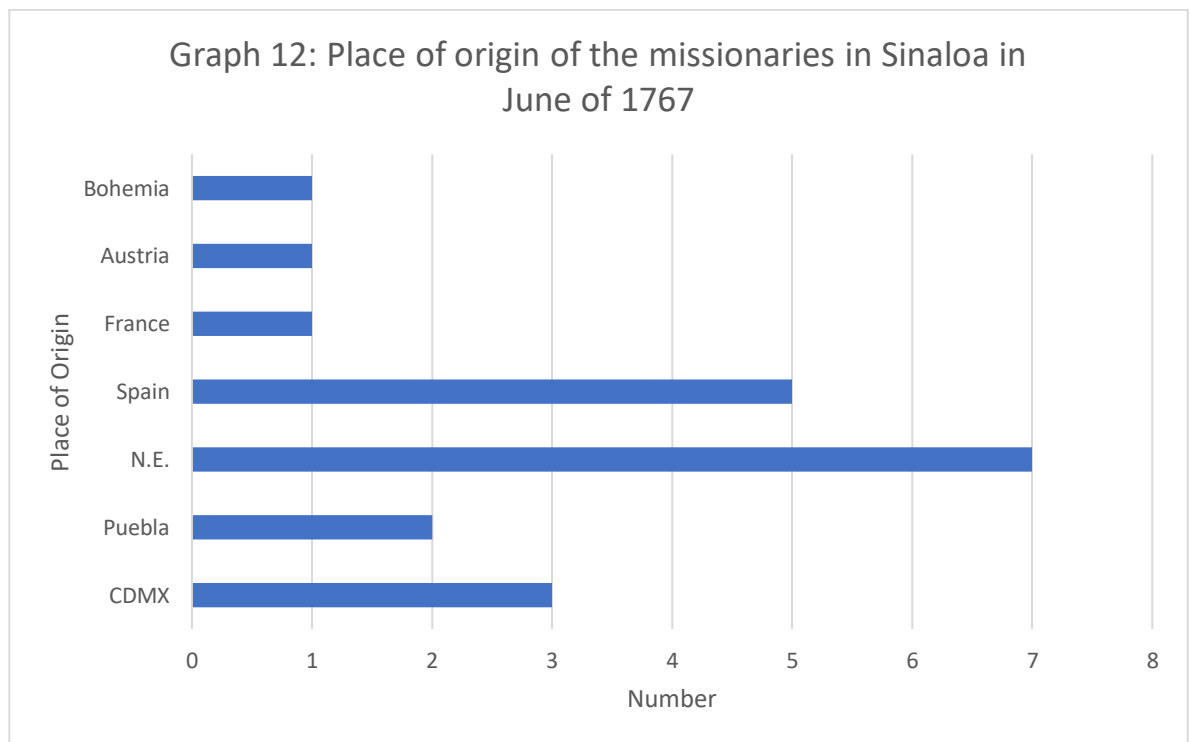
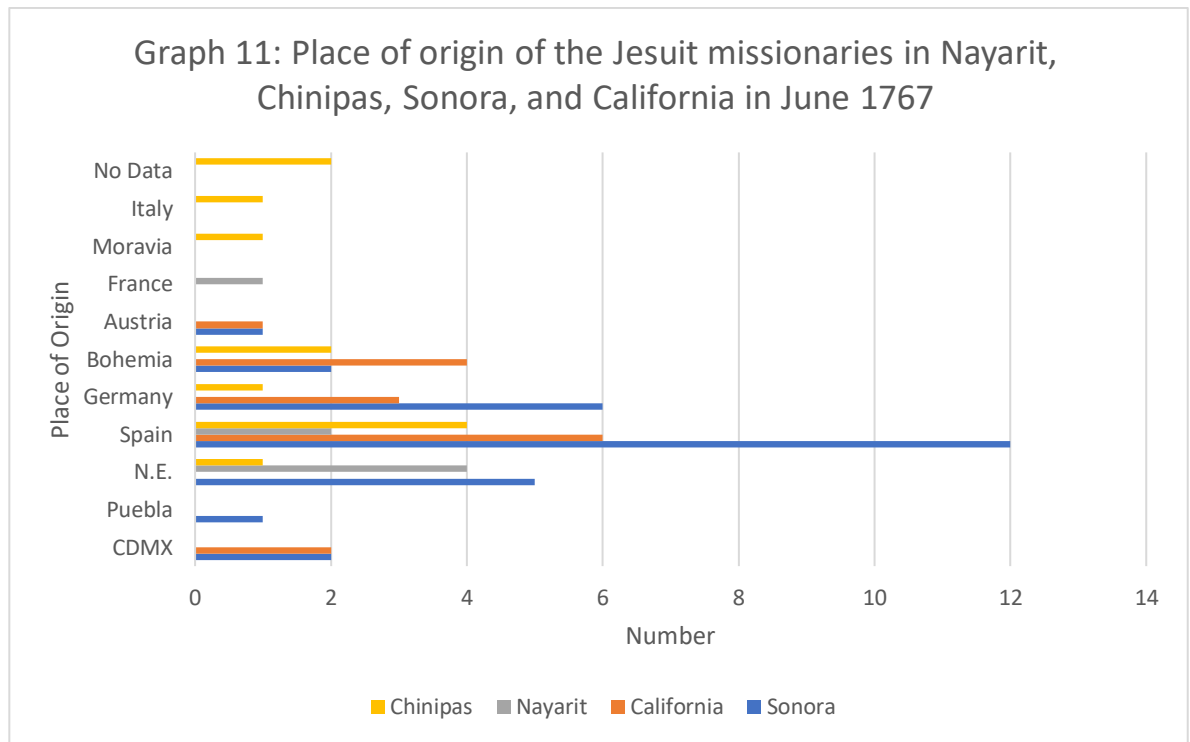
was a manifestation of the bias of the European-born who believed that natives of the Americas were inferior. It was this idea that Veracruz native Francisco Javier Clavijero, S.J. challenged in his writings (see Tables 14-18, Graphs 11-12).



Figure 25: A c. 1754 Jesuit map of the missions in what today is Sinaloa, Sonora, and Chihuahua.



Figure 26: The ex-Jesuit church la Asunción Arispe (Sonora)



Following the expulsion most of the Jesuits lived in Italy. However, some were held in Spain. Twelve died in Mexico in transit to exile, including ten who died in Ixtlan (Nayarit). The pattern of deaths there suggests that they arrived during an epidemic. Another died at sea. Some were ill at the time of their arrival in the Puerto de Santa María and could not continue their

journey. The Nayarit missionary Bartolomé Wolff (d. August 27, 1768), and the Sonora missionaries José Roldan (d. September 21, 1770) and Francisco Paver (d. January 6, 1770) were among the group that died in Mexico. However, others were held in Spain for different reasons. This was the case with 16 of the Jesuits who had been stationed on the Sonora missions. They initially were held in prison in the Puerto de Santa María. However the record of their lives in Spain is incomplete. For example, royal officials allowed Miguel Getzner to return to Germany in 1780. On the other hand, the Spanish-born Miguel Almela was held a prisoner in the Franciscan convent in Villalon for some 20 years, and died in Spain in 1792. In 1775, José Garrucho was being held in prison in Madrid. He died in 1783 in a Jeronymite convent where he was also being held. The last record for seven of the Sonora missionaries was that they were still being held in the Puerto de Santa María in 1775. Why did they receive this treatment. It is plausible that, having been on a frontier with mining activity, they were considered to be a security risk. Of the eight missionaries in the Pimeria Alta which was the northernmost part of Sonora, one died in 1768, a second in 1770 in the Puerto de Santa María, and the other six were held in Spain on the orders of royal officials. Two others held in Spain had staffed Cucurpe and Opodepe missions, located just south of the Pimeria Alta. Two others had been in the Pimeria Alta, but at the time of the expulsion were at missions further south. This supports the hypothesis that royal officials considered them to be security risks.

One of the missionaries, Lorenzo Cabo who was a native of Guadalajara in Jalisco, was among a small group of Jesuits who illegally returned to Mexico in 1799. He died there in 1803. There were at least five and perhaps six others who were in the group that attempted to return to Mexico. Two died in Havana in 1799. They were Atanacio Portillo who was a native of Guatemala and Pedro Navarrete who was a native of Pátzcuaro. The Veracruz native José Cosio was captured and held in the Franciscan convent in Veracruz where he died in 1805. Cabo and a second made it to Mexico City, where they were captured and held captive. Joaquin Maneiro, also a native of Veracruz, was captured again in 1801 and was held in the convent of San Diego where he died in 1802. Manuel Miranda from Tlacomulco (Estado de Mexico) may have been in the group as well. He was in Italy following the expulsion, but died in San Luis Potosi in 1803.

The pattern of the place of origin of the Jesuits stationed in Sinaloa at the moment of the expulsion was distinct from the other missions examined above. Americans constituted the majority. Three were from Mexico City, two from Puebla, and another seven from different parts

of Nueva España in what today is Mexico. European-born Jesuits were the minority. Five were from different parts of Spain, one from Austria, one from Bohemia, and one from France. The case of the French-born Jesuit named Maximiliano LeRoy was unusual. He had been a missionary in New Orleans when the French Parlement was in the process of ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits, and he decided to go to Spanish territory. He went to Veracruz, and in 1764 was in the Colegio of San Luis de la Paz (Guanajuato). At the time of the expulsion, he was in Sinaloa. He died on September 2, 1768 at the barrancas de Mochititlic in Jalisco while in transit to Veracruz and to exile. He was one of nine Jesuits who had been in Sinaloa who died in 1767 and 1768 in Sinaloa, Guaymas, Nayarit and Jalisco on the journey to exile. None of the missionaries made it to exile in Italy. Twelve were held prisoner in the Puerto de Santa María, and all died in Spain (see Table 17).

The profile of the last group of missions, those in the Tarahumara region of Nueva Vizcaya, shows an almost equal number of European and American-born Jesuits. Nine were born in what today is Mexico: two in Mexico City, and 7 in other parts of Mexico. Ten were Europeans. The largest number was five from Spain, and one each from Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, and the Netherlands. The largest number (seven) went into exile in Italy, and died there. Two died at Veracruz in 1767, and two at sea. One was the former rector of the Tarahumara missions Bartolomé Braun who died on the way to la Habana after leaving Veracruz. Two died in Spain, although it appears that only one made have been held there following the expulsion (see Table 18).

