



## "Enemies of the State": the detention in Spain of missionaries from the northern Frontier of México after the Jesuit Expulsión.

"Enemigos del estado". La detención en España de los misioneros de la frontera norte de México, luego de la expulsión Jesuítica.

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### Abstract

In 1767, Spanish King Carlos III ordered the expulsion of the members of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) from all Spanish dominions. The King ordered the Jesuits to be sent to the Papal States in Italy. However, a small number of Jesuits who had staffed missions on the north Mexican frontier were held in captivity in Spain, as "enemies of the state." They had knowledge of the frontier, and royal officials feared they might provide this information to Spain's enemies. This prosopographic study analysis the profile of the missionaries, and their fate following the Jesuit expulsion. It also compares this group of missionaries with another group, the Jesuits stationed on the missions among the Guaraní in South America. Those that survived the trip to Europe went into exile in Italy. They were not deemed to be a security threat.

**Keywords:** Jesuit Missionaries, Frontier Missions, Mexico, Guaraní Missions

### Resumen

En 1767, el rey español Carlos III ordenó la expulsión de los miembros de la Compañía de Jesús (jesuitas) de todos los dominios españoles. El Rey ordenó que los jesuitas fueran enviados a los Estados Pontificios en Italia. Sin embargo, un pequeño

número de jesuitas que habían trabajado en misiones en la frontera norte de México fueron retenidos en cautiverio en España, como "enemigos del estado". Tenían conocimiento de la frontera y los funcionarios reales temían que pudieran proporcionar esta información a los enemigos de España. Este estudio prosopográfico analiza el perfil de los misioneros y su suerte tras la expulsión de los jesuitas. También compara este grupo de misioneros con otro grupo, los jesuitas estacionados en las misiones entre los guaraníes en América del Sur. Los que sobrevivieron al viaje a Europa se exiliaron en Italia. No se consideró que fueran una amenaza para la seguridad.

**Palabras clave:** Misioneros jesuitas, Misiones de frontera, México, Misiones guaraníes

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On June 25, 1767, royal officials across Spanish America began to implement the royal order of King Carlos III (1759-1788) to expel the members of the Society of Jesus from his dominions. The King ordered the majority of the Jesuits to be sent to the Papal States in what today is Italy. The majority of the Jesuits in the Provincia de Nueva España (Mexico, Cuba, Guatemala) were natives of the Americas who had joined the Society of Jesus. However, the Jesuit leadership chose to staff the newer missions on the northern frontier with Europeans, including members from countries other than Spain. A 1775 report summarized the outcome of the expulsion process, and the place of residence of the surviving expelled Jesuits (see Table 1). The report noted that 16 Jesuits from the Provincia de Nueva España were still being held in Spain as if they were "Enemies of the State," although the number appears to have been higher.<sup>1</sup> Most spent the rest of their lives in Spain, and died there. This study examines the fate of the ex-missionaries held in Spain.

The timing of the expulsion is important for understanding the decision made to hold a number of the Jesuits from the frontier missions in Spain as if they were "enemies of the state." Five years earlier, in 1762, British amphibious operations resulted in the capture of Havana in Cuba and Manila in the Philippines. This defeat

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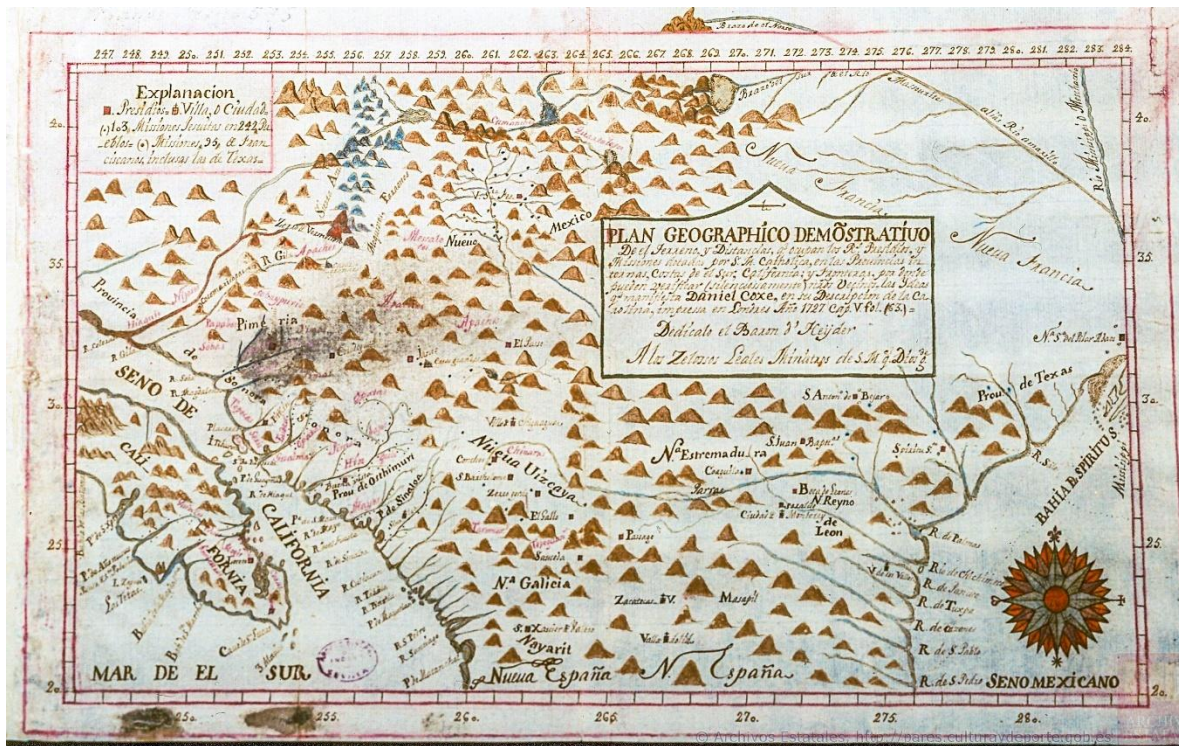
<sup>1</sup> Juan Antonio Archimbaud y Solano, 31 de octubre de 1775, Estado general en que se demuestra el número y clase de regulares de la extinguida religión de la Compañía [de Jesús] que existían en España cuando se les intimó el Real Decreto de expulsión: los que han llegado de los reinos de la 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.

during the Seven Years War (1755-1763) increased a growing paranoia of growing British military might, and particularly of a perceived threat to Spanish territories in the Americas. The Crown responded by implementing military reform. However, the Visitador-General José de Gálvez y Gallardo, who oversaw the expulsion order in Mexico, also moved to occupy California, which was a strategic territory beyond the Spanish frontier, before the English or Russians did (Jackson, 2022; Astorgano Abajo, 2021).<sup>2</sup> Gálvez feared that Spain's rivals would occupy territory beyond the frontier to serve as a base of operations for an invasion of Nueva España. The Jesuits who staffed the northernmost missions in Sonora, for example, had unique information regarding a sparsely populated frontier region with valuable mines (see Figure 1). Because of their knowledge, royal officials decided to hold them in Spain indefinitely. Those held included natives of Mexico and Spain, but also non-Spanish Europeans from the Asistencia of Germany.

