

## The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Puebla in 1767

Robert H. Jackson

On June 25, 1767, Spanish royal officials began the implementation of the royal order issued by King Carlos III (r. 1759-1788) to expel the members of the Society of Jesus from all of his dominions. His decree stipulated that the Jesuits were to be exiled to the Papal States in Italy. The King did not give his reasons for his decision to order the expulsion of the Jesuits, although many scholars point to the March 1766 Motín de Esquilache in Madrid as an underlying cause. Jesuits were accused of having been behind what essentially was a bread riot brought on by bread shortages. The Colegio Imperial staffed by Jesuits was located at the center of the areas affected by the riot, and royal officials noted all the rumors about the role of the Jesuits in the riot. However, Portugal and France had already ordered their expulsion in 1759 and 1764 respectively, and in 1773 the Pope, pressured by the governments of Portugal, France, and Spain, suppressed the order. There may have been other causes for the actions of three monarchs to expel the Company of Jesus. In the context of the time with monarchs enhancing royal authority, the Jesuits had outlived their usefulness. The Society of Jesus came into existence in 1540 at the height of the Counter-Reformation, the Catholic response to the challenge of the Protestant Reformation. However, by the 1760s religious differences no longer polarized Europe, and monarchs were more concerned with expanding their own authority and maintaining an ill-defined balance of power. There no longer was a place for members of an international organization whose members swore allegiance to the Pope, rather than to the king.

There was a Jesuit presence in most Spanish territory, including in Europe, the Philippines and Marianas Islands, and Spanish America. This study focuses on the members of the Society of Jesus in the city of Puebla de los Ángeles that was a part of the Province of Nueva España (modern Mexico, Guatemala, and Cuba). The expulsion of the Jesuits was a well-coordinated military operation. Royal officials mobilized local militia units to arrest the Jesuits, and to occupy their installations. At the same time it was a highly bureaucratic operation, and all aspects of the expulsion had to be documented, inventories of Jesuit properties prepared, and accounts maintained of expenditures. The expulsion occurred during the series of military, fiscal, and administrative reforms known as the Bourbon Reforms, and the cost-conscious Crown expected greater accountability. This produced a large body of documents that provide information on the identity of the Jesuits at the time of the expulsion, and their activities. This article outlines the process of the expulsion of the Jesuits assigned to the five colegios in Puebla. It identifies who were the members of the Society of Jesus in Puebla expelled in June of 1767, and where they ended their lives.

## The Jesuit Colegios in Puebla

The Jesuits established five separate colegios in Puebla de los Ángeles, that played different roles within the scheme of urban education. They also had large building complexes built that represented a considerable investment of resources, and that still exist today. The Jesuit complexes represent a unique and important architectural patrimony. The largest complex in terms of its size and the number of Jesuits stationed there was the colegio de Espíritu Santo (established 1587), and San Ildefonso (established 1625) 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 (established in 1585) is across the street from Espíritu Santo, and San Ignacio (established in 1702) is across the street from San Ildefonso, and was a *convictorio* that housed students that attended San Ildefonso. San Francisco Xavier (established in 1744), is 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.<sup>1</sup>

A detailed c. 1750 map of Puebla (see Figure 1) shows the locations of the five colegios in the city. The main complex of Espíritu Santo is close to the main square and cathedral (see Figures 2-3). Construction of the Espíritu Santo church concluded in February of 1767, four months prior to the implementation of the expulsion order. The complex is one of the better conserved and maintained Jesuit colegios in Mexico, and incorporates many of the typical Jesuit architectural elements. The church is a three-nave structure, and in the nineteenth-century the interior design was changed to neo-classical, as in most of the churches in Puebla. However, the church sacristy retains baroque altars and design elements (see Figure 5). The complex has three patios. The second story of the first and third patios is enclosed, and only has windows. This was typical of Jesuit complexes, and reduced the noise for those on the second floor of the colegio (see Figure 6). The *casa de ejercicios* was the facility where lay-people could study the Ignatian Exercises, and was located in the third patio of the Espíritu Santo complex. It occupied the space where the Biblioteca La Fragua is now located, with an entrance from the street (see Figure 7). The former domestic chapel is one of the emblematic architectural elements of the ex-colegio with its elaborate baroque design elements (see Figure 8). The San Jerónimo complex is located across a narrow ally, and was built on a smaller scale (see Figure 9). The Benemérito Universidad Autónoma de Puebla administers both complexes.

San Ildefonso-San Ignacio are located several blocks away (see Figures 10-11). San Ildefonso had its own church located alongside an existing church dedicated to San Marcos. The colegio of San Francisco Xavier was located at what at the time was the edge of the city (see Figures 12-13). 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. Today the main patio is occupied by a recently created university (Universidad de la Salud) that trains medical personnel, and the second patio is a public high school. The San Ignacio now houses offices of the Puebla State government. In the nineteenth-century San Ignacio was also a barracks for soldiers. San Francisco Xavier became a military hospital and prison. Today San Francisco Xavier is a museum dedicated to military aviation.



Figure 1: A c. 1750 map of Puebla. Museo Naval de Madrid — Signatura: MN-P-13-3. In the public domain.

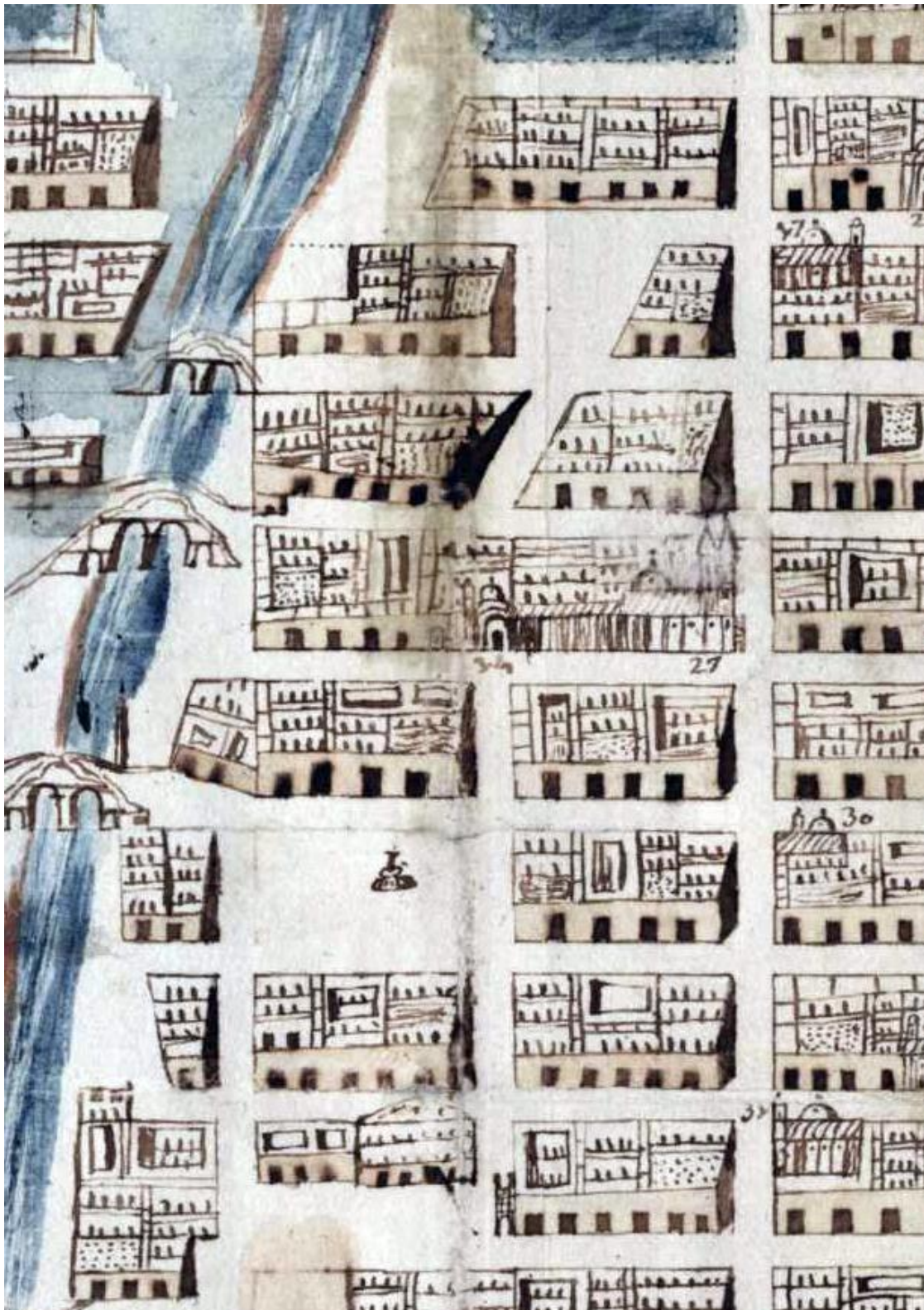


Figure 2: Detail of the map showing Espiritu Santo (marked as 27) and San Jerónimo.



Figure 3: The ex-Colegio del Espíritu Santo.