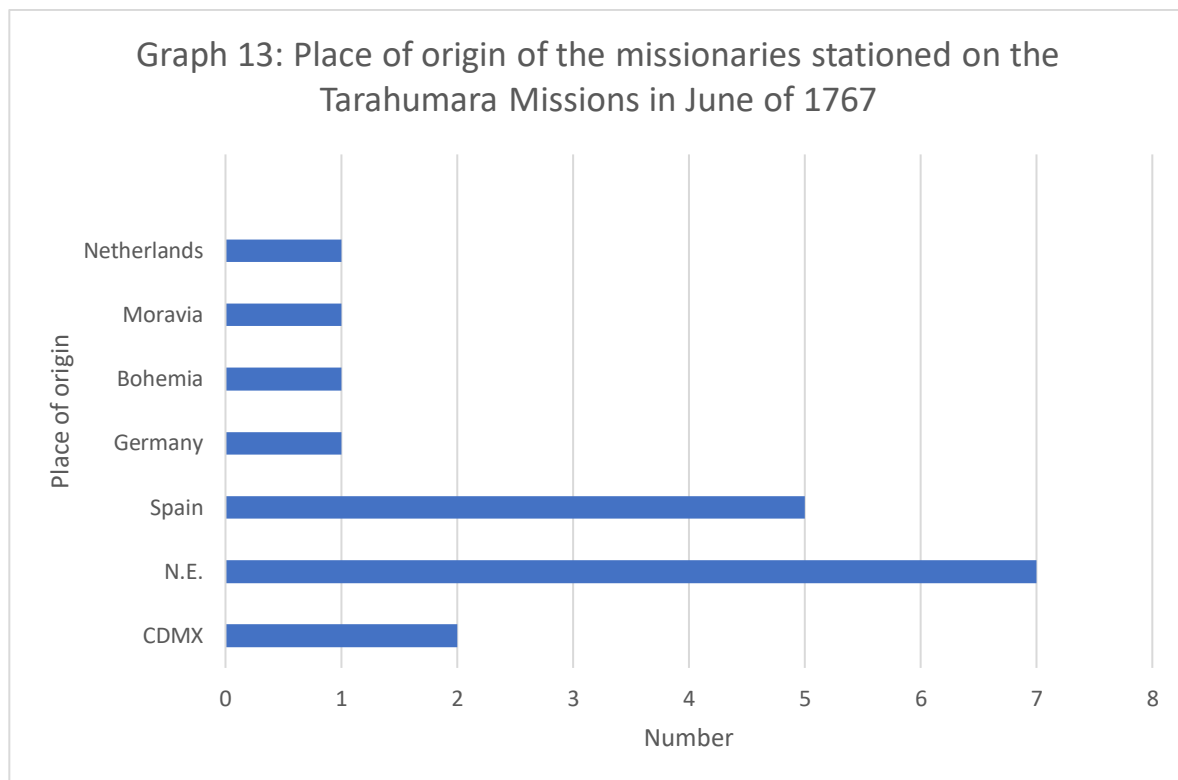
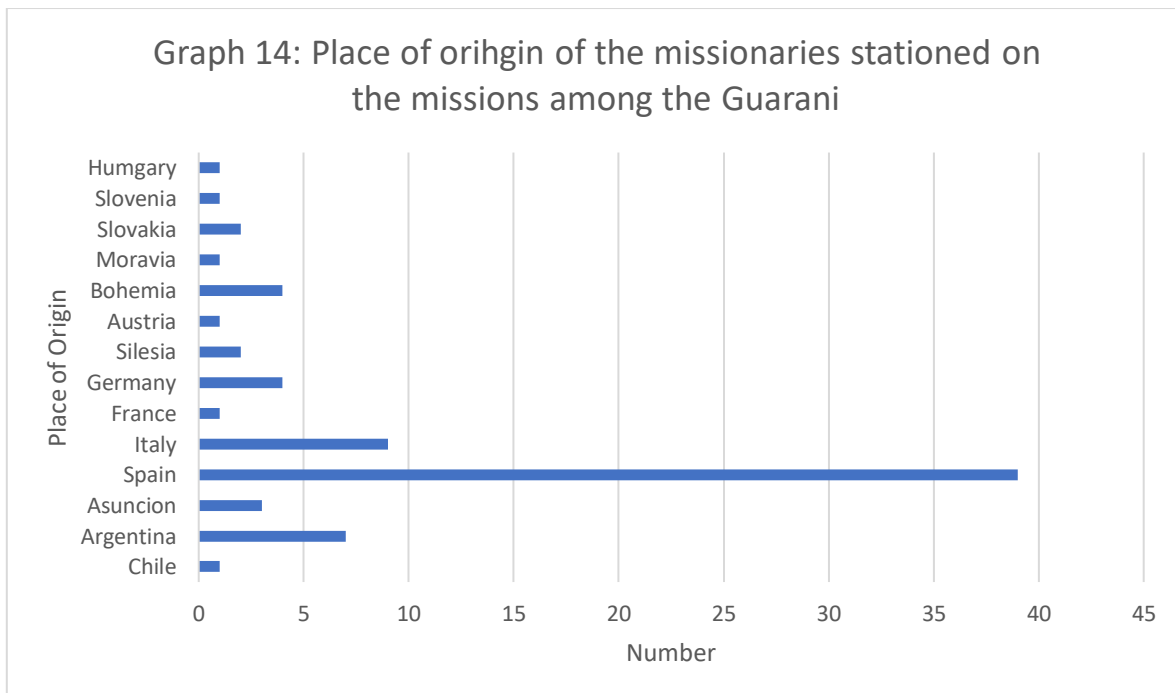
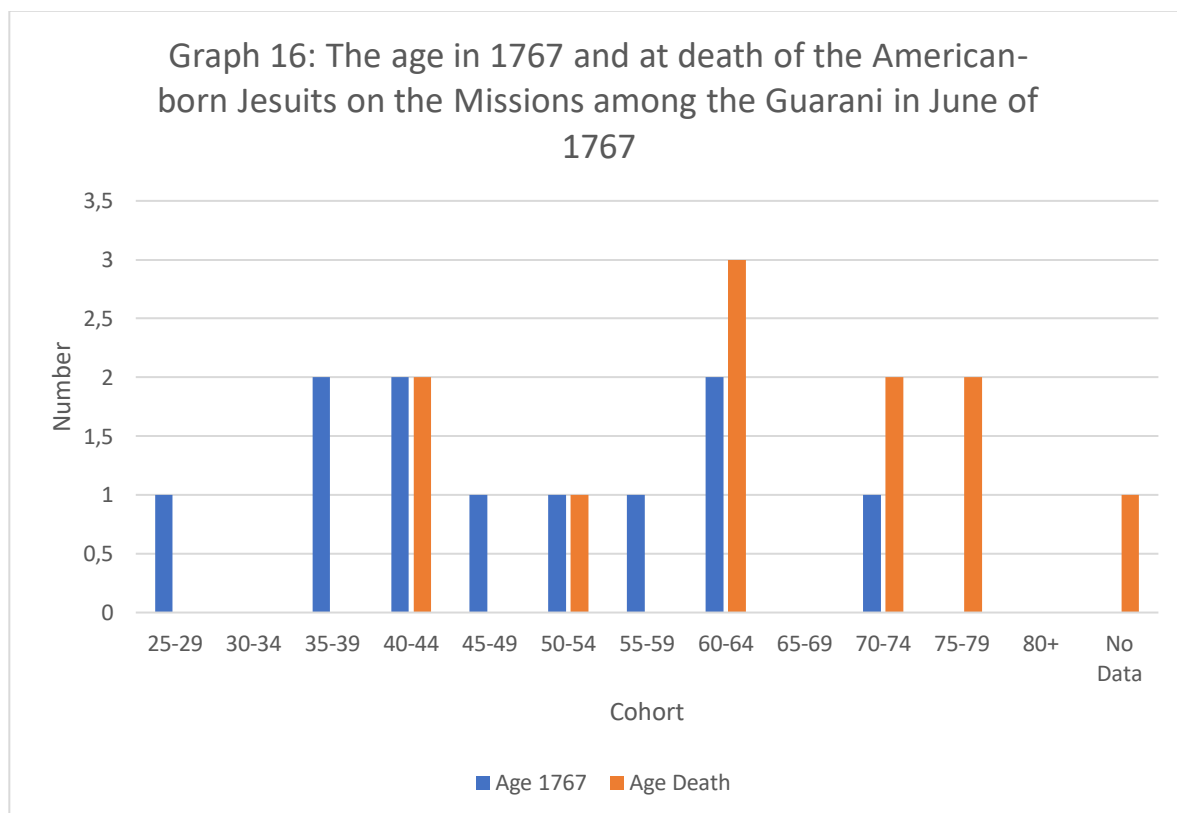
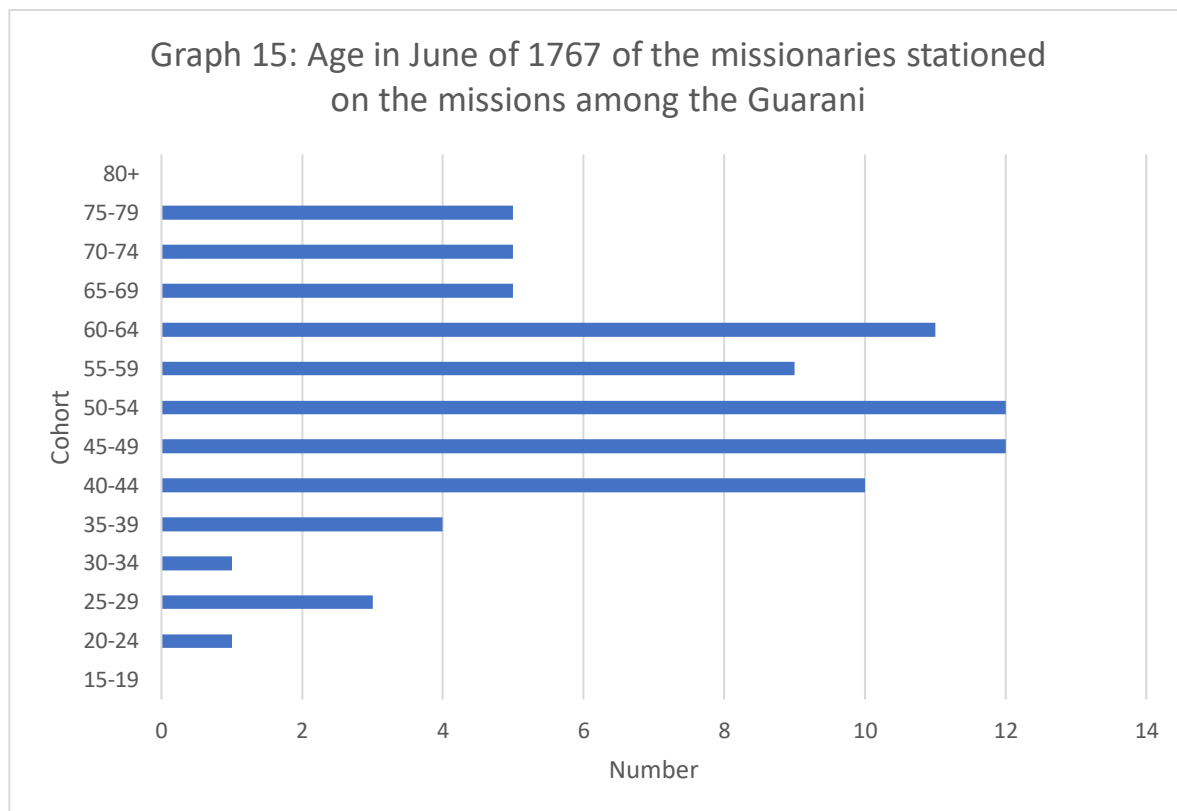


Figure 27: Ruins at the first site of the ex-Jesuit mission San Ignacio Nio (Sinaloa).