The analysis of the fate of the Jesuit missionaries assigned to the northern frontier missions is based on a prosopographic reconstruction, or collective biography. It is based on four sources. One is a 1769 list of the Jesuits in the Americas who embarked on ships for exile in Europe (Uburu de Toro, June 30, 1769). It is not a complete list of all of the Jesuits in the Americas at the time of the expulsion. Some died in the Americas before reaching the ships, and others were sent in a different manner and reached Spain later. This was the case of the missionaries stationed on the Maynas missions in the Amazon region. Royal officials had them sent first to Portugal down the Amazon River, and then on to Spain. The second is a detailed 1775 report that summarized the outcome of the expulsion process, and the amount of a pension paid to the expelled Jesuits (Archimbaud y Solano, October 31, 1775 1775). The third is a detailed account of what happened to the Jesuits in the Provincia de Nueva España following the expulsion started by the Veracruz native Rafale Zelis, S.J., and continued following his death (Zelis, Mexico City, 1871). A modern source, the *Diccionario Bio-Biográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México* (Zambrano, Mexico City, 1961-1977) provides additional information on the Jesuits in Mexico.

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<sup>2</sup> On the context of the Bourbon reforms on the northern frontier of Nueva España see Robert H. Jackson, *The Bourbon Reforms and the remaking of Spanish Frontier Missions* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2022). Antonio Astorgano Abajo, "La reclusión perpetua de los misioneros Jesuitas expulsos mexicanos en conventos Extremeños (1775-1786)," *Montalbán* 58 (julio-diciembre, 2021), 201-318, examined the case study of several of the Jesuit missionaries held in Extremadura, and also suggested the fear that they would potentially provide information to the English if allowed to go to Italy.



**Figure 1:** A 1727 map showing the Jesuit missions on the northern frontier. Archivo General de las Indias, Sevilla, Spain.

To provide context for the treatment of the missionaries stationed on the northern frontier missions, a comparison is made with the post-expulsion experiences of the missionaries stationed on the missions among the Guaraní in the Rio de la Plata region of South America. The 1769 list (Uburu de Toro, June 30, 1769) contains the names of 78 of the missionaries who had been stationed on the missions. Information on their place of origin and place of death is abstracted from another modern source, the *Catálogo de los Jesuitas de la Provincia de Paraguay (Cuenca Del Plata) 1585-1768* (Storni, Rome, 1980). The analysis of this group of missionaries shows a very different pattern from that of those on the northern frontier of Mexico.

The number of missions the Jesuits administered on the northern frontier of Mexico had already been reduced a decade before the expulsion order as a result of an initiative by royal officials to secularize older doctrinas and missions, and to transfer them to episcopal authority. Reform-minded ministers including the marqués de la Ensenada (War, Treasury, Naval and the Indies) and José de Carvajal y Lancáster (State) moved to replace the regular clergy that administered the doctrinas with secular clergy when they became vacant. On October 4, 1749, King Ferdinand VI issued a royal decree on secularization in the Archbishopsrics of Peru, México City, and Bogota in modern Colombia. Four years later, on February 1, 1753, a second decree extended the secularization to all of Spanish America (Kuethe and Andrien, 2018, 185-188, 194).

The decrees primarily targeted doctrinas first established in the sixteenth century, and not most frontier missions. The administration of doctrinas by members of regular orders began as a temporary expedient in the period immediately following the Spanish conquest, but in some instances continued for more than two centuries even with a growth in the number of secular-clergy. The missionary orders tried to counter the secularization decrees by writing missives, challenging implementation in the royal bureaucracy such as the Council of the Indies, and outright obstruction such as naming “interim” priests so that parishes would not go vacant. A decree of June 23, 1757, allowed the missionary orders to continue to administer some of the wealthier parishes. By that date the key architects of the secularization policy had either died or had fallen from power as was the case of Ensenada (Kuethe and Andrien, 2018, 195). Nevertheless, the process of secularization went forward.

The 1749 decree resulted in the secularization of older Jesuit missions in Nueva Vizcaya that dated to the early seventeenth century. The Jesuits themselves had already initiated a proposal in 1745 to pass a number of older missions to the authority of the Bishop of Durango in order to be able to assign more personnel to the expanding California mission frontier (Deeds, 2003, 155-157) (see Figure 2). Following the issue of the 1749 royal decree ordering secularization, royal officials moved forward with the transfer of the older Jesuit administered missions in Tepehuana and the Tarahumara Bajo to episcopal authority. The process did not always go smoothly, and some indigenous-folk protested the change. However, the Jesuits began the process of surrendering the missions in August of 1753, and the process had concluded by May of the following year (Deeds, 2003, 172-177).