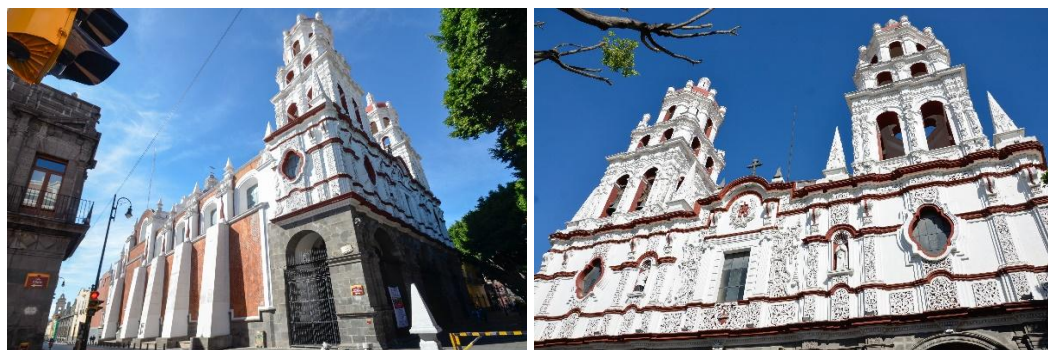


Figure 4: Espíritu Santo Church with detailed baroque design elements on the façade.



Figure 5: The church interior and sacristy.



Figure 6: The first (left) and third (right) patios.



Figure 7: The Biblioteca La Fragua that was the location of the casa de ejercicios.

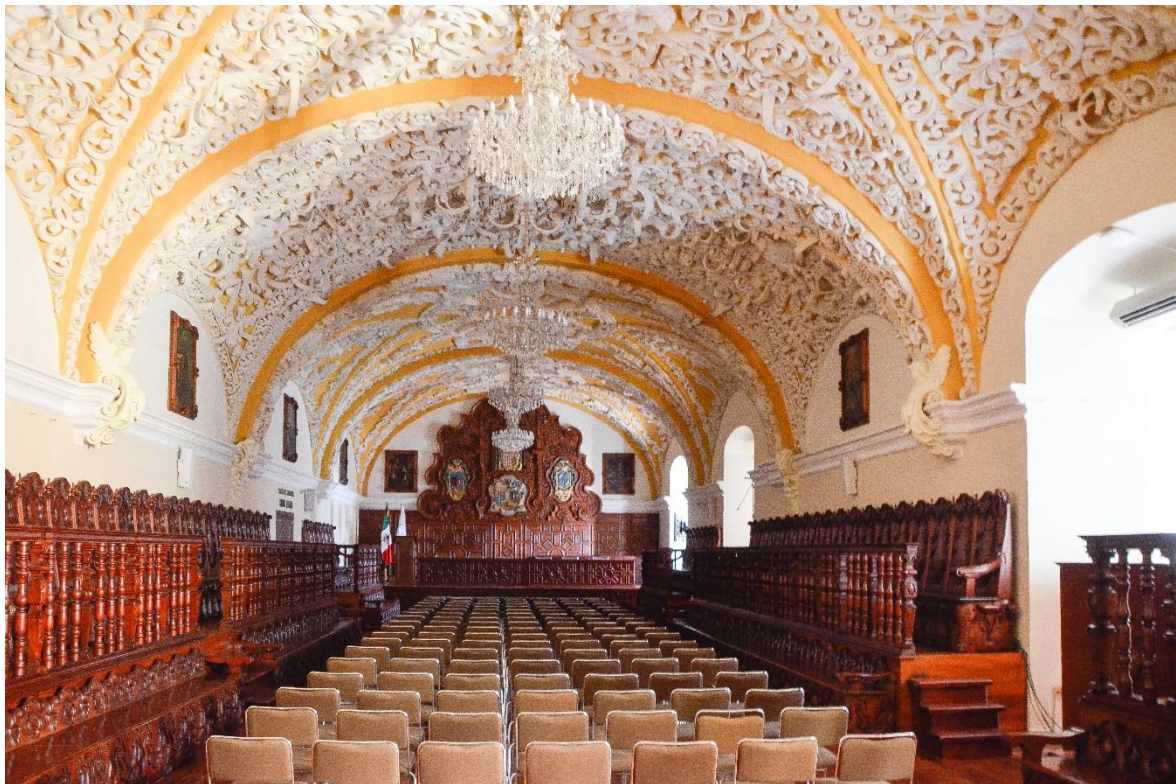


Figure 8: The former domestic chapel known today as the “Salon Barroco.”



Figure 9: The ex-Colegio of San Jerónimo.

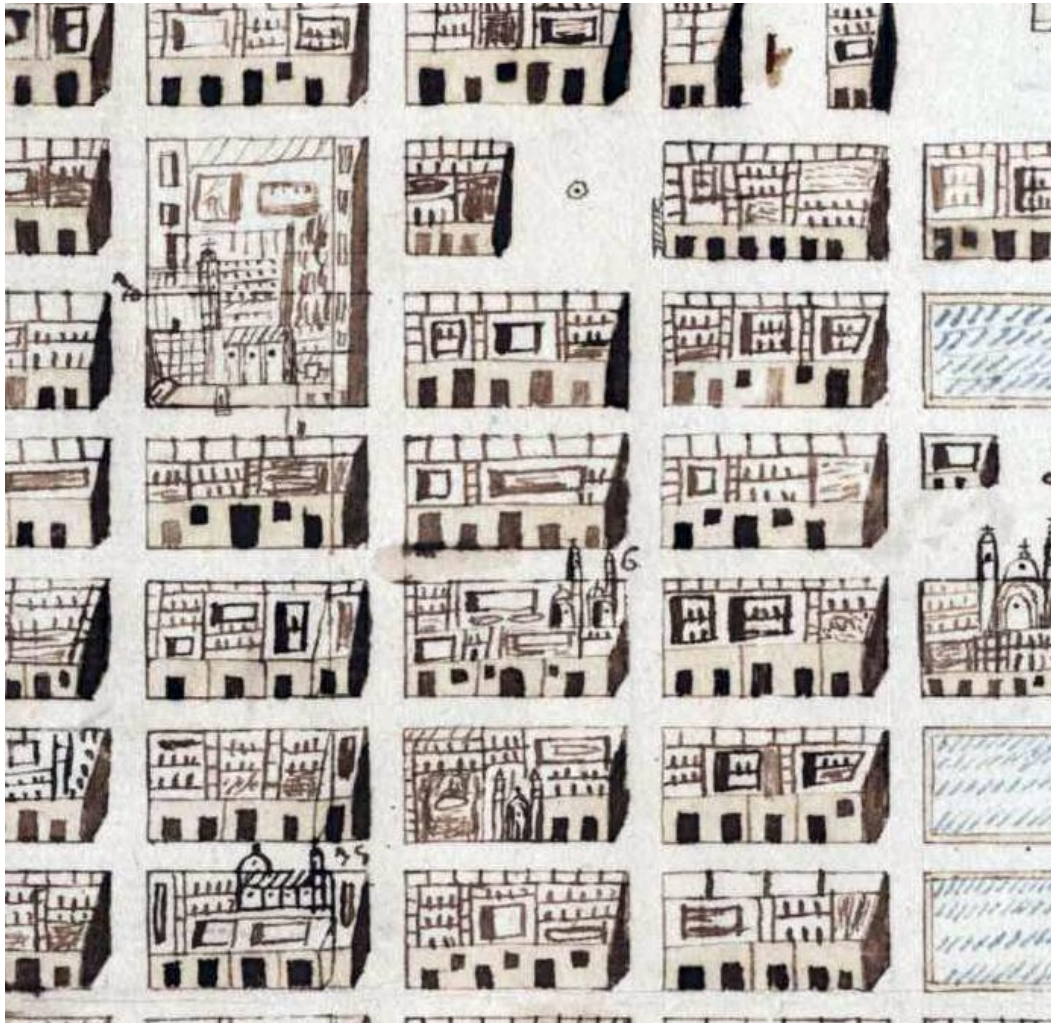


Figure 10: Detail of the 1754 map showing San Ildefonso (marked as 6) and San Ignacio located across the street.



Figure 11: The ex-Colegio of San Ildefonso (left) and San Ignacio (right).



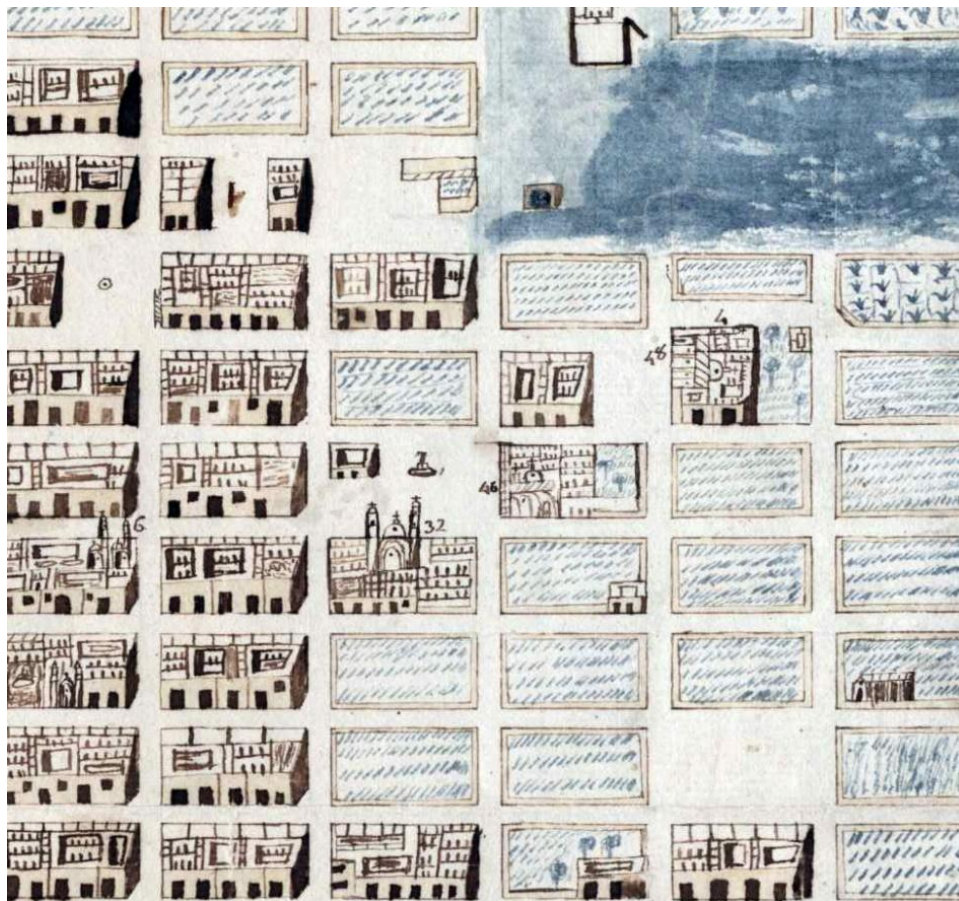


Figure 12: Detail of the map showing San Francisco Xavier (marked as 46).