How does the profile of the missionaries stationed on the northern frontier of Nueva España compare to that of Jesuit missionaries on other frontiers? The 1769 list and 1775 report provide information on the Jesuits stationed on the missions among the Guaraní, and a biographical dictionary identifies their place and date of birth.³⁹ It is important to remember that the 1769 list is incomplete. It reports the Jesuits who were put on ships in the Americas, who died in transit, and those who arrived in Spain. However, two patterns are evident. The selection of missionaries showed a clear bias towards Europeans. There were three Jesuits stationed on the missions who were natives of Asunción in Paraguay, one from Chile, and seven recruited in what today is Argentina (see Table 19). However, they represented only 14.5 percent of the group of 76 missionaries (see Graph 14). An analysis of the age structure in June of 1767 shows that this was a group of veteran and aging missionaries. Those under age 40 constituted only 12 percent of the total group, while those over age 60 were 32 percent. Eight of the missionaries were already over age 70 (see Graph 15). Unlike the missions on the northern frontier of Nueva España, where there was a mix of younger men and veterans, the missionaries on the missions among the Guaraní were predominately aging veterans. The American-born Jesuits were both younger men and older veterans (see Graph 16), and the majority, seven of eleven, lived beyond age 60.





Conclusions

The Society of Jesus played a pivotal role in Spanish America in education, the spiritual life of city-folk, and in staffing frontier missions. However, the relatively small number of members in the Provincia of Nueva España at the point of the expulsion in 1767 belies their importance in colonial society. At the time of the expulsion, the majority of the Jesuits assigned to the urban colegios in Mexico City, Puebla de los Ángeles, Zacatecas, Antequera (Oaxaca), and Veracruz were American-born, and the majority of the American-born came from elite Creole families in what today is Mexico. In particular, young men from Mexico City and Puebla de los Ángeles joined the order, and others from cities such as Veracruz and Zacatecas. The profile of the missionaries assigned to the Chinipas, Sonora, and California missions, on the other hand, was different. Most were of European origin. The Sinaloa and Nayarit missions were the exception with the majority of the missionaries coming from what today is Mexico.

The expulsion order disrupted education in the cities, and created difficulties for royal officials who scrambled to find replacements to staff the missions the Jesuits vacated. The removal of the Jesuits from California and their replacement with Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando (Mexico City) also led to the implementation of plans to colonize Alta California overseen by José de Gálvez y Gallardo. The expulsion disrupted the lives of the Jesuits themselves, and many of the American-born ended their lives in Italy or Spain. The treatment of missionaries from Sinaloa and Sonora was exceptional. A number of them were held in prison in Spain, and eventually died there. For example, José Garrucho was one of two Jesuits held in prison in Madrid. Royal officials viewed them as “enemies of the state.” This was one example of the mentality behind the decision to expel and send the Jesuits into exile. At the same time, the documents generated by the bureaucratic imperatives of the expulsion provide names for the members of the Society who went into exile.

Table 1: The Number of Jesuits in the Province of Nueva España in 1750 and 1767

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

Residencia Chihuahua	4	1	3
Residencia de San José (Campeche)	4	0	2
Residencia de Parral (Chihuahua)	1	0	2
Residencia de Santa María de Parras (Coahuila)	3	0	4
Outside of México			
Colegio de Guatemala (Antigua, Guatemala)	8	2	12
Seminario de San Francisco de Borja (Guatemala)	1	0	2
Colegio de Havana (Cuba)	8	2	16
Residencia de Puerto Principe (Cuba)	2	0	5
Missions in Northern México			
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,” in Jorge Cristian Troisi Melean and Marcia Amantino, eds., *Jesuitas en las Américas* (Buenos Aires: Teseo Press, No Date) 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).

Jesuit Colegios in Mexico City

Table 2: Jesuits in the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo

Name	Information Birth		Information Death	
	Place	Date	Place	Date
Pedro Reales (Rector)	Puente del Sol (Spain)	April 25, 1704	Veracruz (Vz)	August 23, 1767
José Vallarta	Puebla (Puebla)	July 18, 1719	Bolonia (Italy)	July 3, 1790
Francisco Contreras	Atlixco (Puebla)	September 5, 1720	Bolonia (Italy)	July 20, 1789
Ignacio Tagle	Zacatecas (Zac)	November 30, 1730	Pesaro (Italy)	February 2, 1772
Ylario Ugarte	Inde (Parral, Mex.)	January 20, 1740	Rome (Italy)	August 9, 1796
Juan Serrano	Avila (Spain)	March 18, 1738	Rome (Italy)	January 19, 1811
Manuel Muñoz	Puebla (Puebla)	December 31, 1742	Galloro (Italy)	April 3, 1790
Juan Urrutia	Campeche	August 23, 1740	Bolonia (Italy)	December 5, 1772
Tomas de Arruti	Tepeaca (Puebla)	September 21, 1740	Bolonia (Italy)	May 8, 1770
Tomas Esparza	Rosario (Durango)	December 21, 1738	Rome (Italy)	November 10, 1792
H Manuel Muñoz	Appa (Spain?)	August 21, 1739	Rome (Italy)	February 8, 1811
E Juan Maneiro	Veracruz (Vz)	February 2, 1744	México City	November 16, 1802
H Ramon Tarros	Tarragona (Spain)	February 12, 1744	Bolonia (Italy)	December 16, 1794
H José Quintanilla	San Vicente (Guat)	April 7, 1741	Trecenta (Italy)	March 31, 1791
E Francisco Vidal	Teziutlán (Puebla)	February 14, 1739	Bolonia (Italy)	November 8, 1786
H Ygnacio Noriega	Querétaro (Qro)	August 3, 1738	Bolonia (Italy)	November 24, 1772
H Gabriel Carabantes	Puebla (Puebla)	September 7, 1718	Castel San Pedro	March 12, 1775
H José de Arriaga	Tlaxcala (Tlax.)	October 1, 1722	Mascarra (Italy)	June 14, 1794
H Francisco de Barreda	Puebla (Puebla)	September 10, 1726	Bolonia (Italy)	1773
José Bellido	Granada (Spain)	June 22, 1700	Bolonia (Italy)	December 17, 1783
Dionicio Pérez	Veracruz (Vz)	October 9, 1731	Ravenna (Italy)	December 2, 1772
Juan de Nava	Lagos (Jalisco)	January 29, 1696	Bolonia (Italy)	October 7, 1778
Yldefonso Fernández	Antequera (Oax.)	October 3, 1709	Bolonia (Italy)	November 12, 1772
Pedro Caro	México City	June 27, 1731	Bolonia (Italy)	July 21, 1794
Antonio Jugo	Parral (Chihuahua)	February 13, 1733	Barcelona (Spain)	September 17, 1800
José Naxera	México City	June 9, 1734	Pesaro (Italy)	November 13, 1776
Antanacio Portillo	Antigua (Guat)	May 2, 1739	La Habana (Cuba)	June 5, 1799
Joseph Och	Franconia (Ger)	February 21, 1725	Wurzburg (Ger.)	1773
Pablo Robledo	Puebla (Puebla)	June 30, 1709	Bolonia (Italy)	June 2, 1779
Francisco Rivero	Valladolid (Mich.)	December 3, 1729	Bolonia (Italy)	February 17, 1787
Fran González Calderón	México City	December 8, 1739	Bolonia (Italy)	September 29, 1833

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Joaquín Rodríguez Calado	Puebla (Puebla)	November 2, 1693	San Pedro (Italy)	August 19, 1772
Tomas Sandoval	Puebla (Puebla)	September 29, 1701	Castel San Pedro	April 1, 1776
Manuel Villalta	San Vicente (Guat)	February 4, 1726	Rome (Italy)	December 23, 1803
H Antonio Coronel	S M el Grande (Gto)	July 24, 1735	La Habana (Cuba)	February 18, 1808
H Martín Montejano	Cangas (Spain)	November 11, 1709	Bolonia (Italy)	December 29, 1786
H Fernando Calderón	Tepeaca (Puebla)	October 19, 1743	Bolonia (Italy)	December 1, 1807
E Juan Arrieta	México City	March 27, 1744	Rome (Italy)	May 3, 1820
E Andrés González	Teocaltiche (Jal)	November 30, 1742	Rome (Italy)	December 10, 1823
E Juan Ravanillo	Puebla (Puebla)	April 10, 1741	Bolonia (Italy)	August 2, 1805
E Juan Almont	Chihuahua (Ch)	December 27, 1740	Palamos (Italy)	July 30, 1798
E Tomas Basquas	Gandia (Spain)	December 20, 1739	Bolonia (Italy)	March 27, 1772
H Juan Egusquiza	Andoain (Spain)	January 24, 1711	Ferrara (Italy)	August 24, 1787
E Juan Serrano	Toledo (Spain)	April 12, 1744	Rome (Italy)	January 19, 1811
H Pedro Vaquera	Huichapan (Hidalgo)	April 29, 1741	Bolonia (Italy)	March 16, 1789
H Nicolas Lomana	Guadalajara (Jal)	April 7, 1743	Bolonia (Italy)	February 8, 1812
H Juan Castañiza	México City	May 5, 1744	México City	November 24, 1816
H Juan Rodríguez	Taxco (Guerrero)	July 26, 1742	Bolonia (Italy)	February 27, 1771
E Esteban Franyuti	Acayucan (Vz)	January 1, 1737	Bolonia (Italy)	December 9, 1803
H Juan Belmont	Zitácuaro (Mich.)	September 21, 1741	Rome (Italy)	February 21, 1809
H Antonio Franyuti	Acayucan (Vz)	September 6, 1748	Acayucan (Vz)	April 23, 1813
E Antonio Viedman	Taxco (Guerrero)	March 18, 1741	Ferrara (Italy)	February 16, 1782
H Felipe Franyuti	Acayucan (Vz)	May 1, 1739	Bolonia (Italy)	April 26, 1794
E José Borda	Caracas (Venezuela)	May 25, 1740	Bolonia (Italy)	October 7, 1787
E Andrés Rosso	Xalapa (Vz)	November 29, 1740	Bolonia (Italy)	September 8, 1817
E Francisco Lezaun	Puente Reina (Spain)	January 8, 1733	Genoa (Italy)	March 1, 1793
H José Castilla	México City	August 12, 1742	Bolonia (Italy)	December 28, 1799
E Francisco del Castillo	Antequera (Oaxaca)	October 10, 1740		
H Antonio Noriega	Tabasco	March 27, 1739	Rome (Italy)	September 22, 1811
E Rafael Rivera	Guanajuato (Gto)	October 24, 1745	Ferrara (Italy)	August 20, 1796
H Juan Martínez	Pátzcuaro (Mich)	September 25, 1742	Rome (Italy)	November 28, 1821
H Xavier Reyna	México City	May 9, 1742	Geneva (Italy)	1783
H José Muñoz	Marfil (Guanajuato)	April 16, 1690	Habana	November 17, 1767
H José López	México City	June 20, 1734	Bolonia (Italy)	April 28, 1806
Francisco Rodríguez	Vermillo (Spain)	March 25, 1733	Bolonia (Italy)	October 12, 1792
Sancho Reynoso	Lagos (Jal.)	August 13, 1713	Bolonia (Italy)	October 10, 1792
Miguel González	Tepeaca (Puebla)	February 16, 1703	Veracruz (Vz)	August 22, 1767