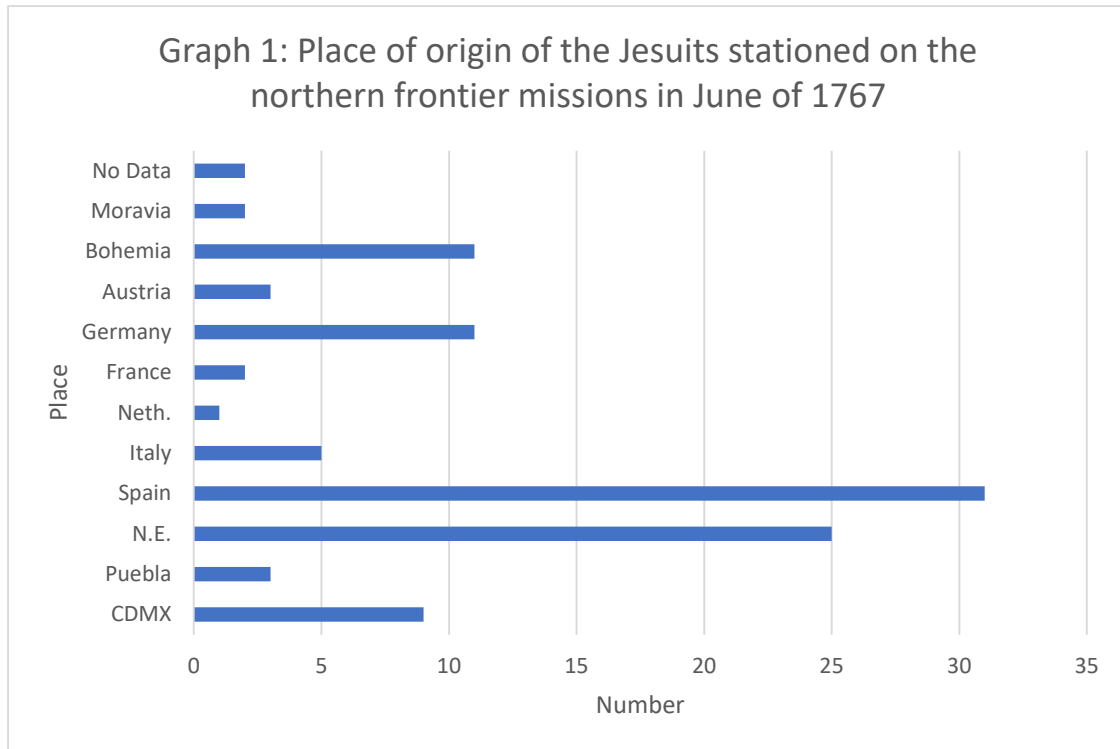
### **The Profile of the Missionaries on the northern frontier of Nueva España**

At the time of the expulsion the majority of the Jesuits in the Provincia de Nueva España were American-born, and most were natives of what today is Mexico. The profile of the Jesuits assigned to frontier missions in northern New Spain, however, was quite different. As seen in the cases of Chinipas that included Tepehuanes and Raramuri, Sonora and California. Unlike the urban institutions where Americans predominated, the Jesuits assigned to these missions were mostly Europeans. The Nayarit and Sinaloa missions were the exception. In the case of Nayarit four Jesuits were natives of Nueva España, but two were from Spain and one from France. 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 Germánica. 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 (see Tables 2-4). 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.



**Figure 2:** A c. 1758 map of the Jesuit missions in Sinaloa and Sonora, and the missions of Nueva Vizcaya and Topia transferred to episcopal authority. Mapoteca Orozco y Berra, Mexico City.



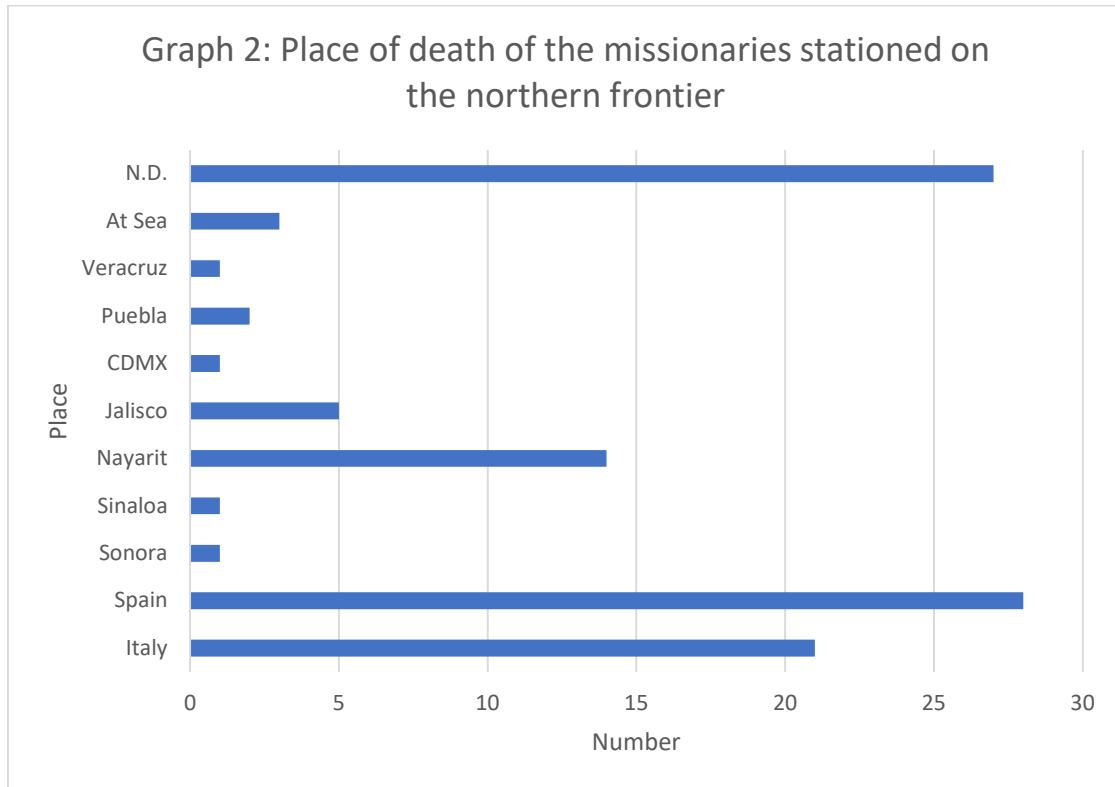
Following the expulsion most of the Jesuits who survived the process of expulsion lived in Italy. Twelve missionaries died in Mexico in transit to exile, including ten who died in Ixtlan (Nayarit). The pattern of deaths there suggests that they arrived during an epidemic. Another died at sea. Some were 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 Jose 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, Jose 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. 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 (see Table 2, Table 5). This supports the hypothesis that royal officials considered them to be security risks.