Figure 13: The ex-Colegio of San Francisco Xavier.

Houses and Haciendas

The Jesuits acquired urban and rural income producing properties to help finance their urban operations and missions, to pay the costs of extensive building projects, and to maintain their communities. They also invested in interest bearing-notes on other properties. The Jesuits also organized *congregaciones* that engaged in charitable works, and that also had their own capital often invested in interest-bearing notes. Most of the Jesuit capital was in rural properties, and the capital held in haciendas and other properties was concentrated in five institutions. According to one estimate based on an analysis of audits and other sources, Jesuit capital in rural properties at the time of the expulsion totaled some 8,568,640 pesos. The value of urban rental properties was some 639,213 pesos, in interest-bearing notes 687,213 pesos, and the capital of the congregaciones some 960,673 pesos. Five institutions, the colegios in Zacatecas and Espíritu Santo in Puebla, the novitiate in Tepetzotlán, the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo in Mexico City, and the Office of the Philippine Missions had 72 percent of surplus income in the Province and incurred 42 percent of expenses (see Figure 14). The economic base of the Colegio del Espíritu Santo allowed for the ambitious building program in the eighteenth-century. The other colegios were less well endowed, and in the period prior to the expulsion ten Jesuit institutions ran annual deficits, and another ten earned just enough to cover expenses.<sup>2</sup>

**DEMOSTRACION**

De lo que ha producido la Hacienda nombrada *Nra Sra de la Concepcion (alias) Chapingo*, correspondiente a la Procuracion de *Filipinas*, desde su ocupacion el 21 de Diciembre de 1771.

Caudal enterado por esta Hacienda.

El Caudal de Deros ha puesto en Tesoreria de Arago perteneciente a esta Real Hacienda, y se le agrega por el importe de 325,475 pesos que esta Hacienda pago a los Señores Duques y Abates para cumplir del apuro que los Regulares tenían celebrado con estos Regulares.

18 2777. } 19 2555. 1 0  
3778.1

Dinero recibido para su avio.

De Tesoreria en la forma de lo que se dice al año de 1771, y los 12 restantes de 1768.

A Deros . . . } 1 000. 0  
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Existencias de 31 de Diciembre de 1770.

Le quedan en reales . . . } 15 3055. 1 0

	Plantas	Bovinos	Ovejas	Caballos	Mulas	Trigos	Cebada	Zanahorias	Trébol	Alfalfa	Alfalfa	Industriales
Quantidad y Semillas sus precios	332	120	491	416	443	77	21	34	26	34	34	34
El valor	10992	2066	1114	1571	3673	1114	1571	3673	1114	1571	3673	1114

**REVA YA.**

Existencias que havia al tiempo de la Ocupacion.

	Plantas	Bovinos	Ovejas	Caballos	Mulas	Trigos	Cebada	Zanahorias	Trébol	Alfalfa	Alfalfa	Industriales
Quantidad y Semillas sus precios	302	120	202	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38
El valor	1000	200	170	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20

**ADICION.**

A los y de los más quinientos diez pesos cinco reales que se pagaron a favor de esta Hacienda hasta el 31 de Diciembre de 1771, se descuentan el valor de la Cosecha de Arago que se hizo en fin de Agosto de este presente año, y se resta tambien correspondiente a lo que produjo la Cosecha de Arago 3050 pesos en 2<sup>o</sup> quinquenio . . . . . 2828 00. 0 0

Quedan libres en los 12 años cumplidos en fin de Agosto proximo . . . . . 37 2030. 2 2

Que corresponde una con otro a . . . . . 2 2250. 6 6y

Mexico 19, de Agosto de 1771.

Fuera de Correo

Figure 14: A post-expulsion economic report on the Hacienda Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, alias Chapingo, that belonged to the Office of Philippine Missions. The ex-Hacienda CHapingo is now the site of the national agricultural university.



prosperity in the years just before the expulsion. One manifestation of the economically difficult period was the accumulation of debt. The Colegio Máximo, for example, had a debt of 468,640 pesos in 1681 and 354,984 pesos in 1700, but reduced this amount in the eighteenth-century through careful control of expenditures and investments in income producing rural properties that expanded income beginning in the 1750s. The average income of the Colegio Máximo increased from 80,507 pesos in the period 1726-1740, to 109,576 pesos in the years 1754-1760.<sup>6</sup> The Jesuit leadership discussed the possibility of closing several of the economically strapped colegios such as Zacatecas and Pátzcuaro, but in the end avoided this extreme measure through local fund-raising campaigns. In 1691, for example, the colegio in Zacatecas had a debt of 17,300 pesos, and that of Pátzcuaro a debt of 7,700 pesos in 1700. Both colegios ran deficits in the period 1685-1694.<sup>7</sup> The Jesuit leadership resumed the establishment of new residencias and colegios in the eighteenth-century as the economic outlook improved, but not all of the new institutions could keep the books balanced. In 1755, for example, a report on the construction of a church for the residencia of Nuestra Señora de Loreto in Chihuahua City showed income of 28,691 pesos, 6  $\frac{3}{4}$  reales, and expenses of 30, reales. The project created a debt of 1,410 pesos, 2  $\frac{1}{4}$  reales.<sup>8</sup>

Inventories prepared at the time of the expulsion provide details regarding the rural properties that belonged to the colegios. For example, Hacienda Ozumba counted 3,886 cattle, 184 horses, 527 mules, and 6,763 sheep. Crops on hand included 2,582 *cargas* of corn, 1,761 *cargas* of chick peas, 3,906 *cargas* of barley, 11 of lentils, and 300 *cargas* of tequesquite (salt). Hacienda Santa Lugarda owned 276 mules, 100 horses, and 3,812 sheep, and crops on hand totaled 1,887 *fanegas* (2.6 bushels) of corn, 3,200 *fanegas* of chickpeas, and 3,000 *cargas* of barley. Hacienda Putla specialized in raising sheep, and the inventory reported that the hacienda owned 34,778 sheep and 48 mules. It also owned two slaves named Agustin de la Cruz (age 60), and his wife Andrea Xaviera. Hacienda Buenavista owned 30 mules, one horse, 33,439 goats, and 4,780 sheep. Hacienda Chica Extacinga counted 26 mules, 16,869 goats, and 4,504 sheep. The final example is Hacienda Petlalcingo that owned 27,190 goats and 38 mules. Following the expulsion juntas de Temporalidades administered and finally sold the rural properties.<sup>9</sup>

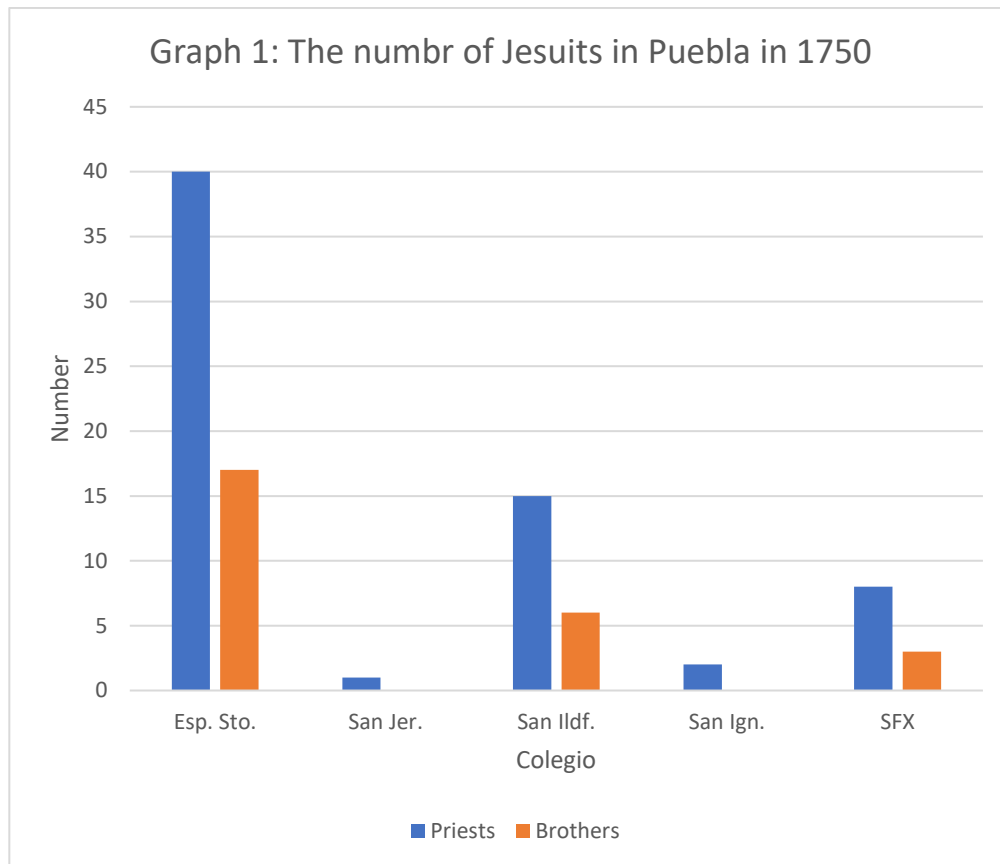
The Jesuits also owned houses in the cities that they rented, as in the case of the Colegio de San Jerónimo in Puebla. The Jesuits bought four houses that adjoined the colegio complex which still exist today. San Jerónimo was one of the poorly endowed urban colegios, and the rental houses were the main source of revenue. A detailed post-expulsion document from 1790 described the four houses. The house known today as the “Casa del Mendrugo,” for example, was a three-story structure valued at 17,440 pesos. Next to this was a two-story house valued at 5,917 pesos. A three-story house was under construction at the time of the expulsion in 1767. An accounting for the years 1767-1773 shows a net rental income of 4,643 pesos from the houses (see Figure 16).<sup>10</sup> All five Jesuit installations in Puebla had acquired income producing properties, but the colegio of Espíritu Santo, which was one of the five best endowed institutions, owned the largest number of rural properties followed by San Ildefonso and San Francisco Xavier. San Jerónimo and San Ignacio owned only urban properties in Puebla City itself (see Table 1). The inventories prepared at the time of the expulsion describe all of the properties.