Miguel Castro	Córdoba (Vz)	July 15, 1742	Bolonia (Italy)	December 4, 1796
Miguel Castillo	México City	August 2, 1707	Veracruz (Vz)	December 12, 1767
Juan Flores	México City	May 16, 1738	Bolonia (Italy)	July 5, 1799
E Tomas Gonzalo	Villasad (Spain)	September 9. 1738	Rome (Italy)	March 25, 1812
E Antonio Casanova	Samboi (Spain)	August 30, 1741	Fano (Italy)	January 8, 1808
E Pedro Minguez	Guadar (Spain)	May 12, 1706	Veracruz (Vz)	October 20, 1767
H George Schultz	Opoliuym (Ger)	May 13, 1723	Veracruz (Vz)	September 15, 1767
H Gines Martinez	Lorea (Spain)	September 3, 1717	Veracruz (Vz)	October 19. 1767
H Diego Rancurel	Portugal	July 25, 1702	Veracruz (Vz)	October 15, 1767
E Pedro Marquez	Rincon (Spain)	February 23, 1741	N.D.	
H Benito Urbina	Alabos (Spain)	January 23, 1739	Bolonia (Italy)	February 3, 1791
H Fernando Calderón	Tepeaca (Puebla)	October 19, 1743	Bolonia (Italy)	December 1, 1807
H Ignacio Clavijero	Puebla (Puebla)	October 13, 1744	Bolonia (Italy)	December 1, 1828
E Manuel Arenas	Guanajuato (Gto)	April 1, 1740	Ferrara (Italy)	September 4, 1793
E Manuel Mendoza	Valladolid (Mich.)	October 27, 1740	Cádiz (Spain)	May 27, 1804
H Miguel Lozano	Antequera (Oaxaca)	October 1, 1744	Bolonia (Italy)	January 3, 1800
E Mariano Velazco	México City	April 12, 1744	México City	October 11, 1819
H José Goicoechea	Sierra Pinos (Zac)	August 9, 1745	Rome (Italy)	July 16, 1774
E Andrés García	Zacatecas (Zac)	November 29, 1740	Bolonia (Italy)	March 5, 1785
H Vicente Tobar	Guanajuato (Gto)	October 20, 1743	Bolonia (Italy)	January 18, 1821
H Miguel Abaurrea	Pamplona (Spain)	May 4, 1732	Bolonia (Italy)	January 2, 1797
H Vicente de Vera	Olave (Spain)	January 24, 1704	Died at sea	January 20, 1768
E Francisco Cosió	Veracruz (Vz)	January 24, 1741	Rome (Italy)	October 31, 1778
E Luis de Sierra	México City	February 21, 1744	Milan (Italy)	September 16, 1791
H Miguel Sabel	Puerto Real (Spain)	January 8, 1710	Ferrara (Italy)	September 5. 1774
H Miguel de Coca	Córdoba (Spain)	August 8, 1720	Ferrara (Italy)	December 9, 1780

E-Escolar; H-Coadjutor

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 3: Jesuits in the Casa Profesa San José el Real

Name	Information Birth		Information Death	
	Place	Date	Place	Date
José Yturriaga	Puebla (Puebla)	April 26, 1717	Bolonia (Italy)	January 22, 1787
Juan Yragorri	Sierra Pino (Zac)	July 12, 1728	Rome (Italy)	August 18, 1783
Francisco Pérez	Zacatecas (Zac)	July 25, 1692	Pto. Sta. María	November 23, 1768
José Paredes	San Juan (Puebla)	April 30, 1698	Bolonia (Italy)	May 3, 1779
Manuel Miranda	Tlacomulco (E Mx)	January 26, 1733	San Luis Potosi	1802
Agustín Real	Puebla (Puebla)	April 13, 1736	Bolonia (Italy)	June 26, 1790
José Utrera	Vélez (Spain)	October 5, 1707	Bolonia (Italy)	December 1, 1776
José Restan	México City	November 5, 1722	Bolonia (Italy)	December 11, 1795
Felipe de Lugo	Antigua (Guat.)	May 1, 1712	Bolonia (Italy)	May 27, 1771
José de Eguía	Pamplona (Spain)	April 28, 1738	Genoa (Italy)	1773
Juan González	Teocaltiche (Jal)	January 6, 1724	Bolonia (Italy)	September 28, 1792
Atanacio Fregonil	Querétaro (Gro)	May 2, 1739	Lodi (Italy)	July 19, 1791
Benito González Patiño	Guadalajara (Jal)	March 21, 1735	N.D.	
Agustín de Castro	Córdoba (Vz)	January 24, 1728	Bolonia (Italy)	November 23, 1790
José de Gondra	México City	September 7, 1737	Ferrara (Italy)	April 17, 1784
Juan Lantada	México City	August 29, 1735	Rome (Italy)	September 21, 1789
Vicente Zuazu	Pátzcuaro (Mich)	April 20, 1719	Ferrara (Italy)	January 17, 1781
Benito Velasco	Atlixco (Puebla)	December 28, 1733	Bolonia (Italy)	March 17, 1786
Salvador Gándara	San Sebastián (Dur)	August 28, 1709	Bolonia (Italy)	November 29, 1773
José Sánchez	Almagro (Spain)	October 24, 1717	Medicina (Italy)	August 7, 1788
Ignacio Calderón	Guadiana (Spain)	May 6, 1696	Puebla (Puebla)	July 26, 1777
Agustín Carta	Cerdeña (Spain)	May 31, 1698	Veracruz (Vz)	August 8. 1767
Antonio Ruiz	Puebla (Puebla)	June 19, 1708	Veracruz (Vz)	August 4, 1767
Juna Villavicencio	México City	December 15, 1709	Veracruz (Vz)	October 25, 1767
H José Olavarrieta	Zacatecas (Zac)	March 18, 1719	Tivoli (Italy)	January 3, 1792
H Pedro Torres	Puebla (Puebla)	July 3, 1702	At Sea	November 9, 1767
H Miguel Boz	Brandenberg (Ger)	April 1, 1705	Rome (Italy)	March 20, 1791
H Miguel Ruelas	Cocula (Jal)	January 25, 1705	Bolonia (Italy)	October 23, 1783
H Manuel Días de Vargas	Cádiz (Spain)	July 7, 1727	Bolonia (Italy)	January 7, 1778
H Ángel Carta	Cerdeña (Spain)	August 17, 1717	Cerdeña (Spain)	1767 (¿)
H Agustín Quijano	San Luis Potosi	August 29, 1719	Bolonia (Italy)	March 4, 1779
H Manuel Montalbán	Espíritu Santo (Cuba)	August 24, 1721	Genoa (Italy)	October 6, 1793
H Agustín Borrotte	Zacatecas (Zac)	April 14, 1735	Bolonia (Italy)	March 17, 1788

H Juan Llorente	Pozo Blanco (Spain)	December 10, 1723	Bolonia (Italy)	December 15, 1796
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E-Escolar; H-Coadjutor

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 4: Jesuits in the Colegio de San Andrés

Name	Information Birth		Information Death	
	Place	Date	Place	Date
Francisco Zevallos (Rector)	Antequera (Oax)	October 7, 1704	Bolonia (Italy)	February 27, 1770
Francisco Alegre	Veracruz (Vz)	November 12, 1729	Bolonia (Italy)	August 16, 1788
Manuel Sánchez	Puebla (Puebla)	March 16, 1734	Bolonia (Italy)	August 13, 1776
Víctor Brotón	Busat (Spain)	April 25, 1734	Monistorolo (It)	August 18, 1785
H Juan Cossio	Rio Manzo (Spain)	December 1, 1721	Bolonia (Italy)	January 28, 1771
Gregorio Vargas	Barajas (Spain)	May 9, 1724	Bolonia (Italy)	March 8, 1801
H Francisco Serrano	Córdoba (Spain)	January 14, 1711	Bolonia (Italy)	May 15, 1792
H Mariano Montezuma	México City	August 13, 1742	Rome (Italy)	October 9, 1778
H Bernardo Valdez	Barrameda (Spain)	September 29, 1729	Rome (Italy)	August, 1797
Matías Sousa	Puebla (Puebla)	February 27, 1740	Genoa (Italy)	1787
H Bernardo Sarmiento	Rosario (Durango)	August 20, 1737	Zacatecas (Zac)	1813
José Carrillo	Maravatio (Mich)	November 1, 1700	Bolonia (Italy)	December 16, 1774
José Berrio	Mexico City	July 11, 1703	Veracruz (Vz)	August 8, 1767
José Lucas Anaya	Puebla (Puebla)	October 27, 1710	Mexico City	November 28, 1771
Antonio Corro	Córdoba (Spain)	January 10, 1724	Veracruz (Vz)	November 13, 1767
Francisco Carranza	Mexico City	February 19, 1703	Genoa	1769
Juan Armesto	San Cristóbal (Sp)	June 23, 1713	Bolonia (Italy)	November 22, 1795
José Hidalgo	Ecija (Spain)	August 20, 1718	Rimini (Italy)	July 17, 1780
Agustín Márquez	Cáceres (Spain)	November 17, 1714	Pto. Sta. María	December 9, 1768
H Cayetano Cao	Compostela (Spain)	February 15, 1725	Bolonia (Italy)	December 29, 1802
H José Arriaga	Tlaxcala (Tlaxcala)	October 1, 1722	Mascarra (Italy)	June 14, 1794
H Manuel Oyarzun	Alcoz (Spain)	January 1, 1719	Veracruz (Vz)	August 1, 1767