**Figure 3:** A 1757 map of the Pimeria Alta missions in northern Sonora. Archivo General de las Indias, Sevilla, Spain.

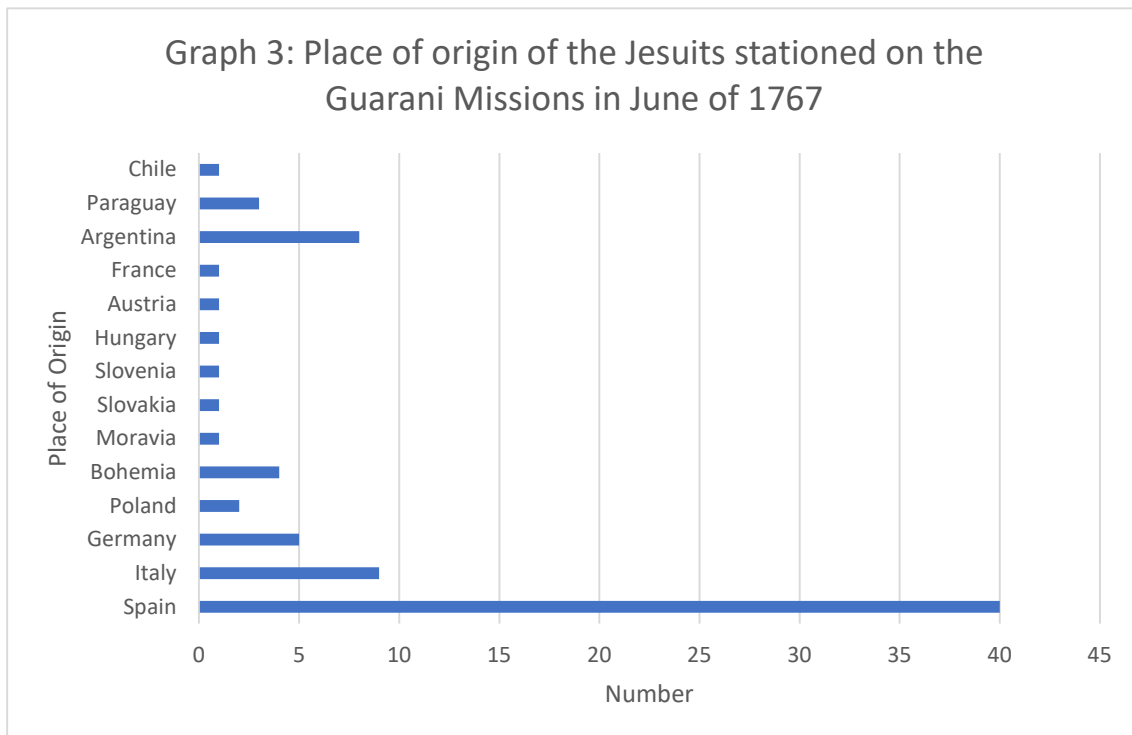


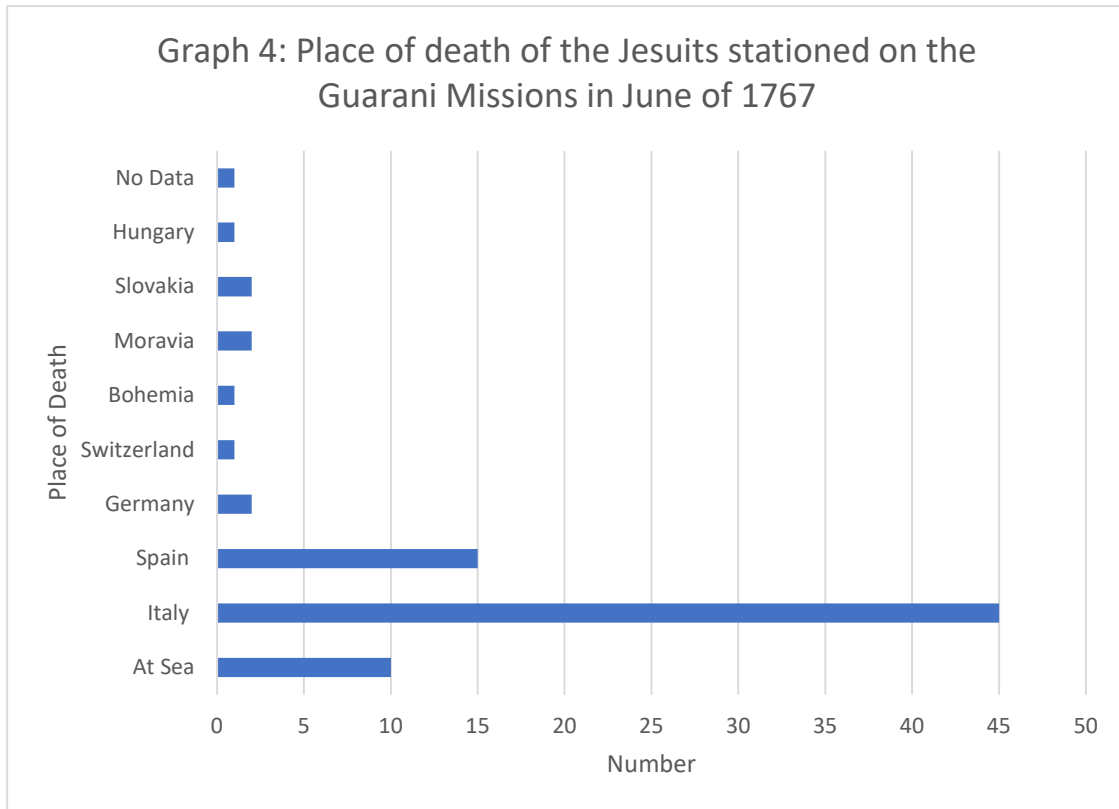


The record shows that 12 of the missionaries who had been stationed on the Sinaloa missions also were held in or returned later to Spain, and died there. They were a mix of American-born and European-born. Of those who died in Spain, eight were natives of Mexico, three from Spain, and one non-Spanish European. The Mexico City native José Garfias, for example, who was the rector of the colegio in Sinaloa. He died in Spain in 1779. The Austrian George Fraidenege and the Tlapujahua (Michoacán) native Juan Acuña were held in the Puerto de Santa Maria, and died there in April of 1775 and January of 1774 respectively. Fraidenege obviously was not allowed to return to his province as did other non-Spanish European-born missionaries. Juan Salgado from Copala in Sonora was also held in Spain, and died there in 1781.

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 Jose 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.