Figure 16: Houses that belonged to the Colegio de San Jerónimo in Puebla.

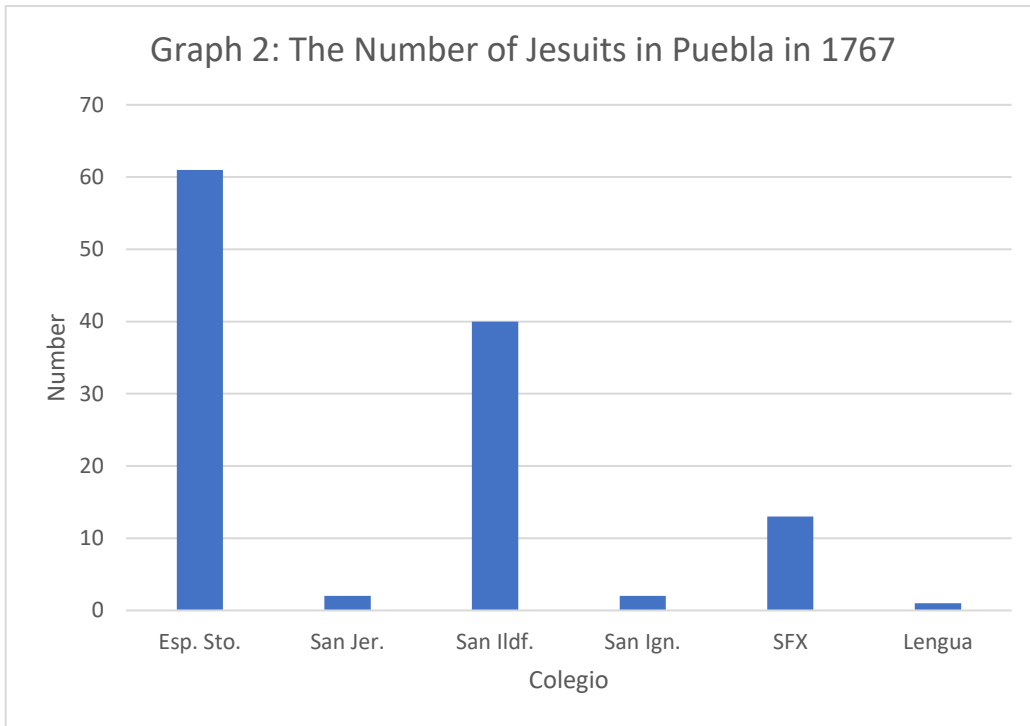
### **The Profile of the Jesuits in June of 1767**

Despite their importance in colonial Mexican society, the members of the Society of Jesus were not numerous. There were slightly less than 100 in Puebla in 1750 (see Graph 1) and slightly more than 100 in 1767 (see Graph 2). Recent studies have examined the place of origin of the Jesuits in Spanish America, and one of the central findings was the growing numbers of members recruited locally. Aliocha Maldavsky documented the growing numbers of American-born Jesuits in Peru in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the period immediately following the arrival of the Jesuits in Peru the majority were European-born, but the number of American-born increased during the seventeenth-century. Maldavsky also found considerable mobility among the Jesuits.<sup>11</sup> Mexican scholar María Cristina Torales Pacheco analyzed a general 1750 report on the Society of Jesus that included its organization and membership, and found that the majority of Jesuits in the Province of Nueva España were American-born.<sup>12</sup> The data on the Jesuits in the colegios in Puebla shows that 38 were European-born, but the majority were from the Americas and most from what today is Mexico (see Appendix). More than thirty were from Mexico City which was the single most important source of recruits, and from Puebla itself. Other places of origin included Cuba, Guatemala, and Honduras, that were regions within the larger Provincia de Nueva España (see Graph 3).

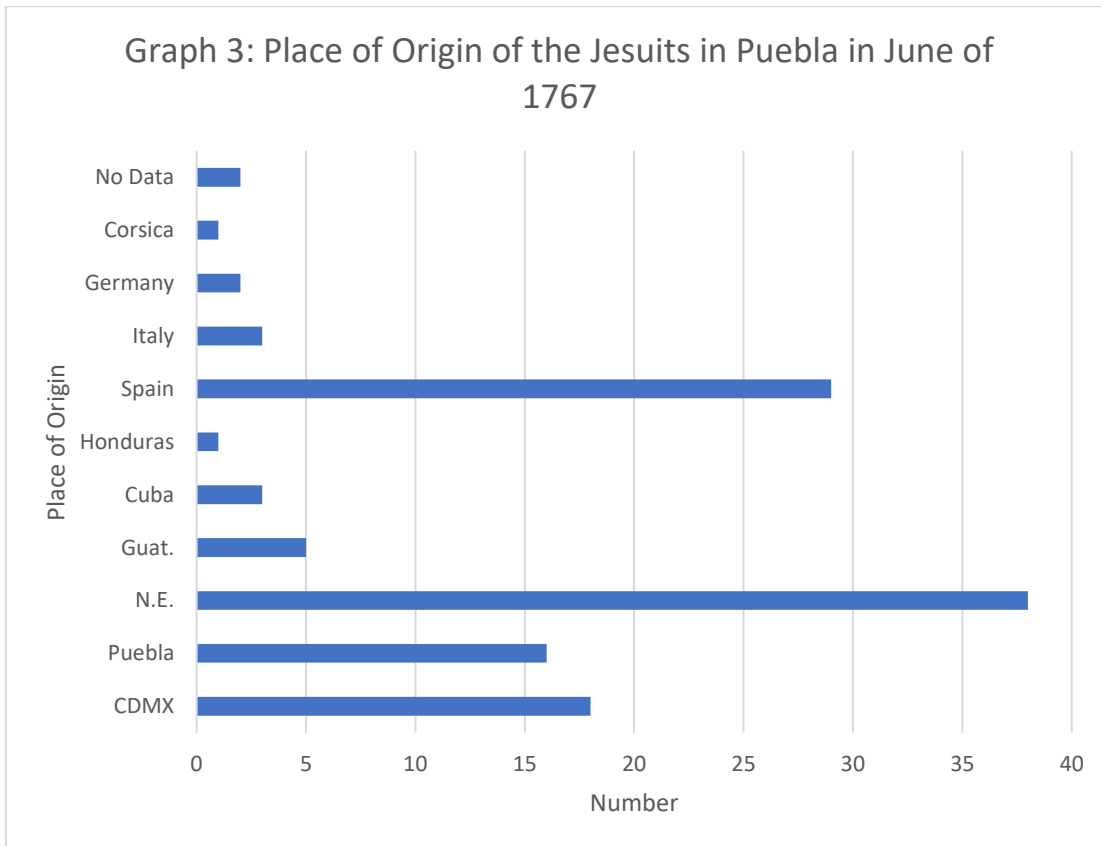


Source: María Cristina Torales Pacheco, “La provincia jesuita de Nueva España: Criollismo e identidad,” in *Jesuitas en las Américas: Presencia en el tiempo*, ed. Jorge Troisi Melean and Marcia Amantino (Buenos Aires: Teseopress, 2019), 91–125.