H Tomas Arsdekin	Ireland	March 25, 1721	Veracruz (Vz)	October 8, 1767
H Juan Lautner	Abersba (Ger)	October 17, 1707	Veracruz (Vz)	December 1, 1767
H Ramon Peralta	Tafalla (Spain)	May 30, 1707	At Sea	December 5, 1767
H Toribio García	Rioja (Spain)	April 16, 1722	Bolonia (Italy)	October 11, 1774
H Diego Cárcamo	Salamanca (Spain)	November 14, 1722	Bolonia (Italy)	December 31, 1778
H. Juan Ventura	Cádiz (Spain)	February 3, 1731	Bolonia (Italy)	1808

E-Escolar; H-Coadjutor

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 5: Jesuits in the Colegio de San Gregorio

Name	Information Birth		Information Death	
	Place	Date	Place	Date
Ignacio Lizasoain	Pamplona (Spain)	April 8, 1717	Bolonia (Italy)	January 12, 1789
Gaspar Miralla	Palermo (Italy)	March 11, 1719	Rome (Italy)	March 5, 1810
Nicolas Vasquez	Mérida (Yuc)	September 7, 1716	Ferrara (Italy)	January 6, 1785
José Zamorano	Tepotzotlán (E México)	October 6, 1731	Bolonia (Italy)	July 4, 1786
Vicente Dias	Aguascalientes	November 5, 1733	Bolonia (Italy)	November 29, 1807
Cristiano Malek	Chlume (Bohemia)	August 15, 1733	N.D.	
H Estanislao Fondevilla	Capella (Spain)	January 26, 1727	Bolonia (Italy)	March 18, 1802
Manuel Cartagena	Mexico City	February 12, 1708	Ferrara (Italy)	September 5, 1780
José Soldevilla	S Antonio Tuxtla (Vz)	March 19, 1721	Barcelona (Spain)	May 4, 1799
Martin Alcocer	Tlaxcala (Tlaxcala)	September 14, 1708	La Habana (Cuba)	November 13, 1767
José Elvillar	Mexico City	May 12, 1686	Hacienda CDMX	December 15, 1767
H Juan Esparza	Rosario (Durango)	June 24, 1741	Veracruz (Vz)	October 10, 1767

E-Escolar; H-Coadjutor

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 6: Jesuits in the Colegio de San Ildefonso

Name	Information Birth		Information Death	
	Place	Date	Place	Date
Juan Quintanilla	Tlaxco (Tlaxcala)	November 3, 1729	Bolonia (Italy)	August 26, 1786
Manuel Cosi6	Veracruz (Vz)	March 26, 1726	Rome (Italy)	March 17, 1781
Miguel Ybarburu	México City	September 2, 1722	Bolonia (Italy)	October 1, 1781
Julián Parreño	La Habana (Cuba)	December 8, 1728	Galloro (Italy)	November 1, 1785
E José Encinas	Vallorca (Spain)	September 3, 1738	Mantua (Italy)	October 10, 1809
H José Palacios	Salvatierra (Gto)	November 16, 1714	Veracruz (Vz)	August 9, 1767

E-Escolar; H-Coadjutor

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Colegios in Puebla

Table 7: The Jesuit Colegios established in Puebla

Year	Name of Colegio
1585	San Jerónimo Seminary
1587	Espíritu Santo – Grammar and Rhetoric
1625	San Ildefonso – Philosophy and Theology
1702	San Ignacio (<i>convictorio-domus convictorum</i>)
1744	San Francisco Xavier (Indios, Misiones, Languages)

Source: María de Lourdes Herrera Fera, “La fundación del Hospicio de Pobres en Puebla de los Ángeles, 1771-1832,” *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación* 3:5 (2015), 69-96.

Table 8: Jesuits in the Colegio del Espíritu Santo (Puebla)

Name	Information Birth		Information Death	
	Place	Date	Place	Date
Francisco Xav. Bonilla	Apan (Hidalgo)	December 4, 1720	Pesaro (Italia)	March 9, 1794
Manuel Domínguez	Palencia (Spain)	December 3, 1722	Bazagno (Italy)	October 13, 1774
Joaquín Trujillo	Fresnillo (Zac)	April 29, 1726	Faenza (Italy)	February 22, 1775
Laureano Bravo Laguna	Acatzingo (Puebla)	June 10, 1712	Bolonia (Italy)	February 8, 1775
Joaquín Tapia	México City	June 21, 1726	Medicina (Italy)	7 marzo, 1781
José de Alegría	Guanajuato (Gto)	March 13, 1739	Rome (Italy)	January 29, 1808
Pedro Gallardo	Aguascalientes (Aguas.)	July 17, 1736	Ferrara (Italy)	March 15, 1786
Ignacio Gisbert	San Felipe (Spain)	February 20, 1734	N.D.	
Isidro González	Lagos (Jalisco)	March 15, 1737	Cádiz (Spain)	August 21, 1800
Narciso González	Teocaltiche (Jalisco)	October 29, 1736	Bolonia (Italy)	March 17, 1791
Miguel Vaquera	Huichapan (Hidalgo)	November 9, 1739	Bolonia (Italy)	July 1, 1779
Eligio Fernández	Puebla (Puebla)	June 7, 1740	Roma (Italy)	December 30, 1818
E Manuel Velasco	Atlixco (Puebla)	June 2, 1738	Bolonia (Italy)	June 9, 1778
H Francisco Gerardi	Corsica	December 3, 1707	Medicina (Italy)	May 11, 1786
Baltasar de Porras	Lugo (Spain)	January 5, 1707	Cartagena (Spain)	February 9, 1768
Francisco Cos	Cerdeña (Spain)	October 1, 1707	Sin datos	
H Basilio Blanco	Moaña (Spain)	June 5, 1705	Bolonia (Italy)	April 17, 1772
Juan Ponce de León	Jacona (Michoacán)	October 10, 1714	Bolonia (Italy)	November 3, 1773
H Salvador Rodríguez	Celeiros (Spain)	October 27, 1707	Bolonia (Italy)	May 27, 1780
H José de Aguirre	Bilbao (Spain)	March 29, 1721	Genova (Italy)	1773
H Mariano Coca	México City	November 5, 1737	Ferrara (Italy)	August 18, 1783
Martin Vallarta	Puebla (Puebla)	August 1616, 1711	Bolonia (Italy)	February 18, 1783
José del Castillo Rector	México City	February 24, 1705	Masalombarda (It)	May 21, 1775

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José Santelices	Puebla (Puebla)	March 24, 1706	Medicina (Italy)	February 28, 1774
José de Silva	Zacatecas (Zac)	October 10, 1731	Castel San Pietro	November 22, 1797
Manuel Sotelo	Cangas (Spain)	January 25, 1736	Ferrara	October 10, 1778
Eugenio José Ramírez	Huechetlen (Guatemala)	November 15, 1709	Ferrara (Italy)	June 25, 1774
Juan López	Caracas (Venezuela)	April 5, 1699	Ferrara (Italy)	January 6, 1783
José Mañan	Antequera (Oaxaca)	November 30, 1730	Bolonia (Italy)	January 28, 1779
Juan de Chávez	Sevilla (Spain)	July 27, 1738	Bolonia (Italy)	November 7, 1780
José Ganuza	México City	July 20, 1739	Málaga (Spain)	October 8, 1801
Enrique Álvarez	Jerez (Spain)	July 15, 1708	Bolonia (Italy)	February 20, 1777
H Manuel Ciorraga	Lezama (Spain)	September 15, 1737	Orihuela (Spain)	December 8, 1799
H Antonio Ramírez	Chalchicomula (Puebla)	October 11, 1728	N.D.	
Alberto Zarrosa	Sevilla (Spain)	November 5, 1695	Sevilla (Spain)	December 2, 1769
E Magdaleno Ocio	Guanajuato (Gto)	November 28, 1746	Roma (Italy)	November 8, 1800
Juan Torija	Puebla (Puebla)	June 29, 1711	Bolonia (Italy)	April 13, 1782
José Bueno de la Flor	Guadalajara (Jal)	July 17, 1717	Bolonia (Italy)	January 16, 1779
Agustín Arriola	Colototitlan (Jal)	January 14, 1708	Bolonia (Italy)	February 17, 1776
Maximiliano Gil	Casel de Hesse (Ger)	April 16, 1715	N.D.	
H Juan Antonio Aguirre	Munguia (Spain)	December 1, 1743	Bolonia (Italy)	April 21, 1802
Bernardino Ortiz	México City	May 27, 1696	Bolonia (Italy)	January 2, 1773
Pedro Cessati	Tlaltenango (Jal)	January 6, 1696	Castel San Pietro (It)	February 25, 1780
Ignacio Rondero	Puebla (Puebla)	July 24, 1702	Ferrara (Italy)	February 18, 1776
Francisco Aramburu	Puebla (Puebla)	October 17, 1706	Ferrara (Italy)	February 28, 1768
Juan Muñoz Barba	N.D.		Puebla (Puebla)	July 20, 1768
Juan Ramírez	México City	September 9, 1710	Bolonia (Italy)	February 9, 1784
H Francisco Yarza	Tolosa (Spain)	October 1, 1707	Puerto Sta María	1768?

