

## ***Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam: The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Chile and their Journey into Exile.***

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### **Abstract**

The Societatis Iesu (The Society of Jesus) was founded ca. 1534 by Spaniard knight turned priest Ignacio de Loyola with the sole purpose of defending the Catholic faith against the Protestant reformations in Europe. In the first two centuries of their existence, the Jesuits quickly gained a degree of authority in European kingdoms, instituting educational programs and advising the kings and queens of Europe's most important empires. The Jesuits first reached Santiago de Chile on April 11, 1593, establishing their first mission house shortly after their arrival. For two centuries, the Jesuits established themselves, creating a bond with both the indigenous and Creole communities. But the Jesuits' long presence in the Chilean province was interrupted during the last part of the eighteenth century, time in which they were expelled from the colony by the order of Charles III, king of Spain. Using sources found on archives in Spain, Italy and Chile, this work analyzes the experience of the exiled Jesuits from Chile in 1767 and the different hardships they encountered during and after their removal. It also addresses the reactions of the government officials, the community and the religious authorities in the colony. Finally, the research exposes the maltreatments of the Jesuits in exile, as well as the consequences the royal resolution brought to Chile and its people.

**Keywords: Jesuits, Expulsion, and Chile.**

### **1. Body of Paper**

During the eighteenth century, an ideological movement, the Enlightenment, arose in England and France and slowly took over the rest of Western Europe. Followers of this new philosophical thought called for social and political reforms and sought to separate Church and State by centralizing the political power in secular hands. Many Spanish officials, influenced by the enlightenment thought, fabricated a plot to get the Jesuits out of the Spanish domains. Their manipulative tactics ultimately persuaded the Spanish King to sign a declaration in which the members of the Order of Jesus were to be removed from all his territories. The expulsion of the Jesuits from Chile was the result of the resolution dictated by King Charles III of Spain on March 1, 1767. In an effort to avoid uproar from the people, the seizures of the Jesuit colleges, schools, mission homes and residences were carried out in the most secretive and calculated way. For their part, the priests of the Company assumed their fate and obeyed the royal decree with little complaint, by accepting the resolution as a sacrificial service to God, their King and the Pope, thus complying with the dogma of the order.

The settlement of the first missionary home in Chile owed its success to the leader of the mission, Father Baltazar de Piñas, one of Ignatius' companions. The first Jesuit mission arrived in Chile at the port of Coquimbo on March 19, 1593 and subsequently to Santiago on April 11 of the same year.<sup>1</sup> The expedition consisted of a group of eight priests: Fr. Baltasar De Piñas (the superior), Fr. Luis Estella, Fr. Luis de Valdivia, Gabriel Vega, two Chilean native Frs. Hernando

de Aguilera and Juan Olivares, and two Brothers, Miguel Teleña and Fabián Martínez.<sup>2</sup> The mission was led by Fr. Baltasar who was “born in Spain in 1523 [who] received his Jesuit soutane from the hands of Saint Ignatius [and] was his inseparable friend and participated in many of the works that the founder endured during the establishment of his order.”<sup>3</sup> The founding father of the order in Chile was one of Ignatius’ closest and most trusted companions whose experience in administration allowed the order to enjoy a successful beginning in the colony.

The Company of Jesus was established in Chile at the end of the sixteenth century, where they quickly grew, gaining the trust of the people in the province thanks to their educational programs. Although the Jesuits’ first plan was to settle a missionary home, the high demand for education forced them to readjust their strategy. In order to gain followers, Fr. De Piñas offered teachings in grammar, rhetoric and philosophy. The classes were opened to not only lay people, but also to priests of other orders such as the Franciscans and the Dominicans. Only a year after their arrival in Santiago, they were able to found *Colegio Máximo de San Miguel*, their first School. This project was made possible thanks to the donations the Jesuits received from noble families in gratitude for their teaching services. The continuous contributions slowly allowed them to obtain more lands and homes in which they founded yet more schools and missions. Within a decade after they inaugurated their first school in Santiago, the Jesuits opened the doors of their first University in the colony. The new institution was approved by the Vatican to award Bachelor, Master and Doctoral degrees to its students.<sup>4</sup>

The successful survival of the Jesuits in Chile was due to the generosity of the Spanish and Creole residences of the colony who donated part of their lands and money to the company. When Saint Ignatius founded the order, he enacted a series of regulations concerning the establishment of houses, missions, residence and schools. One of these regulations stipulated that any Jesuit institution could be founded only if the property on which it would stand was owned by the company and it could sustain itself financially. De Piñas’ mission did not possess great amounts of money, at least not enough to purchase land. Therefore, the wealthiest people in the colony donated properties or money to help the Jesuits establish in Chile. The residents of Quillota, for example donated 3,000 pesos to the order with which “they bought a small ranch with vineyards and a windmill.”<sup>5</sup> The residents in La Serena offered the Jesuits “an able plaza, a ranch and six thousand pesos.”<sup>6</sup> In addition to the donations they received from private owners, they also received a sustentation from the king who gave them 8,784 pesos.<sup>7</sup> The different properties, monies and other sources they received from benefactors throughout the years are too many to name. What is important to note however, is that the order successfully managed everything they were given, and they often multiplied their wealth thanks to their good business skills.