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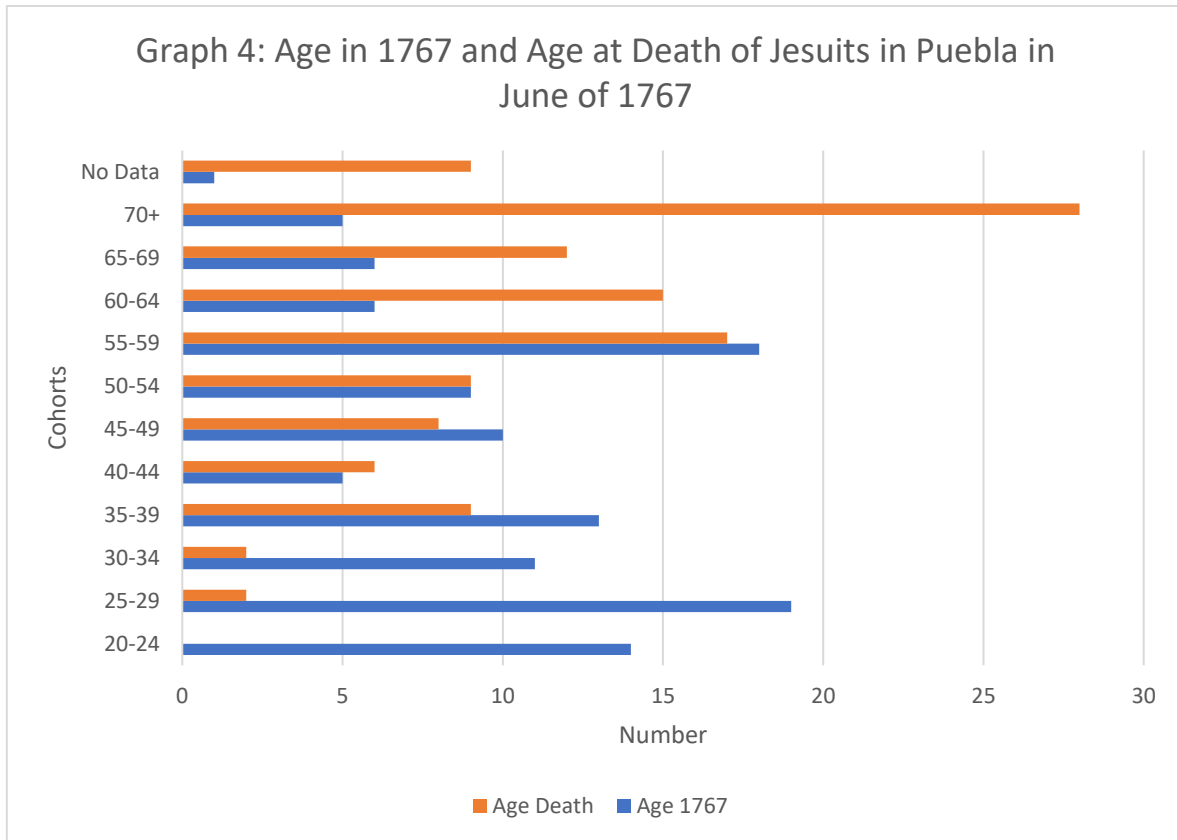


Source: Table 5 below.



Source: Appendix.

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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> However, this is not to say that some members of society, and particularly socio-economic elites, did not live longer, and the member of the Society of Jesus led privileged and on average long lives. This can be seen in the case of the Jesuits in Puebla at the time of the expulsion, where a total of 58 percent lived beyond the age of 60. Moreover, at the time of the expulsion the majority of the Jesuits in Puebla had already lived longer than the average person (see Graph 4).



Source: Appendix.



## The Process of the Expulsion

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Royal officials entered the Colegio del Espíritu Santo in Puebla at 4:30 in the morning of the 25<sup>th</sup>. They assembled the Jesuits to read the decree, and prepared a list of those who resided in the colegio. Two did not join the assembled Jesuits. They were Tomás Miranda and Antonio Lozano, both of whom were identified as being mentally ill. Several were absent from the Colegio. Juan Arriola and Antonio Cid were in Amozoc (Puebla) on one of the rural estates that belonged to Espíritu Santo. Arriola was the hacienda administrator, and Cid reportedly was “on vacation” there. Francisco Aramburu and Francisco Yarza were at the hacienda San Jerónimo. Francisco Puisac was at the hacienda Ozumba. The royal officials in charge of implementing the expulsion order had them arrested later.<sup>16</sup> The royal officials also assembled and enumerated the 23 employees of the Colegio del Espíritu Santo.

The implementation of the Pragmática Sanción was a highly bureaucratic process. The Pragmática Sanción contained a provision for the confiscation of the assets of the colegios, residencias, and missions, and of the urban and rural properties. Inventories had to be prepared of all assets, as well as of the personal property of each of the Jesuits. The inventory of Espíritu Santo, for example, found 20,566 pesos in cash. The expectation was that confiscated assets would cover the costs of the process of expulsion, and of the pensions to be given to the exiled Jesuits. Royal officials had to account for all expenses. One detailed accounting reported the costs of the first group of Jesuits sent in route to Xalapa on June 27, 1767. It included the rental of 21 vehicles to transport the Jesuits, food supplies, and other materials.<sup>17</sup>

At the same time the implementation of the expulsion decree was a military operation. Royal officials mobilized thousands of militiamen to carry-out the expulsion, and maintained detailed records of the number of militiamen involved and the cost. A map prepared in August of 1767 documented the location and number of militiamen mobilized for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the mining center of Guanajuato (see Figure 17). There was a force of 691 in Marfil that consisted of 450 militiamen from Guadalajara, 150 from Leon, 64 from Irapuato, and 27 from Zamora, a reserve of 274 in Silao with 170 militiamen from Valladolid, 47 from Silao, and 57 from a militia company of “mestizos,” and another 750 in different communities in the region surrounding Guanajuato City.<sup>18</sup> The militiamen had three functions. They were to occupy the colegios, residencias, and missions while the Jesuits were sent into exile, and to assist in the preparation of inventories. They were to escort the Jesuits to the ports where they boarded ships to be sent into exile in Europe. Finally, they were to be prepared to suppress any popular unrest in response to the expulsion order. Guanajuato, Pátzcuaro and Uruapan saw unrest in response to the expulsion order, and there had also been unrest in San Luis Potosi in May of 1767 related to complaints of abuse by royal officials. Visitor General José de Gálvez, who oversaw the implementation of the expulsion decree in Nueva España, ordered the brutal suppression of the uprisings. He had 85 executed, 73 whipped, 117 exiled, and 674 sent to prison for varying terms.<sup>19</sup>

Detailed records documented the number of militiamen mobilized to implement the expulsion decree in Puebla from June to August of 1767. The number of mobilized militiamen totaled 890 drawn from five militia units that included both infantry and cavalry, and 200 from the *Battalion de Pardos* (of African ancestry) (see Table 2). Their mobilization between June 25 and August 19 cost a total of 427 pesos. The mobilization of 105 militiamen from the *Dragones Provinciales* for the same period cost 463 pesos, since they received a higher daily stipend than did

the militiamen of African ancestry. Of this number, officials assigned 376 to the occupation of the five colegios in the city. The largest number, 163, occupied Espíritu Santo (see Table 3). They secured the installations, and helped prepare the inventories of the contents of the colegios. There were no instances of popular unrest in Puebla.



Figure 17: The Jesuit church and colegio in Guanajuato dedicated to the Santísima Trinidad. Guanajuato was the scene of popular unrest following the Jesuit expulsion.

The expulsion decree stipulated that the Jesuits deemed too ill to travel would not be sent into exile. At the same time, a number of Jesuits died in Nueva España during the journey into exile. For example, 25 missionaries who had been stationed on the missions in what today are Sonora, Sinaloa, and Baja California died on the journey into exile, including 14 who died in what today is Nayarit, and another five in Jalisco (see Table 4). Six of the Jesuits in Puebla remained in the city. The others began the journey into exile. Xalapa served as the staging point for the final journey to the ships in Veracruz, because of its location at a higher elevation than Veracruz that was unhealthy because of tropical diseases such as yellow fever. As it was, 35 Jesuits died in Veracruz between August 1, 1767 and December of the same year, and another died in January of 1768. This total included six from the colegios in Puebla. Royal officials also gave the novices from Tepotzotlán an opportunity to leave the Society of Jesus before being sent to the ships in Veracruz. Five had already chosen to remain in Mexico when arrested in the novitiate on June 25, and another ten opted to leave the Society in Xalapa. One more left the Society after being sent to Veracruz (see Table 5). This outcome is not surprising, given that the majority of the novices were young men in their teens and 20s, and the expulsion order and remaining members of the Society of Jesus meant spending the rest of their lives in a foreign land separated from their families.

The officials in charge of the expulsion in Puebla organized the transport of the bulk of the Jesuits in two groups. The first group of 86 left Puebla in route to Xalapa and the ships in Veracruz on June 27, although one returned to San Francisco Xavier because of the state of his health (see Table 6). They arrived in Veracruz in July, where, as already noted, a number fell ill from yellow fever. Thirty-three, including the one who returned to the Colegio de San Francisco Xavier, temporarily remained in Puebla pending the organization of their transport to Veracruz. Royal officials placed those who temporarily remained in the city in different convents in the city (see Table 7). Officials placed the largest number, 12, in the Carmelite convent that at the time was on the edge of the city (see Figure 10), seven in the convent of la Merced also located on the edge of the city (see Figure 13), and another seven in the Hospital de Belén (see Figure 11).

A second group of 25 Jesuits left Puebla in route to Xalapa and Veracruz on August 4, 1767. However, one of the group returned to the Colegio del Espíritu Santo. A third group of seven left Puebla at an unspecified date in 1768, and there is little information regarding them (see Table 9). Antonio de Salas who had been in San Ildefonso died in the Hospital de Belén in October of 1767, four months after the expulsion order (see Figure 18). Juan de Arriola had been in Espíritu Santo, and remained in the Carmelite convent where he died in August of 1768 (see Figure 19). Joaquin de Castro and Antonio Lozano spent the rest of their lives in the Hospital de San Roque that, as noted above, cared for the mentally ill (see Figure 20). The former died in 1802 more than three decades following the expulsion, and the latter in 1786. Manuel de Estrada died in 1778 in the Franciscan convent, and Tomás Miranda remained in Puebla for a time but then was transferred to the Hospital de San Pedro where he died in 1791. Other convents in Puebla temporarily housed Jesuits, such as the Mercedarian convent (see Figure 21).



Figure 18: The Hospital de Belén. Royal officials housed seven Jesuits here.



Figure 19: The Carmelite convent in Puebla, located on the edge of the city at the time of the expulsion. Royal officials temporarily housed twelve Jesuits there pending their transport to Xalapa and the ships in Veracruz.



Figure 20: The church and cloister of the Hospital of San Roque.