Diego Vargas	Puebla (Puebla)	December 4, 1721	Genova (Italy)	1769
Antonio Cid	Huamantla (Tlaxcala)	December 9, 1714	Bolonia (Italy)	March 25, 1780
José de Ortega	Tlaxcala (Tlaxcala)	April 15, 1700	Puerto Sta María	July 2, 1768
Ignacio Mozárabe	Puebla (Puebla)	November 1, 1701	Bolonia (Italy)	August 27, 1772
Salvador Dávila*	Guadalajara (Spain)	March 15, 1727	Bolonia (Italy)	January 11, 1781
Miguel Benjumea	Guadalajara (Jal)	September 27, 1712	Habana (Cuba)	December 4, 1767
José Calderón	Puebla (Puebla)	January 3, 1710	At Sea	November 5, 1767
José Bueno	Guadalajara (Jal)	July 17, 1717	Bolonia (Italy)	January 16, 1779
E Joaquín Castro	Córdoba (Vz)	September 1, 1737	Puebla (Puebla)	April 18, 1802
H Antonio Lozano	Córdoba (Spain)	October 26, 1731	Puebla (Puebla)	1786
H Tomas Miranda	México City	December 28, 1730	México City	February 25, 1791
H Francisco Puisac	Salillas (Spain)	December 3, 1729	Veracruz (Vz)	May 9, 1768
H Bernabé Pozo	Veracruz (Vz)	June 11, 1740	N.D.	
H Francisco Ponce	Jacona (Mich)	October 10, 1714	Bolonia (Italy)	November 3, 1773
H Pedro Inchaurrendieta	Oyazum (Spain)	June 20, 1705	Bolonia (Italy)	February 12, 1777
Colegio de San Jerónimo				
Cayetano Cortes	Guatemala (Guat)	August 7, 1730	Imola (Italy)	May 18, 1772

*Rector Colegio San Ignacio (Puebla). E-Escolar; H-Coadjutor

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 9: Jesuits in the Colegio de San Ildefonso (Puebla)

	Information Birth	Information Death		Information Birth
Name	Place	Date	Name	Place
Juan Castañeda	México City	December 11, 1715	Puerto Sta María	February 24, 1770
H Santiago Palacios	Supueta (Spain)	July 25, 1730	Puerto Sta María	March 29, 1768
H Eugenio Zambeli	Milan (Italy)	November 7, 1707	Puerto Sta María	June 10, 1768
Joaquín Ynsausti	Tolosa (Spain)	May 22, 1711	Bolonia (Italy)	August 5, 1769
E Ygnacio Fano	San Pedro, Bilbao (Sp)	May 7, 1743	Bolonia (Italy)	June 9, 1771
E Pedro de Aguirre	Irapuato (Mich)	July 6, 1741	Bolonia (Italy)	May 24, 1771
H Adriano García	Antequera (Oaxaca)	July 20, 1718	Bolonia (Italy)	April 30, 1775
Tomas de Zayas	Habana (Cuba)	October 4, 1715	Bolonia (Italy)	May 3, 1773
E Joséf de la Sierra	León (Gto)	September 29, 1744	Bolonia (Italy)	August 2, 1775
Domingo Diez	México City	December 20, 1736	Ferrara (Italy)	June 4, 1801
Manuel Rodríguez	Úbeda (Spain)	July 29, 1739	N.D.	
E Juan Baptista Jabat	Ochagavia (Spain)	December 16, 1740	Cádiz (Spain)	December 14, 1806
E Gabriel Echevarría	Santiago de Cuba	March 25, 1743	Medicina (Italy)	June 30, 1798
E José Rodríguez	Toledo (Spain)	March 19, 1743	Villa S Domingo	March 13, 1799
E Manuel Carrillo	N.D.			
H. Miguel de Oncia	Cortes (Spain?)	April 5, 1742	N.D.	
Simón Arze y Arroyo	Jalapa (Veracruz)	November 4, 1734	Roma (Italy)	July 12, 1787
E Bernardo Zarzosa	Zacatecas (Zac)	August 22, 1743	N.D.	
Ygnacio de Aramburu	Puebla (Puebla)	July 15, 1710	Masacarra (Italy)	February 29, 1788
Ygnacio Cova	México City	July 28, 1720	Roma (Italy)	November 15, 1779
Miguel Gutiérrez	Guatemala (Guat.)	August 30, 1718	Roma (Italy)	August 25, 1794
Juan Antonio de Nava	Puebla (Puebla)	August 22, 1726	Roma (Italy)	June 19, 1815

Manuel de Yturriaga	Puebla (Puebla)	December 24, 1728	Fano (Italy)	August 31, 1819
Joseph Doportó	Ysla de Carmen (Yuc)	January 25, 1734	Venicia (Italy)	March 15, 1786
Ygnacio Maldonado	Puebla (Puebla)	February 16, 1740	Frascati (Italy)	September 10, 1777
Ramon Poggio	Guadalajara (Jalisco)	March 19, 1741	Mantua (Italy)	February 24, 1791
Vicente Rotea	Chalco (Edo. México)	August 21, 1718	Bolonia (Italy)	May 14, 1793
Antonio Salas	Puebla (Puebla)	April 4, 1694	Puebla (Puebla)	October 11, 1767
Juan Cisneros	México City	March 8, 1731	Veracruz (Vz)	September 26, 1767
E José Andonaegui	México City	November 12, 1745	Rome (Italy)	October 16, 1789
H Juan Hinteger	Milstadt (Ger)	August 9, 1725	Veracruz (Vz)	August 29, 1767
H Francisco Pardo	Utrera (Spain)	October 4, 1713	Veracruz (Vz)	November 8, 1767
E. Joseph Toledo	Guatemala (Guat)	February 10, 1744	Cremona (Italy)	November 16, 1824
H. Joseph González	Tlaxco (Tlaxcala)	September 28, 1744	Bolonia (Italy)	July 14, 1794
E. Francisco Bernárdez	México City	January 24, 1740	Mexico City	April 18, 1813
H. Joseph Peñalver	Habana (Cuba)	May 9, 1746	Bolonia (Italy)	1816
H. Joseph Cincunegui?	Pátzcuaro (Mich)	January 14, 1745	Bolonia (Italy)	March 21, 1784
H. Agustín Muñoz	Guatemala (Guat)	February 26, 1744	Venicia (Italy)	February 20, 1795
E. Víctor Martínez	Envisto (Spain?)	February 29, 1744	Castel de San Juan	May 12, 1807
H. Fernando Serio	Vitoria (Spain)	May 30, 1719	Bolonia (Italy)	February 21, 1785
E José Lava	Guadalajara (Spain)	October 1, 1738	Bolonia (Italy)	September 9, 1806

E-Escolar; H-Coadjutor

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 10: Colegio de San Francisco Xavier (Puebla)

	Information Birth	Information Death		Information Birth
Name	Place	Date	Name	Place
Pedro Zazurca	Barbastro (Spain)	April 28, 1720	Bolonia (Italy)	May 2, 1770
Antonio Priego	Puebla (Puebla)	February 5, 1730	Bolonia (Italy)	January 22, 1802
José Velasco	Atlixco (Puebla)	March 30, 1732	At Sea	November 7, 1767
Tomas Cabañas	México City	July 24, 1736	Veracruz (Vz)	January 12, 1768
José Estrada	México City	May 31, 1721	Puebla (Puebla)	February 19, 1778
H José Jordán	Tarazona (Spain)	January 10, 1705	Veracruz (Vz)	August 2, 1767
H Juan Morlete	Mexico City	July 2, 1734	Bolonia (Italy)	March 26, 1774
Andrés Soriano	Valencia (Spain)	January 9, 1737	Bolonia (Italy)	March 18, 1785
Pedro Astegui	México City	September 6, 1734	Bolonia (Italy)	June 29, 1773
José Yáñez	Puebla (Puebla)	March 17, 1716	Bolonia (Italy)	February 2, 1801
José del Rincón	México City	June 19, 1714	Bolonia (Italy)	September 13, 1787
Blas Arriaga	Tlaxcala (Tlaxcala)	February 3, 1729	Valencia (Spain)	February 19, 1801
H Diego Barón	Toluca (E. de México)	July 6, 1694	Bolonia (Italy)	March 1, 1777
Colegio de Misioneros Lengua (Colegio SFX, Puebla)				
Vicente Gómez Rector	Toluca (E de México)	November 28, 1724	Bolonia (Italy)	June 30, 1771

E-Escolar; H-Coadjutor

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Other Colegios

Table 11: Jesuits in the Colegio de Zacatecas

Name	Birth Information		Death Information	
	Place	Date	Place	Date
Juan Ildefonso Tello	Almagro (Spain)	November 18, 1718	Ferrera (Italy)	June 5, 1775
Pedro Malo	México City	January 12, 1724	Bolonia (Italy)	December 23, 1794
Francisco de Sales Pineda	Tlaxcala (Tlax)	January 26, 1733	Ferrara (Italy)	April 7, 1800
Manuel María Brabo	Madrid (Spain)	March 25, 1737	Bolonia (Italy)	March 3, 1797
Manuel Terán	México City	July 24, 1725	Bolonia (Italy)	December 18, 1789
Juan de Dios Noriega	Tabasco	March 19, 1734	Sestri-Poniente (It)	August 31, 1784
Isidro Saavedra	Antequera (Oaxaca)	February 7, 1727	Bolonia (Italy)	October 13, 1772
José Guerrero	Aguascalientes (Aguas.)	March 18, 1736	Veracruz (Vz)	November 12, 1767
Mariano Fontecha	Querétaro (Qro)	May 3, 1735	Veracruz (Vz)	November 9, 1767
E. Francisco Domenec	Benilova (Italy)	August 7, 1739	Gubio (Italy)	July 11, 1810
H. Sebastián de Vergara	Garisoain (Spain)	July 22, 1717	Bolonia (Italy)	February 20, 1770
H. Joaquín de Cia	Mañero (Spain)	April 16, 1736	Bolonia (Italy)	October 3, 1787
H. Salvador López	Celaya (Gto)	December 12, 1736	Bolonia (Italy)	April 9, 1800
H. Manuel Sánchez	Tagle (Spain)	November 23, 1732	Bolonia (Italy)	November 12, 1770

E-Escolar; H-Coadjutor

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 12: Jesuits in the Colegio de Antequera (Oaxaca)

	Information Birth	Information Death		Information Birth
Name	Place	Date	Name	Place
Nicolas Calatayud	Guadalajara (Jal)	June 18, 1711	Veracruz (Vz)	November 15, 1767
Pedro Castañeda	México City	April 22, 1714	Veracruz (Vz)	September 14, 1767
Juan Tembra	Córdoba (Vz)	April 3, 1734	Veracruz (Vz)	November 22, 1767
Domingo Esparza	Ontiniente (Spain)	February 18, 1732	Civitavecchia (Italia)	September 18, 1805
José Basilio Solar	Guadalajara (Jal)	April 15, 1727	Bolonia (Italy)	August 14, 1805
Rodrigo Britto	Islas Canarias	May 10, 1738	Rome (Italy)	February 14, 1816
Juan Joseph Malo	México City	June 21, 1738	Habana (Cuba)	1805
Joseph Benito Solar	Guadalajara (Jal)	April 15, 1727	Bolonia (Italy)	August 14, 1805
Joseph de la Quintana	Antequera (Oaxaca)	February 28, 1713	Bolonia (Italy)	December 4, 1771
E Pedro Cantón	Guadalajara (Jal)	February 19, 1745	N.D.	1838
H Joseph Miranda	Zaragoza (Spain)	November 25, 1725	Castelo San Pedro (It)	February 5, 1770
H Felipe Galar	Bilbao (Spain)	June 6, 1719	Veracruz (Vz)	August 4, 1767

E-Escolar; H-Coadjutor

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 13: Jesuits residing at the Colegio de San Francisco Xavier Veracruz at the time of the Jesuit Expulsion in 1767

Name	Birth Information		Death Information	
	Place	Date	Place	Date
Ignacio Blanco	Mexico City	March 7, 1726	Bolonia (Italy)	June 19, 1792
Estanislau Ruoanova	Veracruz (Vz)	February 15, 1715	Genoa	1770
Antonio Romero	Merida (Yuc)	January 19, 1722	Bolonia (Italy)	July 26, 1771
José Campoy	Alamos (Sonora)	August 15, 1723	Bolonia (Italy)	December 29, 1777
Tomas Perez	Veracruz (Vz)	October 5, 1726	Rome (Italy)	January 10, 1796
Francisco Llanes	N.D.		Bolonia (Italy)	June 19, 1792
E Matias Callejo	Veracruz (Vz)	November 12, 1741	Mascarrara (Italy)	February 26, 1814
H José Camino	Puebla (Puebla)	March 7, 1727	Bolonia (Italy)	December 8, 1782
H Domingo Ugarte	Lemoniz (Spain)	February 20, 1717	Imola (Italy)	July 4, 1791
In Transit to Merida (Yucatan)				
José Legasspi	Mexico City	May 27, 1736	Ferrara (Italy)	Marcj 15, 1789
H José Pozo	Veracruz (Vz)	December 16, 1738	Bolonia (Italy)	1816 (?)
In Transit to la Habana (Cuba)				
Gabriel Santa Cruz	Habana (Cuba)	September 15, 1737	Milan (Italy)	May 20, 1794
Bernabe Pozo	Veracruz (Vz)	June 11, 1740	N.D.	