How does this pattern of Jesuit missionaries having been classified as “enemies of the state” compare with the fate of other Jesuits assigned to frontier missions? An analysis of the data on the 78 Jesuits stationed on the Guaraní missions from a 1769 list of Jesuits who embarked on ships in the Americas in route to Europe documents a very different pattern of treatment for another group of missionaries. The majority of the missionaries were from Europe from Spain the provinces in the Asistencia of Germany, and the American-born were only a small minority 12. Of this group of missionaries, 15 died in Spain. One died in Cádiz Bay and eleven in the Puerto de Santa María waiting for transport to Italy. The 1775 report does not list any of the missionaries as being held in Spain. Nine returned to their province in the German Asistencia, and 45 reached exile in Italy and died there. Ten died at sea when the ship that transported them sank (see Tables 7-9, Graphs 3-4). This group of missionaries was not considered to be a security threat.





## Conclusions

Following the Spanish defeat in the Seven Years War (1755-1763), royal officials were increasingly apprehensive of the threat to its American territories by Spain's European rivals, and particularly the English. One immediate response was the formation for the first time of an army in Spanish America to defend against a potential invasion. The Visitador-General José de Gálvez y Gallardo, who also oversaw the expulsion of the Jesuits in Mexico, organized the occupation of California in 1769. California was a strategic region beyond the frontier that the Spanish had explored, but had not occupied. Gálvez ordered its immediate occupation in response to a perceived threat of its occupation by the Russians or the English. It was this atmosphere of paranoia that dictated decisions regarding the exile of Jesuits who had been assigned to missions on the north Mexican frontier.

The majority of the Jesuits went into exile in the Papal States in Italy. However, royal officials had a group of the missionaries who had been stationed on missions on the frontier of Mexico held in Spain, where most eventually died. They had detailed information regarding the northern frontier that royal officials feared would have been shared with Spain's enemies had they been allowed to go into exile. The group of Jesuits held in Spain were natives of Spain and Mexico, but also non-Spanish Europeans from provinces in the German Asistencia. The production of texts on the Americas

written by exiled Jesuits following the expulsion shows that there was a potential for the dissemination of sensitive information.

The decision to hold the missionaries in Spain was unique in the process of the expulsion of the members of the Society of Jesus. An analysis of the treatment of the Jesuits stationed on the missions among the Guaraní in South America shows a very different pattern. The majority of the missionaries were European-born from Spain, but also from other European regions such as the provinces in the German Asistencia. Those who survived the trip to Europe went into exile in Italy. A number returned to their provinces in what today is Germany, the Czech Republic, and neighboring countries. They were not considered to be a security threat.

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

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

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

**Table 2:** Jesuit Missionaries on selected Missions in northern Nueva España

Name	Mission	Information Birth		Death Information	
		Place	Date	Place	Date
Nayarit Missions					
Antonio Polo @@@	Santa Rita	Cerdeña (Sardinia, Italy)	March 3, 1721	N.D.	

Bartolomé Wolff @@	Santa Teresa	Aix de Chapelle (France)	January 26, 1711	Pto S María	August 27, 1768
Ignacio Gómez@@@	Iscatan	Lagos (Jalisco)	June 4, 1730	Bolonia (It)	February 28, 1791
Lorenzo Cabo@@@@	Jesús María	Guadalajara (Jal)	August 10, 1735	Mexico City	March 9, 1803
Andrés Cabo@@@	S Trinidad	Guadalajara (Jal)	February 13, 1739	Rome (It)	October 23, 1803
Pedro Oliveros@@@	Guainamota	Calatrava (Spain)	April 8, 1732	Rome (It)	October 29, 1810
Ignacio Zamorano@@@	Rosario	Tepotzotlan (E M)	January 9, 1739	Bolonia (It)	July 4, 1786
Sonora Missions					
Juan Nentuig@@@	Guasavas	Glatz (Bohemia)	March 28, 1713	Iztlan (Nay)	September 11, 1768
Nicolas Perera@@@@	Aconchi	Zacatlán (Puebla)	September 23, 1696	Iztlan (Nay)	August 29, 1768
Jacobo Sedelmayer @*	Matape	Baveria (Ger)	January 6, 1703	Spain	February 12, 1779
José Garrucho @*	Oposura	Cerdeña (Sardinia, Italy)	March 27, 1712	Lubiana (Sp)	November 30, 1785
Bernardo Middendorf @	Movas	Westphalia (Ger)	February 14, 1723	N.D.	
Francisco Paver @	Caborica	Brunn (Austria)	January 6, 1721	Pto S María	January 1, 1770
Carlos Rojas @*	Arispe	Mexico City	November 4, 1702	Pto S María	January 3, 1773
José Roldan @	Aribechi	Antequera (Oax)	February 10, 1705	Pto S María	September 21, 1770
Alejandro Rapicani@@@	Batuco	Bremen (Ger)	November 3, 1702	Iztlan (Ny)	August 31, 1768
Enrique Kurtzel@@@@	Onavas	Wangia (Germany)	December 10, 1722	Ahuacatlan	August 31, 1768

Ignacio Pfeffercorn @	Cucurpe	Mangen (Ger)	July 31, 1725	N.D.	
Benito Romeo @	Cumuripa	Corella (Spain)	October 31, 1728	N.D.	
Bartolomé Sáenz@@@@	Saguaripa	Salvatierra (Spain)	August 24, 1714	Tequila (Jal)	November 16, 1768
Diego Barrera @*	Soamca	Puebla (Puebla)	July 28, 1726	Spain	March 2, 1782
Luis Vivas @	Tubutama	Noguerela (Spain)	August 29, 1720	N.D.	
Miguel Almela @*	Opodepe	Segorbe (Spain)	February 5, 1729	Villaloo (Sp)	June 23, 1792
Alfonso Espinosa @*	Bac	Islas Canarias (Sp)	February 1, 1720	Yuste (Sp)	September 21, 1786
Miguel Getzner @	Saric	Wurzberg (Ger)	March 17, 1723	N.D.	
Javier Gonzalez@@@@	Tecoripa	Zardon (Spain)	May 9, 1718	Bolonia (It)	November 22, 1785
Andrés Michel@@	Ures	Liberschiso (Boh)	June 21, 1732	N.D.	
Custodio Ximeno @	Caborca	Valdelinares (Sp)	May 1, 1734	N.D.	
Pio Laguna@@@@	Baceraca	Chiapa (Chiapas)	May 16, 1734	Iztlan (Ny)	September 4, 1768
Javier Pascua@@@@	Babispe	Antequera (Oax)	April 14, 1732	Iztlan	September 4, 1768
José Liebana@@@@	Bacadeguatzi	Grasalema (Spain)	Nov. 21, 1737	Iztlan (Ny)	October 7, 1768
Manuel Aguirre	Bacadeguatzi	Hablitas (Sp)	May 14, 1715	Magdalena	September 25, 1768
José Neve @*	Cuquiarachi	Calpulalpan (Tlax)	June 10, 1739	Pto S María	October 24, 1773
Pedro Diez@@@@	Guebabi	Mexico City	February 12, 1738	Iztlan (Ny)	September 14, 1768
Antonio Castro @	Onapa	Montilla (Spain)	August 28, 1738	Spain	June 1798