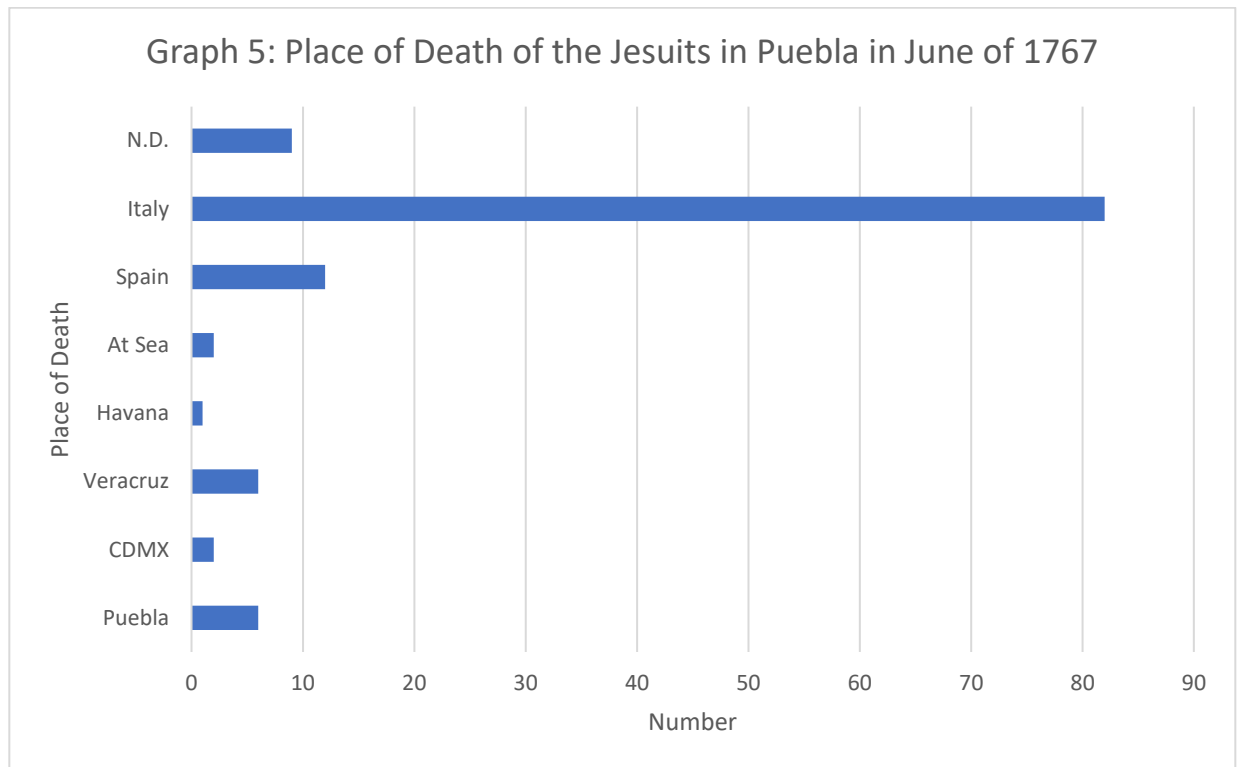
Figure 21: The ex-Mercedarian convent in Puebla. The cloister is now a public school. Royal officials temporarily housed seven Jesuits here.

### **Transporting the exiled Jesuits to Europe**

Two sources provide information on the ships that transported the Jesuits into exile in Europe. Rafael Zelis listed 13 ships that sailed on different dates. One sailed on July 26, 1767, before the outbreak of yellow fever in Veracruz City that killed 35 Jesuits. The ship reportedly carried 55. Six sailed on October 25, 1767, and transported 180. One sailed on November 8, 1767 with 30 Jesuits. Another three departed on November 19, 1767 with 75 Jesuits aboard. The last two that Zelis enumerated left on November 29, 1767, and carried 110.<sup>20</sup> Zelis's list, however, is incomplete. A 1769 list of ships and expelled Jesuits documents the names of 16 ships, including two in Zelis's list, the *San Miguel* and *Buen Sucesso* that according to Zelis left Veracruz on November 29, 1767. One ship, the *Aquiles*, also carried exiled Jesuits from the Provinces of Santa Fe (Colombia) and Quito (see Table 10). The ships listed in the 1769 list transported a larger number, a total of 553, which suggests that Zelis's list was incomplete. The 1769 list records information by ship and the colegio, residencia, or mission of origin in Nueva España. Jesuits who had been stationed on the five colegios in Puebla sailed on nine of the ships (see Table 11).<sup>21</sup>

### **The Fate of the Exiled Jesuits**

The decree of Carlos III that ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits stipulated that they be sent into exile in the Papal States in Italy. The long journey took a toll on some, including older men. As already noted above, six remained in Puebla because of health reasons, and others died in route to Europe. Jesuits from the Puebla colegios were among those who died in Veracruz while waiting for ships to take them to Europe. Two died at sea, and one on arriving in la Habana before leaving for Europe. The exiled Jesuits were held in the Puerto de Santa María near Cádiz while waiting to be taken by ship to Italy, and several of the Jesuits who had been on the colegios in Puebla died there. The majority reached exile in the Papal States, and lived out their lives in Bologna and other Italian cities (see Graph 5). As already noted, the majority were natives of what today is Mexico, and they were sent to a foreign land.



Source: Appendix.

The expulsion from Nueva España was a bittersweet experience for the American-born and Mexican-born Jesuits. The majority who survived the arduous trip to exile in Europe lived-out their lives in a foreign land, separated from family and friends and the world they knew. Antonio López de Priego was among the first group of Jesuits sent on the road to exile on June 27, 1767. He was a native of Puebla where he was born in 1730, and was 37 years old at the time of the expulsion. He was assigned to the colegio of San Francisco Xavier in Puebla. He survived the journey into exile, and died in Bolonia on January 22, 1802 at the age of 71, after having lived more than 30 years in exile. He left a manuscript account of the journey into exile.<sup>1</sup> He was in Veracruz during the period when yellow fever killed 35 of the Jesuits, and wrote rather poetically of the evil reputation of the city:

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Mexico, la gran ciudad

Mexico, the great city

La Puebla, Segundo Cielo

Puebla, second heaven

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<sup>1</sup> Antonio López de Priego, *Testimonio de un jesuita poblano en el amargo camino del destierro Antonio López de Priego (1730-1802)*, edited by María del Carmen Aguilar Guzmán (Puebla; Biblioteca Jose María Lafragua, 2012).

Orizaba, el purgatorio	Orizaba, purgatory
Veracruz, el infierno	Veracruz, hell
López de Priego went on to comment on what sailors said of the city:	
quien te puso Veracruz	who named you Veracruz
No te supo poner nombre	didn't know how to name you
Porque te habían de llamar	because you should be named
el sepulcro de los hombres	the tomb of men. <sup>2</sup>

The rest of his text and poetry expressed a similar tone of bitterness for having been exiled from his homeland. His ship set sail on October 24, 1767, and took three months to reach Havana. He wrote of his feelings on sailing from Veracruz:

Esta es la idea que puedo darte (que hasta que uno no ve un navío, no se hace cargo) y estas son las casas en que nos dimos a la vela para La Habana, el día 24 de octubre del mismo año de 1767. Y adiós...que ya gritan los marineros el buen viaje, y nosotros repetimos...adiós Indias, adiós Mexico, adiós padres y parientes, adiós hermanos y amigos, adiós tierra feliz, que no tuvimos la dicha nos cubrieras después de muertos ya que nos dista la vida...

This is the idea that I can give you (that until one sees a ship, one does not take charge) and these are the houses in which we set sail for Havana, on October 24 of the same year, 1767. And goodbye...the sailors are already shouting a good voyage, and we repeat...goodbye Indies, goodbye Mexico, goodbye parents and relatives, goodbye brothers and friends, goodbye happy land, we did not have the happiness you covered us after we were dead since life gave us away...<sup>3</sup>

His writings shared the views of others of the exiles.

## Conclusions

Carlos III ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits for reasons of state, and never explained what motivated his decision. However, it is important to note that Portugal (1759) and France (1764) had already expelled the Society of Jesus, and in 1773 combined with Spain and Naples to pressure the Pope to suppress the order. The Society of Jesus came into being during a period of religious conflict in Europe, but the political climate in Europe was very different at the time of the expulsion order. In a sense, the Jesuits had outlived their usefulness. The Pope reinstated the Society of Jesus in 1814 in the aftermath of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars (1799-1815). Once again, the Jesuits were seen as being useful in the face of the threat to the old order posed by liberalism and masonic ideology.

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 82.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 85.

The process of the expulsion of the Jesuits in the Province of Nueva España was well-organized, and was both a military and bureaucratic process as seen in the case study of the five colegios in Puebla. Royal officials mobilized hundreds of local militiamen to occupy the Jesuit colegios and to help search for valuables in the complexes. The search of the colegio del Espíritu Santo, for example, found the considerable sum of 20,566 pesos in cash. The militia were also ready to suppress possible popular protest over the expulsion order. Puebla remained calm, but there were protests in other cities such as Guanajuato that Visitador-General José de Gálvez ordered brutally suppressed. It was also a bureaucratic process. Royal officials rented transport in Puebla to carry the Jesuits to Xalapa and later the port of Veracruz, and purchased provisions for the Jesuits and the soldiers escorting them. They had to carefully account for all expenditures. They also prepared detailed inventories of the colegio complexes, the property of the individual Jesuits, and of the urban and rural properties that belonged to the five colegios. Juntas de Temporalidades administered the ex colegio complexes, as well as the urban and rural properties. The juntas eventually assigned the colegio complexes to other uses, and sold the urban and rural properties to cover the expenses of the expulsion as well as the pensions paid to most of the exiled Jesuits.