E - Escolar; H-Coadjutor

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Jesuit Missionaries

Table 14: Jesuit Missionaries on selected Missions in northern Nueva España

Name	Mission	Information Birth	
		Place	Date
Nayarit Missions			
Antonio Polo Rector@@@	Santa Rita	Cerdeña (Spain)	March 3, 1721

Bartolomé Wolff @@	Santa Teresa	Aix de Chapelle (France)	January 26, 1711
Ignacio Gómez@@@	Iscatan	Lagos (Jalisco)	June 4, 1730
Lorenzo Cabo@@@@	Jesús María	Guadalajara (Spain)	August 10, 1735
Andrés Cabo@@@	Santísima Trinidad	Guadalajara (Spain)	February 13, 1739
Pedro Oliveros@@@	Guainamota	Calatrava (Spain)	April 8, 1732
Ignacio Zamorano@@@	Rosario	Tepotzotlan (E Mexico)	January 9, 1739
Sonora Missions			
Juan Nentuig@@@	Guasavas	Glatz (Bohemia)	March 28, 1713
Nicolas Perera@@@@	Aconchi	Zacatlán (Puebla)	September 23, 1696
Jacobo Sedelmayer @*	Matape	Baveria (Germany)	January 6, 1703
José Garrucho @*	Oposura	Cerdeña (Spain)	March 27, 1712
Bernardo Middendorf @	Movas	Westphalia (Germany)	February 14, 1723
Francisco Paver @	San Ignacio Caborica	Brunn (Austria)	January 6, 1721
Carlos Rojas @*	Arispe	Mexico City	November 4, 1702
José Roldan @	Aribechi	Antequera (Oaxaca)	February 10, 1705
Alejandro Rapicani@@@@	Batuco	Bremen (Germany)	November 3, 1702
Enrique Kurtzel@@@@	Onavas	Wangia (Germany)	December 10, 1722
Ignacio Pfeffercorn @	Cucurpe	Mangen (Germany)	July 31, 1725
Benito Romeo @	Cumuripa	Corella (Spain?)	October 31, 1728
Bartolomé Sáenz@@@@	Saguaripa	Salvatierra (Spain)	August 24, 1714
Diego Barrera @*	Soamca	Puebla (Puebla)	July 28, 1726
Luis Vivas @	Tubutama	Noguerela (Spain)	August 29, 1720
Miguel Almela @*	Opodepe	Segorbe (Spain)	February 5, 1729
Alfonso Espinosa @*	Bac	Islas Canarias (Spain)	February 1, 1720
Miguel Getzner @	Saric	Wurzberg (Germany)	March 17, 1723
Javier Gonzalez@@@@	Tecoripa	Zardon (Spain)	May 9, 1718
Andrés Michel@@	Ures	Liberschisio (Bohemia)	June 21, 1732
Custodio Ximeno @	Caborca	Valdelinares (Spain)	May 1, 1734
Pio Laguna@@@@	Baceraca	Chiapa (Chiapas)	May 16, 1734
Javier Pascua@@@@	Babispe	Antequera (Oaxaca)	April 14, 1732

José Liebana @@@@	Bacadequatzí	Grasalema (Spain)	November 21, 1737
José Neve @*	Cuquiarachi	Calpulalpan (Tlax)	June 10, 1739
Pedro Diez @@@@	Guebabi	Mexico City	February 12, 1738
Antonio Castro @	Onapa	Montilla (Spain)	August 28, 1738
Francisco Villarroya @@@@	Banamichi	Villarroya (Spain)	November 20, 1734
Ramon Sánchez @@@@	Guasavas	Pamplona (Spain)	October 19, 1736
Chinipas Missions			
Pedro Pablo Macida @@@@	Guasarapes	Cerdeña (Spain)	January 25, 1703
Manuel Kleber Rector**	Santa Ana	N.D.	
José Watzek @@@@	Yecora	Sadeck (Moravia)	December 21, 1721
Juan Steb @@	Moris	Iglavia (Bohemia)	August 29, 1735
Francisco Slesac @@	Barbaroco	Podivino (Bohemia)	September 30, 1728
Juan Cubedo @@	Santa Ines	Cerdeña (Spain)	March 3, 1703
Nicolas Sachi @@@	Cerocahui	Naples (Italy)	July 4, 1703
José Felix Sebastian @@@	Tubares	Barrameda (Spain)	December 27, 1736
Wenceslao Holub @@	Satebo	N.D.	
Javier Weis @@	Baburigame	Ingolstadt (Germany)	February 22, 1710
Blas Miner @@@	Nabogame	Tolosa (Spain)	February 3, 1734
Luis Martin @@@	San Andrés	Parral (Chihuahua)	August 25, 1729
California Missions			
Lamberto Hostell @@	Dolores	Monasterio (Germany)	October 18, 1736
Miguel del Barco @@@	San Francisco Xavier	Casas de Millan (Spain)	November 13, 1706
Benno Ducrue @@	Guadalupe	Monaco (Bohemia)	June 10, 1721
Santiago Baegert @@	San Luis Gonzaga	Schlestadt (Germany)	December 22, 1717
Javier Bischoff @@	Santa Rosa	Prague (Bohemia)	November 1, 1710
Ignacio Tirs @@	Santiago	Cometzer (Bohemia)	July 2, 1733
Francisco Inaama @@	Comondu	Vienna (Austria)	May 4, 1719

Juan Diez@@@	La Purisima	Mexico City	October 17, 1735
Francisco Escalante Rector*	Mulege	Jaen (Spain)	November 20, 1724
José Rotea@@@	San Ignacio	Mexico City	February 23, 1732
Jorge Retz@@	Santa Gertrudis	Coblenza (Germany)	April 28, 1717
Wenceslao Linck@@	San Francisco de Borja	Nider (Bohemia)	March 29, 1736
Victoriano Arnes@@@	Santa María	Grauz (Spain)	September 4, 1736
Lucas Ventura@@@	Loreto	Zaragoza (Spain)	May 2, 1727
Javier Franco@@@	Loreto	Agreda (Spain)	October 2, 1738
H Juan Villavieja*	Loreto	Villa de Soto (Spain)	June 22, 1736

H-Coadjutor, @-Held in Spain following the expulsion. @@-returned to Province following the expulsion. @@@-Died in Italy. @@@@-Died in Mexico. *Died in Spain. **-Died at sea.

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 15: Missionaries held in Spain following the Expulsion

Name	Place of Death	Date of Death
Jacobo Sedelmayer	Reported in the Puerto de Santa María in 1775, and died there.	February 12, 1779
José Garrucho	Lubianos (Spain), Jeronimyte convent	November 30, 1785
Carlos Rojas	Puerto de Santa María	January 3, 1773
Ignacio Pfeffercorn	Germany	N.D.
Bernardo Middendorf	Reported in the Puerto de Santa María in 1775. Later returned to Germany	1794
Benito Romeo	Reported in the Puerto de Santa María in 1775	N.D.
Diego Barrera	Reported in the Puerto de Santa María in 1775. Died in Córdoba (Spain).	March 2, 1782

Luis Vivas	Reported in the Puerto de Santa María in 1775	N.D.
Miguel Almela	Reported in the Puerto de Santa María in 1775. Held prisoner for 20 years in the Franciscan convent of Villalon. Died Sebastian (Spain).	July 23, 1792.
Alfonso Espinosa	Puerto de Santa María	January 31, 1773
Miguel Getzner	Reported in the Puerto de Santa María in 1775	Returned to Germany in 1780
Cuatodio Ximeno	Reported in the Puerto de Santa María in 1775	N.D.
José Neve	Puerto de Santa María	October 24, 1773
Antonio Castro	Reported in the Puerto de Santa María in 1775. Died in Spain	June 1798
José Roldan	Puerto de Santa María	September 21, 1770
Francisco Paver	Puerto de Santa María	January 6, 1770

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 16: Jesuit missionaries in Sinaloa in June of 1767

Name	Mission	Information Birth	
		Place	Date
Colegio Sinaloa			
José Garfias (Rector) @*		Mexico City	July 17, 1709
Sinaloa Missions			
Juan Salgado@*	Viribis	Copala (Sonora)	August 10, 1710
José Ronderos@@@	Caamoa	Puebla (Puebla)	October 15, 1717
Francisco Hlava@@@@	Mocorito	Prague (Bohemia)	January 1, 1725
Ignacio González@@@	Nio	Tepeaca (Puebla)	September 9, 1717

José Palomino@@@	Guasave	Veracruz (Vz)	October 20, 1705
José Cedano@*	Chicorato	Magdalena (Spain)	June 21, 1727
Antonio Ventura@*	Mochicave	Cádiz (Spain)	February 3, 1727
Sebastián Cava@@@	Vacca	Cotanes (Spain)	October 19, 1732
Juan Acuña@*	Toro	Tlapujahua (Mich)	May 5, 1731
Lorenzo García@*	Torin	Mexico City	August 10, 1713
Julián Salazar@*	Bachun	Tabasco	January 31, 1728
Juan Blanco@*	Rahun	Mexico City	March 30, 1730
George Fraidenegg@*	Santa Cruz	Grantz (Austria)	April 12, 1727
Francisco Ita@*	Batacosa	Puebla (Puebla)	September 6, 1731
Vicente Rubio@*	Conicari	Calatayud (Spain)	March 5, 1737
Lucas Merino@@@	Nabajoa	Ascaray (Spain)	October 23, 1712
Francisco Javier Anaya@*	Tehueco	Jijilpan (Mich)	June 8, 1709
Maximiliano Le Roi@@@	Belen	Cambray (France)	April 18, 1716
Miguel Fernández Somera@@@	Ocoroni	Tlapujahua (Mich)	March 15, 1702
Fernando Berra@@@	Bacubinito	Guanajuato (Gto)	January 4, 1736

@-Held in Spain following the expulsion. @@-returned to Province following the expulsion. @@@-Died in Italy.