Although the donations were undoubtedly beneficial and crucial for the order to remain in Chile, charity alone did not secure the permanent stay of the order in the colony. Owning the land alone did not guarantee that the Jesuits could continue living in the province. In order to remain in the colony they had to find ways in which they could financially sustain themselves. The Jesuits were therefore, forced to learn the skills needed to effectively administer the land and run the businesses they established. Taking full advantage of the available natural resources, they planted crops and raised livestock. They became thriving businessmen and a very important part to the Chilean economy. Scholar Gustavo Bunster adds: “without exaggeration one may say that there was no fertile valley in Chile during the seventeenth century where the Jesuits did not have at least one hacienda.”<sup>8</sup> The Company did not limit itself to raising crops and cattle, they also owned other businesses such as pharmacies, fur trading, and of course, schools.

The company’s slowly-built financial stability allowed it to welcome new members to their clerical community. From the small group of men led by Fr. De Piña in 1593, the order progressively grew. According to Father Antonio Astrain’s data, the company had over a hundred members only a century after their arrival and reached over four hundred members by 1767.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, up to the time of the removal, the Jesuits enjoyed extensive landownership and their profits permitted the entrance of new novices in their monasteries. From their first home founded in Santiago in 1593, they had expanded in such a way that by 1767 they had established twenty four schools and dozens of missions, residences, businesses and haciendas. Undoubtedly, the order was well established at the time of the suppression. The Jesuits’ connection to the people and the land only indicated that their presence in Chile would be permanent. But the pragmatic of King Charles III suppressed any further growth of the Jesuits in the province.

The rise of the Enlightenment movement challenged the Church, which during Medieval times was constantly involved in political matters. The newly evolved modern thought questioned the influence of the Church and tried to limit its powers. Part of the problem the Jesuits faced during the eighteenth century came from enlightened philosophers and government authorities who wanted to diminish the power of the Church and the Society of Jesus was an easy target. The Catholic Church was the main obstacle to the Enlightenment era agenda. Voltaire, the French writer and philosopher, called for social reforms and liberties, antagonizing Catholic views and dogmas.<sup>10</sup> D’Alembert, the chief editor of the *Encyclopédie*, was amazed to find out that he had to send the writings to theological censors in order for them to be published. Strict regulations and censorship in academia caused much resentment toward the Church. As a result of the Enlightenment movement, the Jesuits had already been expelled from France and Portugal, and the ideology was having a big impact on Spain.

Thinkers such as Voltaire, Denis Diderot and D’Alembert greatly influenced Spanish government officials. Among

their followers were Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, Conde de Aranda and Manuel de Roda, who played a major role in the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain. They were not only their followers, but also their financial supporters as it was clearly shown in a letter written by D'Alembert to Voltaire: "The Duke of Alba, one of the greatest lords of Spain, a man of much intelligence and who was ambassador in France under the name of Duke of Huéscar, has just sent me twenty louis for your statue. The letter he has written to me on the subject is full of the most agreeable things about you."<sup>11</sup> Influential Spanish figures such as the Duke of Alba, financially supported the work of enlightened writers. The excessive influence of the Catholic Church on political matters inspired enlightened Spaniards to call for social reforms. The sole presence of the Jesuits in royal courts serving as confessors to the king and queen and the well-established Jesuit educational system, antagonized the new enlightened thinkers.

The philosophers wanted to see the Jesuits removed from political influence and in order to bring their plans into action, a series of conspiracies were carried out. Such was the case of the *Esquilache Riot*. Prior to inheriting the Spanish crown, Charles III had been given the title of King of Naples and Sicily where he was exposed to the Enlightenment movement.<sup>12</sup> While in Naples, he concentrated in modernizing his kingdom and exploring the theories of scientific thinkers. After he took over the Spanish Kingdom, he surrounded himself with non-Spanish ministers, such as Leopoldo de Gregorio, marquis of Esquilache. Overall, the marquis' progressive ideology brought many beneficial changes to Spain. He made the city of Madrid safer, cleaned it of vices, and made some important infrastructure changes such as installing streetlights. But he also implanted harsh policies by raising taxes and monopolizing items like oil and bread. Much to the dislike of the Spanish people, he also tried to impose the French dress code on them, prohibiting the wearing of wide-brimmed hats and flowing cloaks. Although Madrid natives had succumbed to Esquilache's high taxes and monopolies, his prohibitions on the attire was too much for them to handle. They viewed the marquis' prohibition as suppression from a foreigner, for the "Spaniard's cloak is the Englishman's castle."<sup>13</sup> The wide-brimmed hats and the flowing cloaks was the Spanish men's trait and was what separated them from the rest of Europe.