The process of the expulsion was traumatic, and in some cases proved deadly for the Jesuits who had staffed the five colegios in Puebla. Six remained in the city for reasons of health, and several died on the journey to and in Veracruz City from the tropical disease yellow fever. The majority survived the journey into exile, and lived out their lives in the Papal States. For many this was a bittersweet experience, as the majority of the Jesuits who had staffed the five colegios in Puebla were American-born. They died in a foreign land.

Table 1: The urban and rural properties of the Jesuit Colegios in Puebla

Urban Properties	Haciendas	Ranchos
<b>Colegio del Espíritu Santo</b>		
House Plaza de San Roque	San Jerónimo (Tepeaca)	Quijote (Acatlán)
	Ozumba (Tepeaca)	Petalcingo (Auytlahuaca)
	San Juan (Tlaxcala)	San Salvador (Tehuacán)
	Putla (Auytlahuaca)	Pitifor (Tepeaca)
	Buenavista (Tepeaca)	Xococotla (Orizaba)
	Amaluca (Puebla)	San José (Tepexi de la Seda)
	San Pablo + 2 ranchos (Tepeaca)	San Felipe (Puebla)
	Los Reyes (Tlaxcala)	Loreto (Tepeaca)
	La Noria (San Juan de los Llanos)	Zongolica (Antigua, Veracruz)
	Santa Lugarda (San Juan de los Llanos)	
	Petalcingo (Acatlán)	
	Teoloyucan	
	Tlacama	
<b>Colegio de San Ildefonso</b>		



House and Mill (Puebla)	Alfonsina (Atlixco)	Santa Ana (Huautla de la Sal)
five houses surrounding the colegio	San Juan Bautista (Huamantla)	Mill Topoyanco and rancho (Tlaxcala)
two houses (Puebla)	Concepción (San Juan de los Llanos)	Tecolopan (Olinala)
	San Miguel + 3 ranchos (San Juan de los Llanos)	Correta (Antigua, Veracruz)
	Rosario + 2 ranchos (Huarapan/San Juan de los Llanos)	Acazonica (Perote)
<b>Rented Properties</b>		
	San Diego (Huamantla)	Cocahuata (Antigua, Veracruz)
	Santa Cruz (Huamantla)	
<b>Colegio de San Francisco Xavier</b>		
	Mendocino (Huejotzingo)	Molino de San Simón (Huejotzingo)
	Xalticpan (Tlaxcala)	
<b>Colegio de San Jerónimo</b>		
three rented houses surrounding the Colegio		
One house under construction		
<b>Colegio de San Ignacio</b>		
Eight rental houses (Puebla)		
Rental house and orchard (Barrio de San Sebastian, Puebla)		

Source: Colegio del Espíritu Santo de la Puebla de los Ángeles. Resumen de la razón tomada por esta Contad(uri)a de las noventa y dos piezas de Autos de ocupación del Colegio del Espíritu Santo, y sus Haciendas dirigidas para este fin de acuerdo del Consejo en el Extraordinario. Fondo Jesuita, Archivo Nacional de Chile, tomo 292.

Table 2: The militiamen mobilized for service in the expulsion of the Jesuits from Puebla

Militia Regiment	Number of Militiamen
Infantería Blancos	180
Infantería Comercio	200
Batallón Pardos	200
Dragones México	205
Dragones Provinciales	105
Total	890

Source: Colegio del Espíritu Santo de la Puebla de los Ángeles. Resumen de la razón tomada por esta Contad(uri)a de las noventa y dos piezas de Autos de ocupación del Colegio del Espíritu Santo, y sus Haciendas dirigidas para este fin de acuerdo del Consejo en el Extraordinario. Fondo Jesuita, Archivo Nacional de Chile, tomo 292.

Table 3: The number of militiamen assigned to occupy the Colegios in Puebla

Colegio	Number of Militiamen
Espíritu Santo	163
San Jerónimo	28
San Ildefonso	73
San Ignacio	23
San Francisco Xavier	89
Total	376

Source: Estado de los Oficiales, Sargentos, Cabos, y Soldados que desde el día de la fecha han de quedar en guarderia de los cinco Colegios de esta Ciudad de Puebla. Fondo Jesuita, Tomo 292, Archivo Nacional de Chile.

Table 4: Frontier Missionaries who died in Nueva España

Place	Number
Sonora	1
Sinaloa	1
Nayarit	14
Jalisco	5
Mexico City	1
Puebla	2
Veracruz	1
Total	25

Source: Robert H. Jackson, “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,” *ESTUDIOS HISTÓRICOS* Año XIV. N°28, (diciembre, 2022), 1-68.

Table 5: The place where novices from Tepotzotlán chose to leave the Society of Jesus

Place	Number
Tepotzotlán	5
México	1
Xalapa	10
Veracruz	1
Spain	1
Jérez (Spain)	4
Italy	1
Total	23

Source: Robert H. Jackson, “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,” *ESTUDIOS HISTÓRICOS* Año XIV. N°28, (diciembre, 2022), 1-68.

Table 6: The number of Jesuits in the five Puebla Colegios

Colegio	Sent to Xalapa on June 27, 1767			Remained in Puebla		
	Sacerdotes	Escolares	Coadjutores	Sacerdotes	Escolares	Coadjutores

Espíritu Santo	28	2	11	13	1	6
San Jerónimo	0	1	0	1	0	0
San Ildefonso	15	15	3	2	0	4
San Ignacio	1	0	0	1	0	0
S F Xavier	8*	0	2	3	0	1
Total	52	18	16	20	1	11

\*One returned to San Francisco Xavier.

Source: Estado que manifiesto el numero de Religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus q(u)e se hallaron en los cinco Colegios de esta Ciu(da)d de Puebla y sus pertenencias. Fondo Jesuita, Tomo 292, Archivo Nacional de Chile.

Table 7: The Jesuits who remained temporarily in Puebla

Place of residence	Number
Convento de Carmen	12
Hospital de Belén	7
Convento de la Merced	7
Espíritu Santo	2
Convento de San Francisco	1
Convento de San Agustín	1
Convento de Santo Domingo	1
Convento de San Antonio	1
Extremely ill	2
Mentally Ill (Locos furiosos)	2

Source: Estado que manifiesto el numero de Religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus q(u)e se hallaron en los cinco Colegios de esta Ciu(da)d de Puebla y sus pertenencias. Fondo Jesuita, Tomo 292, Archivo Nacional de Chile.

Table 8: The second and third groups of Jesuits sent to Xalapa on August 4, 1767 and in 1768, and those who remained in Puebla

Colegio	Sent to Xalapa August 4, 1767			1768	Remained in Puebla	
	Sacerdotes	Escolares	Coadjutores		Place	Number
Espíritu Santo	11*	0	4		San Roque	2
San Ildefonso	4	0	4		Belén	1
S F Xavier	2	0	1		Carmen	1
San Andrés	1	0	0		S Francisco	1
Total	18	0	7	7	Espíritu Santo	1

\*One returned to Espiritu Santo.

Source: Colegio del Espiritu Santo de la Puebla de los Angeles. Resumen de la razón tomada por esta Contad(uri)a de las noventa y dos piezas de Autos de ocupación del Colegio del Espiritu

Santo, y sus Haciendas dirigidas para este fin de acuerdo del Consejo en el Extraordinario. Fondo Jesuita, Archivo Nacional de Chile, tomo 292.

Table 9: Jesuits who remained in Puebla following the Expulsion

Name	Colegio of Residence	Reason for remaining	Place of Death	Date of Death
Antonio de Salas	San Ildefonso	Ill-died Hospital de Belén	Puebla	October 11, 1767
Juan de Arriola	Espíritu Santo	Ill-died Convento de Carmen	Puebla	August 28, 1768
Joaquin de Castro	Espíritu Santo	Mentally Ill-held in San Roque	Puebla	April 18, 1802
Antonio Lozano	Espíritu Santo	Mentally Ill-held in San Roque	Puebla	1786
Manuel de Estrada	San Francisco Xavier	Ill-Convento de San Francisco	Puebla	February 19, 1778
Tomás Miranda	Espíritu Santo	Ill-enfermería Espíritu Santo	Hospital de San Pedro, Mexico City	February 25, 1791

Source: Colegio del Espíritu Santo de la Puebla de los Angeles. Resumen de la razón tomada por esta Contad(uri)a de las noventa y dos piezas de Autos de ocupación del Colegio del Espíritu Santo, y sus Haciendas dirigidas para este finde acuerdo del Consejo en el Extraordinario. Fondo Jesuita, Archivo Nacional de Chile, tomo 292.

Table 10: Ships employed according to Rafael Zelis

Ship	Date Sailed	Number of Jesuits
La Flora	July 26, 1767	55
La Flecha	October 25, 1767	40
El Júpiter	October 25, 1767	25
La Dorada	October 25, 1767	40
El Nancey	October 25, 1767	35
Rosario de Torrontegui	October 25, 1767	30
Santa Barbara	October 25, 1767	10
Jesús Nazareno alias El Volcán	November 8, 1767	30
La Juno	November 19, 1767	40
Nra. Sra. De las Angustias	November 19, 1767	15
Guadalupe	November 19, 1767	20
San Miguel alias El Bizarro	November 29, 1767	60
Buen Suceso	November 29, 1767	50

Source: 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), 189-199.

Table 11: Ships employed to transport the exiled Jesuits to Europe according to the 1769 list.