@@@-Died in Mexico. *Died in Spain. **-Died at sea.

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 17: Missionaries from Sinaloa who were held and died in Spain

Name	Place	Date
José Garfias	Spain	1779
Juan Salgado	Spain	1781
José Antonio Cedano	Valparaiso (Spain)	March 4, 1787
Antonio Ventura	Spain	1806

Juan Francisco Acuña	Puerto de Santa María	January 23, 1774
Francisco Anaya	Spain	1783
Lorenzo Garcia	Spain	June 25, 1776
Julian Salazar	Zeca (Spain)	August 13, 1790
Juan Blanco	Leon (Spain)	November 6, 1790
George Fraibenegg	Puerto de Santa María	April 1, 1775
Francisco Ita	Spain	February 10, 1792
Vicente Rubio	Spain	December 27, 1778
Francisco Xavier Anaya	Spain	1783

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 18: Jesuit Missionaries in the Tarahumara Missions in June of 1767

Name	Mission	Information Birth	
		Place	Date
Bartolomé Braun **	Temotzachic	Montebura (Germany)	June 27, 1718
Felipe Ruonova @@@	Matachio	Veracruz (Vz)	May 9, 1716
Rafael Palacios @*	Santo Tomas	Huejotzingo (Puebla)	August 5, 1733
José Vega @@@	Papigocnic	Mexico City	February 18, 1726
Manuel Vivaneo @@@@	Papigocnic	Acajete (Puebla)	May 30, 1693
Juan Nortier @@	Tutuaca	Flesinga (Netherlands)	February 22, 1726
Juan Manuel González **	Tomachi	Compostela (Spain)	August 28, 1734
Ildefonso Corro @@@@	Sisoguichi	Córdova (Vz)	April 22, 1732
Luis Yañez @@@	Cakichi	Querétaro (Qro)	October 7, 1719
Juan Francisco Hauga @@@	Cakichi	San Sebastian (Spain)	May 5, 1716
Mateo Steffel @@	San Francisco de Borja	Iglavia (Bohemia)	September 29, 1734
Francisco Vadillo @@@	Coyeacnic	Palencia (Spain)	October 12, 1719

Antonio Hiilt @@	Temeaichi	Pomeisl (Bohemia)	June 1, 1732
Antonio Sterkianowski @@	Norogachi	Moravia	January 12, 1728
Pedro Cuervo *	Nonoava	Mexico City	March 15, 1735
Santiago Mateu @@@	Tonachi	Lerida (Spain)	October 3, 1734
Claudio González @@@	Chinarras	Aguascalientes (Aguas)	July 6, 1736
José Iranzo **	Gueguechic	Pitargue (Spain)	July 12, 1734
Cosme Diaz *	Nararaehi	Aguascalientes (Aguas)	September 27, 1735

@-Held in Spain following the expulsion. @@-returned to Province following the expulsion. @@@-Died in Italy.

@@@@-Died in Mexico. *Died in Spain. **-Died at sea.

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; 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), vols. 15-16.

Table 19: Creole Jesuits stationed on the Jesuit missions among the Guarani in June of 1767

Name	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Place of Death	Date of Death
Jose Rivarola	Santa Fe (Arg)	April 5, 1696	Ravenna (Italy)	August 27, 1775
Pedro Rojas	Asunción (Par)	February 11, 1732	Faenza (Italy)	August 23, 1794
Juan Dias	Asunción (Par)	April 12, 1722	Faenza (Italy)	December 23, 1797
Antonio Basualdo	Corrientes (Arg)	August 20, 1738	Pesaro (Italy)	August 14, 1779
Ramon Toledo	La Rioja (Arg)	November 21, 1706	Faenza (Italy)	September 9, 1780
Francisco Echaque	Santa Fe (Arg)	July 28, 1721	N.D.	
Isidro Rojas	Asunción (Par)	June 28, 1730	Ravenna (Italy)	February 28, 1774
Miguel Morales	Pica (Chile)	May 8, 1705	Ravenna (Italy)	March 8, 1782
Juan Aguirre	Salta (Arg)	April 13, 1710	At Sea	September 15, 1770
Jose Umeres	Santa Fe (Arg)	July 31, 1725	Ravenna (Italy)	July 17, 1797
Juan Iburguren	Salta (Arg)	August 7, 1715	Rome (Italy)	October 15, 1777

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; Hugo Storni, S.J., *Catálogo de los Jesuitas de la Provincia de Paraguay (Cuenca Del Plata) 1585-1768*. Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1980.

Robert H. Jackson nació en 1955 en Alameda, California. Recibió su licenciatura con una especialidad en historia de la Universidad de California, Santa Cruz (1980), su maestría de la Universidad de Arizona con una especialidad en la historia de American Latina (1982), y su doctorado de la Universidad de California, Berkeley con una especialidad en la historia de American Latina (1988) donde estudio con Tulio Halperin Donghi. Ha publicado 27 libros y más de 70 artículos y capítulos en libros sobre diferentes temas como el liberalismo del siglo XIX, el sistema de castas, la demografía histórica, y evangelización y misiones Vive en la Ciudad de México donde es un investigador independiente.

Notes

¹ Aliocha Maldavsky, “Conectando territorios y sociedades. La movilidad de los misioneros jesuitas en el mundo ibérico (siglos XVI-XVIII),” *Historica* 38:2 (2014), 71-109.

² María Cristina Torales Pacheco, “La Provincia Jesuita de Nueva España: Criollismo e Identidad,” in Jorge Cristian Troisi Melean and Marcia Amantino, eds., *Jesuitas en las Américas* (Buenos Aires: Teseo Press, No Date) Internet site www.teseopress.com.

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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).

⁶ 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), vols. 15-16.

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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.

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).

¹¹ Enrique Giménez López, “El destino de los colegios de la Compañía en Ciudad de México tras la expulsión de los Jesuitas,” *Revista de Historia Moderna* 23 (2014), 282.

¹² *Ibid*, 276.

¹³ *Ibid*, 273.

¹⁴ Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Ciudad de Palacios: Crónica de un patrimonio perdido* (México, D.F.: Editorial Vuelta, 1990), vol. 2, 155.

¹⁵ María de Lourdes Herrera Fera, “La fundación del Hospicio de Pobres en Puebla de los Ángeles, 1771-1832,” *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación* 3:5 (2015), 69-96.

¹⁶ Marco Díaz, “El Patronazgo en las iglesias de la Nueva España. Documentos sobre la Compañía de Jesús en Zacatecas en el siglo XVII,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 13(45) (1976), 97-105.

¹⁷ Emilia Recéndez Guerrero, *Legado de la Compañía de Jesús a un centro minero Zacatecas (159201767)* (Zacatecas: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2013), 34-41, 68.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 121.

¹⁹ José de Rivera Bernárdez (conde de Santiago de la Laguna), *Descripción breve de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Zacatecas* (Mexico City: Bernardo de Hogal, 1732), 67-74.

²⁰ Ana González Fasani, “Llamados a servir: Los Hospitalarios de San Juan de Dios en Zacatecas, México en el siglo XVII;” *Hispania Sacra* 59, 120 (julio-diciembre, 2007), 537-562.

²¹ 128.

²² Manuel Carrasco Terriza, “El Legado del Capitán Gómez Márquez a la Ciudad de Oaxaca,” *Huelva en su Historia* 8 (2001), 217-249.

²³ René Acuña, *Relaciones Geográficas del Siglo XVI: Antequera Tomo 1*, (Ciudad de México, René Acuña. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984), 29-30. The report noted that: “Tienen también los hermanos de la COMPAÑIA DEL NOMBRE DE JESÚS una iglesia y casa, donde ordinariamente residen ocho hermanos que entienden en la predicación del Evangelio y en enseñar gramática a los hijos de los vecinos. Tienen a su cargo el colegio que dejó BACHILLER DON JU[AN] RUIZ MARTÍNEZ, deán que fue de la catedral desta ciudad. Fundóse la dicha casa por orden del r[e]verendísi[m]o DON FRAY BERNARDO DE ALBURQUERQUE, obispo. Vinieron los hermanos de la dicha COMPAÑIA a instancia de ANTONIO DE SANTA CRUZ, canónigo desta catedral, el cual les hizo donación de unas casas. MARÍA DE GODOY, vecina desta ciudad, les hizo también donación de todas sus haciendas, que valdrán más de cuarenta mil pesos.”

²⁴ Carrasco Terriza, “El Legado,” 224.

²⁵ Carlos Lira Vásquez, *Arquitectura y Sociedad: Oaxaca rumbo a la modernidad, 1790-1910* (Ciudad de México: Universidad Autónoma de México, 2008), 104, note 9.

²⁶ Lira Vásquez, *Arquitectura y Sociedad*, 76-77, 93-97.

²⁷ Melgarejo Vivanco, *Breve Historia de Veracruz*, 112.

²⁸ Juan Hernández López and Santos Herrera de la Rosa, “Traslado del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de la ciudad de la Antigua Veracruz a la Nueva Veracruz,” *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 5:1 (2001), 41-53.

²⁹ 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.

³⁰Recéndez Guerrero, *Legado de la Compañía de Jesús*, , 102.

³¹ Alma Montero Alarcón, *Jesuitas de Tepotzotlán. La expulsión y el amargo destierro*. (Mexico City: INAH, 2014), 65-67, 86, 103-104.

³² Carlos Ruiz Medrano, “El tumulto de 1767 en Guanajuato,” *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 19 (1999), 13-46.

³³ 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.

³⁴ Hugo Storni, S.J., *Catalogo de los Jesuitas de la Provincia de Paraguay (Cuenca Del Plata) 1585-1768* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1980), 339, 340, 342. The three Mexican Jesuits were Flaviano de la Paz from León (Gto), and Diego de Montalbán and Juan Zuazagoitfa from Mexico City.

³⁵ 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).

³⁶ Aaron Antonovsky, “Social class, life expectancy and overall mortality,” *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 45:2 (1967),31-73.

³⁷ Robert H. Jackson, “Una mirada a los patrones demográficos de las misiones jesuitas de Paraguay,” *Fronteras de la Historia* 9 (2004), 129-178.

³⁸ Robert H. Jackson, *The Bourbon Reforms and the remaking of Spanish Frontier Missions* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2022), 108, 254.

³⁹ Storni, *Catalogo de los Jesuitas*.