Francisco Villarroya@@@ @	Banamichi	Villarroya (Spain)	Nov. 20, 1734	Iztlan (Ny)	September 1, 1768
Ramon Sánchez@@@ @	Guasavas	Pamplona (Spain)	October 19, 1736	Mochitilti	November 4, 1768
Chinipas Missions					
Pedro Pablo Macida@@@ @	Guasarapes	Cerdeña (Sardinia, Italy)	January 25, 1703	Puebla (Pue)	August 30, 1768
Manuel Kleber Rector**	Santa Ana	N.D.			
José Watzek@@@@	Yecora	Sadeck (Moravia)	December 21, 1721	N.D.	
Juan Steb@@	Moris	Iglavia (Bohemia)	August 29, 1735	N.D.	
Francisco Slesac@@	Barbaroco	Podivino (Boh)	Sept. 30, 1728	N.D.	
Juan Cubedo@@	Santa Ines	Cerdeña (Sardinia, Italy)	March 3, 1703	N.D.	
Nicolas Sachi@@@	Cerocahui	Naples (Italy)	July 4, 1703	Bolonia (It)	May 12, 1774
José Felix Sebastian@@@	Tubares	Barrameda (Spain)	December 27, 1736	Bolonia (It)	June 29, 1815
Wenceslao Holub@@	Satebo	N.D.			
Javier Weis@@	Baburigame	Ingolstadt (Germany)	February 22, 1710	N.D.	
Blas Miner@@@	Nabogame	Tolosa (Spain)	February 3, 1734	Rome (It)	May 8, 1788
Luis Martin@@@	San Andrés	Parral (Chihuahua)	August 25, 1729	Bolonia	March 26, 1779
California Missions					
Lamberto Hostell@@	Dolores	Monasterio (Ger)	October 18, 1736	N.D.	
Miguel del Barco@@@	S F Xavier	Casas de Millan (Sp)	Nov. 13, 1706	Bolonia (It)	October 29, 1790

Benno Ducrue@@	Guadalupe	Monaco (Boh)	June 10, 1721	Bolonia (It)	1781
Santiago Baegert@@	S L Gonzaga	Schlestadt (Ger)	December 22, 1717	N.D.	
Javier Bischoff@@	Santa Rosa	Prague (Bohemia)	November 1, 1710	N.D.	
Ignacio Tirs@@	Santiago	Cometzer (Boh)	July 2, 1733	N.D.	
Francisco Inaama@@	Comondu	Vienna (Austria)	May 4, 1719	N.D.	
Juan Diez@@@	La Purisima	Mexico City	October 17, 1735	Ferrara (It)	November 5, 1809
Francisco Escalante*	Mulege	Jaen (Spain)	Nov. 20, 1724	Jaen (Spain)	June 24, 1806
José Rotea@@@	San Ignacio	Mexico City	February 23, 1732	Bolonia (It)	October 13, 1799
Jorge Retz@@	S Gertrudis	Coblenza (Ger)	April 28, 1717	N.D.	
Wenceslao Linck@@	S F Borja	Nider (Bohemia)	March 29, 1736	N.D.	
Victoriano Arnes@@@	Santa María	Grauz (Spain)	September 4, 1736	Rome (It)	June 8, 1788
Lucas Ventura@@@	Loreto	Zaragoza (Spain)	May 2, 1727	Bolonia (It)	December 9, 1793
Javier Franco@@@	Loreto	Agreda (Spain)	October 2, 1738	Bolonia (It)	January 10, 1807
H Juan Villavieja*	Loreto	Villa de Soto (Sp)	June 22, 1736	Cádiz (Sp)	October 5, 1816

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*



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**Table 3:** Jesuit missionaries in Sinaloa in June of 1767

Name	Mission	Information Birth		Death Information	
		Place	Date	Place	Date
Colegio Sinaloa					
José Garfias @*		Mexico City	July 17, 1709	Spain	January 1779
Sinaloa Missions					
Juan Salgado@*	Viribis	Copala (Son)	August 10, 1710	Spain	1781
José Ronderos@@@	Caamoá	Puebla (Pue)	October 15, 1717	Iztlan (Ny)	September 4, 1768
Francisco Hlava@@@@	Mocorito	Prague (Boh)	January 1, 1725	Iztlan (Ny)	September 7, 1768
Ignacio González@@@	Nio	Tepeaca (Pue)	Sept. 9, 1717	Sinaloa (Sin)	September 7, 1767
José Palomino@@@ @	Guasave	Veracruz (Vz)	October 20, 1705	Guaymas (Son)	November 13, 1768
José Cedano@*	Chicorato	Magdalena (Sp)	June 21, 1727	Valparaiso (Sp)	May 4, 1787
Antonio Ventura@*	Mochicav e	Cádiz (Spain)	February 3, 1727	Spain	1806
Sebastián Cava@@@@	Vacca	Cotanes (Sp)	October 19, 1732	Ahuacatlan (Jal)	August 31, 1768
Juan Acuña@*	Toro	Tlapujahua (Mich)	May 5, 1731	Pto S María (S)	January 23, 1774
Lorenzo García@*	Torin	Mexico City	August 10, 1713	Spain	June 25, 1776
Julián Salazar@*	Bachun	Tabasco	January 31, 1728	Zeca (Spain)	August 13, 1790
Juan Blanco@*	Rahun	Mexico City	March 30, 1730	León (Spain)	November 6, 1790
George Fraidenegg@*	Santa Cruz	Grantz (Austria)	April 12, 1727	Pto S María (S)	April 1, 1775

Francisco Ita@*	Batacosa	Puebla (Puebla)	Sept. 6, 1731	Spain	February 10, 1782
Vicente Rubio@*	Conicari	Calatayud (Spain)	March 5, 1737	Spain	December 27, 1778
Lucas Merino@@@	Nabajoa	Ascaray (Spain)	October 23, 1712	Iztlan (Ny)	September 2, 1768
Francisco J Anaya@*	Tehueco	Jiquilpan (Mich)	June 8, 1709	Spain	1783
Maximiliano Le Roi@@@@	Belen	Cambray (France)	April 18, 1716	Mochitiltli (Jal)	September 2, 1768
Miguel Fernández Somera@@@@	Ocoroni	Tlapujahua (Mich)	March 15, 1702	Iztlan (Ny)	September 1, 1768
Fernando Berra@@@@	Bacubinito	Guanajuato (Gto)	January 4, 1736	Magdalena (Jal)	September 28, 1768

@-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, 1961-1977), vols. 15-16.