Ship	Colegio/Mission	Number
Guadalupe (alias la Fetis)	Guatemala	11
	Espíritu Santo (Puebla)	21
	San Ildefonso (Puebla)	9

	Havana	1
Nra. Sra. Del Carmen y San José (alias el Bello Indio)	Puerto Principe	4
	Havana	1
San Rafael	Mérida	8
	Campeche	2
	Havana	2
Santísima Trinidad	Havana	12
Nra. Sra. Del Carmen	San Gregorio (CDMX)	7
	Colegio Máximo	18
	Espíritu Santo (Puebla)	1
San Juan	Espíritu Santo (Puebla)	12
	Veracruz	12
	Ciudad Real	3
	Durango	8
	Guadalajara	5
	Pátzcuaro	2
	San Ildefonso (CDMX)	2
	Valladolid	11
	Colegio Máximo	6
	San Ildefonso (Puebla)	2
	San Francisco Xavier (Pue.)	1
San Julián	San Andrés (CDMX)	7
	Colegio Máximo	20
	San Francisco Xavier (Pue.)	1
	Espíritu Santo (Puebla)	2
	Parras	2
	Querétaro	5
	Casa Profesa (CDMX)	3
	Valladolid	1
Peregrina	Casa Profesa (CDMX)	20
	Colegio Máximo	12
	Antequera (Oaxaca)	3
	Tepotztlán	1
	Espíritu Santo (Puebla)	5
	San Francisco Xavier (Pue.)	2
	Pátzcuaro	2
	San Andrés (CDMX)	2
	Durango	1
	Querétaro	2
	Ciudad Real	2
	Guadalajara	3
	Valladolid	1
	Parras	1
	Celaya	2
	San Ildefonso (Puebla)	1
San Cenon	Guanajuato	2
	San Luis de la Paz	1
	Guadalajara	2
	Colegio Máximo	1
	San Luis Potosi	2
	Valladolid	1
	Celaya	1

	Casa Profesa (CDMX)	1
	Querétaro	1
	Espíritu Santo (Puebla)	1
La Vizarra	Casa Profesa (CDMX)	2
	Querétaro	2
	Espíritu Santo (Puebla)	6
	San Gregorio (CDMX)	1
	Colegio Máximo	3
	San Andrés (CDMX)	2
	Zacatecas	11
	Tepotzotlán	1
	Chinipas Missions	6
	Parral	2
	San Ildefonso (CDMX)	2
	San Ildefonso (Puebla)	3
	San Francisco Xavier (Pue.)	2
	San Luis Potosí	6
	León	3
	Antequera (Oaxaca)	3
	Pátzcuaro	1
	Tarahumara Missions	11
	San Luis de la Paz	4
	Guanajuato	3
	Chihuahua	3
	Valladolid	1
San Miguel (alias Vizarro)	Tepotzotlán	47
	Veracruz	1
	San Ildefonso (CDMX)	1
	Chinipas Missions	1
	Zacatecas	1
	Antequera (Oaxaca)	1
	Colegio Máximo	5
	Tepotzotlán	5
	León	4
	Nayarit Missions	7
	Guadalajara	1
	Tarahumara Missions	1
	S.F. Borja (Zacatecas)	3
El Aquiles	Chinarras Missions	1
	Querétaro	1
	Pátzcuaro	1
	Valladolid	1
	Casa Profesa	1
	Puerto Príncipe	1
Buen Successo	San Andrés (CDMX)	7
	San Ildefonso (CDMX)	1
	Casa Profesa	2
	Querétaro	2
	Guanajuato	5
	San Luis de la Paz	1
	Celaya	1
	Chinipas Missions	1
	Espíritu Santo (Puebla)	3
	Colegio Máximo	5

	Tepetzotlán	5
	León	4
	Nayarit Missions	7
	Guadalajara	1
	Tarahumara Missions	1
	S.F. Borja (Zacatecas)	3
San Joaquín (alias Las Amazonas)	California Missions	16
	Chinipas Missions	1
	Tarahumara Missions	1
	San Andrés (CDMX)	1
Santísima Trinidad	Espíritu Santo (Puebla)	3
	San Jerónimo (Puebla)	1
	San Ildefonso (Puebla)	1
	San Francisco Xavier (Pue.)	1
Santa Magdalena y San Julián		8
	Sinaloa Missions	
	Sonora Missions	12

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.

### Appendix: The Jesuits in Puebla in June of 1767

Jesuits in the Colegio del Espíritu Santo in June of 1767

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
Juan Arriola	Guanajuato (Gto)	October 22, 1698	Puebla (Puebla)	August 28, 1768
Joaquín Trujillo	Guadalajara (Jalisco)	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	July 17, 1736	Ferrara (Italy)	March 15, 1786
Ignacio Gisbert	San Felipe (Valencia, 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	Puebla (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 (Sardinia, Italy)	October 1, 1707	N.D.	
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
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 (Italy)	October 10, 1778
Eugenio José Ramírez	Huechetlen (Guatemala)	November 15, 1709	Ferrara (Italy)	June 25, 1774
Juan López	Copacabana (Sp)	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 Gamuza	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	Colotitlan (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 (Jalisco)	January 6, 1696	Castel San Pietro (Italy)	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 (Jalisco)	September 27, 1712	Habana (Cuba)	December 4, 1767
José Calderón	Real del Oro, Comayagua	January 3, 1710	At Sea	November 5, 1767
José Bueno	Guadalajara (Jalisco)	July 17, 1717	Bolonia (Italy)	January 16, 1779
E Joaquín Castro	Córdoba (Veracruz)	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 (Veracruz)	June 11, 1740	N.D.	
H Francisco Ponce	Jacona (Michoacán)	October 10, 1714	Bolonia (Italy)	November 3, 1773
H Pedro Inchaurrendieta	Oyarzum (Spain)	June 20, 1705	Bolonia (Italy)	February 12, 1777
<b>Colegio de San Jerónimo</b>				
Cayetano Cortes	Guatemala (Guat)	August 7, 1730	Imola (Italy)	May 18, 1772
E José Lava	Guadalajara (Spain)	October 1, 1738	Bolonia (Italy)	September 9, 1806

\*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.

Jesuits in the Colegio de San Ildefonso in June of 1767

	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 (Spain)	May 7, 1743	Bolonia (Italy)	June 9, 1771
E Pedro de Aguirre	Irapuato (Michoacán)	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.		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 Doportto	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 (Italy)	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
Colegio de San Ignacio				
Salvador Dávila	Guadalajara (Spain)	March 15, 1727	Bolonia (Italy)	January 11, 1781

Escolar; H-Coadjutor \*assigned to San Jerónimo.

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.

Jesuits in the Colegio de San Francisco Xavier in June of 1767

	Information Birth	Information Death		Information Birth
Name	Place	Date	Name	Place
Pedro Zazurca	Barbastro (Spain)	April 28, 1720	Bolonia (Italy)	May 2, 1770
Antonio López 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.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> María de Lourdes Herrera Feria, “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.

<sup>2</sup> James D. Riley, “The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico, 1670-1767,” *The Americas* 33:2 (October, 1976), 226-266.

<sup>3</sup> Robert H. Jackson, “El Demonio del Jesuita: *El Chuchumbé*, los Ordenes Religiosos, la Esclavitud y la Política Racial en Veracruz, Siglo XVIII,” *Seminario Religión, creencias y secularización en el noroeste de México: Memoria volumen 1* (Culiacán: El Colegio de Sinaloa, 2022), 213-245.

<sup>4</sup> Testimonio a la letra del Expediente sobre los caudales impuestos por imponer del Colegio de Veracruz (1799). Fondo Jesuita, Archivo Nacional de Chile.

<sup>5</sup> Riley, “The Wealth of the Jesuits,” 263.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 255-256.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 255-256.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph de Urera, S.J., Nuevo Estado de las Misiones de esta Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España. W.B. Stephens Collection No. 67, folios 225-226. General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>9</sup> Colegio del Espíritu Santo de la Puebla de los Ángeles. Resumen de la razón tomada por esta Contad(uri)a de las noventa y dos piezas de Autos de ocupación del Colegio del Espíritu Santo, y sus Haciendas dirigidas para este fin de acuerdo del Consejo en el Extraordinario. Fondo Jesuita, Archivo Nacional de Chile, tomo 292.

<sup>10</sup> Enrique Aguirre Carrasco, transcription and paleography, *Documentos relativos al Colegio Jesuita de San Gerónimo* (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2003), 79-81.

<sup>11</sup> Aliocha Maldavsky, *Vocaciones inciertas: misión y misioneros en la provincia jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Lima: CISC-IFEA, 2012), 85; 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.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> Aaron Antonovsky, “Social class, life expectancy and overall mortality,” *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 45:2 (1967), 31-73.

<sup>14</sup> Robert H. Jackson, “Una mirada a los patrones demográficos de las misiones jesuitas de Paraguay,” *Fronteras de la Historia* 9 (2004), 129-178.

<sup>15</sup> Robert H. Jackson, *The Bourbon Reforms and the remaking of Spanish Frontier Missions* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2022), 108, 254.

<sup>16</sup> Colegio del Espíritu Santo de la Puebla. Resumen del Proceso de ocupación del colegio y sus Haziendas. Fondo Jesuita, Archivo Nacional de Chile, tomo 292.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Croquis de Guanajuato, su situación y bloqueo, August 25, 1767, Archivo General de las Indias, Sevilla, Spain, MP-MEXICO 687, ES.41091.AGI//MP-MEXICO,687. The map was a part of a larger document sent by Viceroy Teodoro de la Croix to Julián de Arriaga.

<sup>19</sup> David Brading, *Mineros y comerciantes en el México borbónico (1763-1810)*, first Spanish edition (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1975), 49; Carlos Ruiz Medrano, “El tumulto de 1767 en Guanajuato,” *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 19 (1999), 13-46; Juan José Benavides Martínez, “Revuelta general y represión ejemplar. Los motines de 1767 en San Luis Potosí,” *Revista de El Colegio de San Luis*, Nueva época, 6:12 (julio a diciembre, 2016), 40-72.

<sup>20</sup> 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* (Mexico City: Imprenta de I. Escalante y Cia, 1871), 189-199.

<sup>21</sup> 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, Spain, MSS/12870.