**Table 4:** Jesuit Missionaries in the Tarahumara Missions in June of 1767

Name	Mission	Information Birth		Death Information	
		Place	Date	Place	Date
Bartolomé Braun **	Temotzachi	Montebura (Ger)	June 27, 1718	At sea	December 5, 1767
Felipe Ruanova @@@	Matachio	Veracruz (Vz)	May 9, 1716	Bolonia (Italy)	May 16, 1779

Rafael Palacios @*	Santo Tomas	Huejotzingo (Pu)	August 5, 1733	Barcelona (Spain)	June 23, 1801
José Vega @@@	Papigocnic	Mexico City	February 18, 1726	Tamara (Italy)	June 10, 1797
Manuel Vivaneo @@@@	Papigocnic	Acajete (Puebla)	May 30, 1693	Puebla (Puebla)	September 3, 1771
Juan Nortier @@	Tutuaca	Flesinga (Neth)	February 22, 1726	N.D.	
Juan Manuel González **	Tomachi	Compostela (Spain)	August 28, 1734	At sea	December 3, 1767
Ildefonso Corro @@@@	Sisoguichi	Córdoba (Vz)	April 22, 1732	Veracruz (Vz)	November 15, 1767
Luis Yañez @@@	Cakichi	Querétaro (Qro)	October 7, 1719	Bolonia (Italy)	May 29, 1779
Juan Francisco Huga @@@	Cakichi	San Sebastian (Sp)	May 5, 1716	N.D.	
Mateo Steffel @@	San Francisco de Borja	Iglavia (Bohemia)	September 29, 1734	N.D.	
Francisco Vadillo @@@	Coyeachic	Palencia (Spain)	October 12, 1719	N.D.	
Antonio Hiilt @@	Temeaichi	Pomeistl (Boh)	June 1, 1732	N.D.	
Antonio Sterkianowski @@	Norogachi	Moravia	January 12, 1728	N.D.	
Pedro Cuervo *	Nonoava	Mexico City	March 15, 1735	Cádiz (Spain)	September 5, 1800
Santiago Mateu @@@	Tonachi	Lerida (Spain)	October 3, 1734	Rome (Italy)	March 15, 1790
Claudio González @@@	Chinarras	Aguascalientes	July 6, 1736	Bolonia (Italy)	October 17, 1787

José Iranzo **	Gueguechic	Pitargue (Spain)	July 12, 1734	At sea	December 2, 1767
Cosme Diaz *	Nararaehi	Aguascaliente s	Septembe r 27, 1735	Valencia (Spain)	1816

@-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, 1961-1977), vols. 15-16.

**Table 5:** 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, 1961-1977), vols. 15-16.

**Table 6:** 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

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, 1961-1977), vols. 15-16.

**Table 7:** Jesuits stationed on the missions among the Guarani in June of 1767

Name	Birth		Death	
	Place	Date	Place	Date
Juan Gilge	Leobschultz (Poland)	August 20, 1717	Troppau (Moravia)	1790
Felix Urbina	Madrid (Spain)	October 12, 1703	Faenza (Italy)	November 21, 1777
Jayme Passino	Bosa (Italy)	September 14, 1699	Cagliari (Italy)	1772
Pedro Sanna	Cagliari (Italy)	May 2, 1700	Faenza (Italy)	September 2, 1775
Alejandro Villaviejo	Madrid (Spain)	February 26, 1689	Bologna (Italy)	January 19, 1773
Manuel Vergara	Jarandilla (Spain)	October 6, 1711	Puerto de Santa Maria	May 15, 1770
José Rivarola	Santa Fe (Argentina)	April 5, 1696	Ravenna (Italy)	August 27, 1775
Jayme Mascaro	Palma (Spain)	August 14, 1717	Faenza (Italy)	April 17, 1774
Pedro Rojas	Asunción (Paraguay)	November 2, 1732	Bologna (Italy)	March 1, 1772

Andres Bothelre	Elwangen (Germany)	October 27, 1706	Dillingen (Germany)	July 15, 1774
Juan Dias	Asunción (Paraguay)	April 12, 1722	Faenza (Italy)	December 23, 1797
Miguel Soto	Madrid (Spain)	May 8, 1718	Brisigella (Italy)	January 28, 1796
Santos Simoni	Italy	April 28, 1716	No Data	
Miguel Crespo Lopez	Argente (Spain)	March 2, 1706	Ravenna (Italy)	November 1780
Ruperto Dalhamer	Laufen (Germany)	September 22, 1710	Lucerne (Switzerland)	October 15, 1780
Salvador Conde	Granada (Spain)	December 25, 1697	Faenza (Italy)	April 30, 1774
Francisco Sama	Oviedo (Spain)	May 25, 1715	Faenza (Italy)	September 2, 1775
Wenceslao Horsky	Konigaratz (Boh)	September 23, 1723	Prague (Bohemia)	1791
Blas Gorria	Teruel (Spain)	February 3, 1729	Santa Cruz de Noguerras (Spain)	November 19, 1799
Sebastian Toledano	Segovia (Spain)	January 15, 1688	At Sea	December 21, 1768
Antonio Planes	Palma (Spain)	November 2, 1713	At Sea	February 20, 1769
Tadeo Enis	Ekanitz (Bohemia)	July 29, 1714	Puerto Santa Maria	After April 6, 1769
Matias Strobl	Austria	February 18, 1696	Puerto Santa Maria	September 30, 1769
Francisco Linp	Ovar (Hungary)	December 3, 1696	Puerto Santa Maria	1769
Francisco Leoni	Florence (Italy)	March 27, 1697	Puerto Santa Maria	After April 6, 1769
Manuel Bertodano	Cartagena (Spain)	April 18, 1740	Bologna (Italy)	April 1781
Phelis Blanic	Prades (France)	October 18, 1723	Faenza (Italy)	November 1781
Salvador Quintana	Gerona (Spain)	April 15, 1704	Puerto de Santa Maria	October 1769
Carlos Perez	Mora (Spain)	April 10, 1715	Ravenna (Italy)	May 21, 1771

Jayme Oliver	Palma (Spain)	October 10, 1733	Rome (Italy)	July 26, 1813
Domingo Perfetti	Rome (Italy)	August 3, 1725	Sezze (Italy)	1773
Pedro Viedma	Bedmar (Spain)	June 11, 1718	Ravena (Italy)	August 27, 1775
José Fleischhauer	Olmütz (Moravia)	March 21, 1718	Olmütz (Moravia)	1781
Segismundo Baur	Weissingen (Ger)	January 4, 1719	Dillingen (Germany)	June 2, 1780
Ignacio Españaque	Zaragosa (Spain)	April 27, 1731	Faenza (Italy)	December 5, 1796
Jayme Carreras	Barcelona (Spain)	August 18, 1737	Barcelona (Spain)	August 23, 1806
José Cardiel	Avila (Spain)	March 18, 1704	Faenza (Italy)	December 7, 1781
Antonio Basualdo	Corrientes (Ar)	Augusto 20, 1738	Pesaro (Italy)	August 14, 1779
José Grimau	Barcelona (Spain)	March 24, 1718	Faenza (Italy)	July 21, 1776
Juan de la Cruz Montealegre	Buendia (Spain)	May 18, 1739	Faenza (Italy)	January 27, 1810
Estevan Fina	Olat (Spain)	August 23, 1708	At Sea	February 11, 1769
Lorenzo Balda	Pamplona (Spain)	July 6, 1704	At Sea	March 8, 1769
Adolfo Skal	Silesia (Poland)	June 26, 1717	At Sea	March 19, 1769
Juan Tomas	Mallorca (Spain)	October 25, 1711	At Sea	April 11, 1769
Juan Rivera	Toro (Spain)	June 26, 1717	At Sea	April 11, 1769
Manuel Bojer	Ripoll (Italy)	December 25, 1710	At Sea	April 5, 1769
Pedro Danesi	Babuco (Italy)	December 18, 1719	At Sea	April 6, 1769
Carlos Tux	Peterswald (Boh)	August 13, 1700	Cadiz Bay	1769
Pedro Kornmayr	Dillingen (Germany)	June 29, 1691	At Sea	March 16, 1769



Ignacio Allende	Mendoza (Argentina)	July 31, 1714	Imola (Italy)	October 30, 1787
Agustin Vilert	Gerona (Spain)	October 8, 1721	Puerto de Santa Maria	September 10, 1769
Tomas Arnau	Valencia (Spain)	December 23, 1704	Puerto de Santa Maria	1769
Antonio Calderon	Barraco (Spain)	May 4, 1715	Puerto de Santa Maria	March 1769
Miiguel Amengual	Inca (Mallorca, Sp)	May 12, 1716	Puerto de Santa Maria	1769
Norberto Ziulak	Iglou (Bohemia)	July 24, 1716	Puerta de Santa Maria	1769
Ramon Toledo	La Rioja (Argentina)	November 21, 1706	Faneza (Italy)	September 9, 1780
Juan Valdevieso	Ubeda (Spain)	April 26, 1695	Faenza (Italy)	January 30, 1771
Juan Salis	Sassari (Italy)	October 22, 1723	Ozieri (Italy)	1772
Rafael Campamar	Pollensa (Spain)	June 26, 1721	Faenza (Italy)	April 26, 1789
Bartolome Piza	Palma (Spain)	February 24, 1710	Faenza (Italy)	April 12, 1789
Sigismundo Griera	Barcelona (Spain)	September 6, 1723	Faenza (Italy)	December 3, 1789
Francisco Echague	Santa Fe (Argentina)	July 28, 1721	Rome (Italy)	May 12, 1799
Juan Fabrer	Mallorca (Spain)	May 1, 1724	Ravenna (Italy)	January 3, 1808
Isidro Rojas	Asunción (Paraguay)	June 28, 1730	Ravenna (Italy)	February 28, 1774
Miguel Marimon	Montuiri (Spain)	March 2, 1710	Faenza (Italy)	April 9, 1775
Antonio Pedrogomez	Arroyo de Cuellar (Spain)	May 10, 1732	Faenza (Italy)	March 10, 1785
Felipe Arias	Madrid (Spain)	May 1, 1705	Ravenna (Italy)	March 17, 1776
Nicolas Cibantos	Granada (Spain)	August 16, 1726	Genoa (Italy)	1777

Miguel Morales	Pica (Chile)	May 8, 1705	Ravena (Italy)	March 8, 1782
Juan Aguirre	Salta (Argentina)	April 13, 1710	Ravena (Italy)	October 17, 1770
Felipe Forder	Kosice (Germany)	May 13, 1713	Eperies (Slovakia)	1773
Juan Ibarguren	Salta (Argentina)	August 7, 1715	Rome (Italy)	October 15, 1777
Bernardo Pifferetti	Pavia (Italy)	November 25, 1722	Cremona (Italy)	1773
José Umeres	Santa Fe (Argentina)	July 31, 1725	Ravena (Italy)	July 17, 1797
Cosme de la Cuevas	Lastres (Spain)	December 31, 1725	Oviedo (Spain)	1801
Ignacio Cierhaimb	Slovenia	July 29, 1703	Alba Real (Hungary)	1773
Pedro Zavaletta	Legazpia (Spain)	January 13, 1720	Massa-Carrara (Italy)	March 18, 1782
Francisco Szerdahelyi	Szalok (Slovakia)	February 24, 1717	Zilina (Slovakia)	1773

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., *Catalogo de los Jesuitas de la Provincia de Paraguay (Cuenca Del Plata) 1585-1768* (Rome: INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM S. I., 1980).

**Table 8:** Place of origin of the Jesuits on the missions among the Guaraní in June of 1767

Place of Origin	Number	Place of Origin	Number
Spain	40	Slovenia	1
Italy	9	Hungary	1
Germany	5	Austria	1
Poland	2	France	1
Bohemia	4	Argentina	8

Moravia	1	Paraguay	3
Slovakia	1	Chile	1

Source: Table 6.

**Table 9:** Place of death of the Jesuits on the missions among the Guaraní in June of 1767

Place of Death	Number	Place of Death	Number
At Sea	10	Bohemia	1
Italy	45	Moravia	2
Spain	15	Slovakia	2
Germany	2	Hungary	1
Switzerland	1	No Data	1

Source: Table 6.

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