On March 26, 1766 the crowds took their complaints to the streets, protesting Esquilache's measures, shouting "Viva el Rey, Muera Esquilache" ("Long live the King, down with Esquilache").<sup>14</sup> The riots continued for days and in an effort to calm the crowds, some Jesuits like Father Isidro López intervened. Fr. López went out on the streets in an effort to calm the crowds. This could have ended here, but the Spanish officials did not let it fade away. The Jesuits' alleged involvement in the Madrid rioting came to the king's attention. Fearing for his life, Charles III fled the city. Just as government officials had hoped, the King blamed the Order. The riots of 1766 prompted Charles III to order an investigation into the involvement of the Jesuits in the ordeal. The Spanish official commissioned to this task reported his findings on January 29<sup>th</sup> of the following year. The resolution of their findings became the decree signed on March 1, 1767 in which Charles III ordered all the members of the Order of Jesus to be expelled from his domains.

The causes of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and its domains have puzzled scholars for decades. Although the declaration of March 1, 1767 was clearly signed by the king himself, his reasons were vague and left his decision open to interpretation:

Having conformed the opinion of the members of my Royal Council in Extraordinary session, which met the 29<sup>th</sup> of last January to consult the matters of past occurrences and other matters with people of the highest character and accredited experience have reported to me; motivated by the gravest causes relative to the obligation under which I find myself constituted of maintaining my people in subordination, tranquility, and justice, and other urgent, just, and necessary reasons, which I reserve in my royal mind; making use of the supreme economical authority, which the Almighty has placed in my hands for the protection of my vassals, and the respect of my crown; I have come to order that [the Jesuits] be expelled from all my dominions of Spain, the Indies, and Philippine Islands.<sup>15</sup>

To understand the king's decree, it is necessary to pay close attention to his language and his word usage. The "occurrences" which Charles III ordered his "people of the highest character and accredited experience" to investigate were those related to the Motin de Esquilache. The report given by Campomanes and Conde de Aranda to the king presented such strong evidence that he was forced to expel the Jesuits in order to keep his "people in subordination, tranquility, and justice." As if this were not enough reason, he had yet "other urgent, just and necessary reasons" to suppress the company. But he left those reasons unmentioned and chose to "reserve them in his royal mind." It is important to highlight the vague prose that is used to mandate such an important decree. From this ambiguity two arguments can be made. Either the king had too many accusations and proofs of the Jesuits' misconduct to mention, or he did not have enough evidence and despotically dismissed them from his territories without a solid reason. Whatever reasoning he may have had to base his decision, on March 1, 1767, Charles III officially expelled the Order of Jesus from all his domains.

Official Juan Sala personally delivered the royal orders on August 7, 1767 to the Chilean governor Dn. Antonio Guill

y Gonzaga who seemed to question the basis of the royal command. The governor was very fond of the fathers of the Company. His own confessor was a priest from the order. Father Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre, an expelled Chilean priest, described Guill y Gonzaga on his book titled *Historia Geográfica, Natural y Civil del Reino de Chile* as “an extremely political, urban, impartial, just, [and] fair man.”<sup>16</sup> The governor was well known for his bias in favor of the Jesuits, and was said to have “a special affection towards the children of the Company by recognizing their merits and virtues and by recognizing the great services that [the company] had given and still gives to the kingdom.”<sup>17</sup> Even though his duty as an official representative of the Spanish crown forced him to follow the orders sent by Conde de Aranda, he seemed to question Charles III’s motives, as the governor states, “the majesty’s decrees... which are supposedly founded in just, serious, urgent and necessary causes.”<sup>18</sup> It is important to highlight the word “supposedly,” which reflects Guill y Gonzaga’s inconformity with the reasons given to proclaim the expulsion. The basis of the decree seemed to trouble the governor, just as much as it troubles historians today. The governor’s words reflect his disapproval of the royal resolution.

Immediately after the governor received the decree, he reinforced security and secretly crafted a plan to execute Charles III’s orders. According to Father Pedro Weingartner, a German Jesuit who had been residing in the Jesuit missions in Chile for many years, as soon as the Chilean governor received the decree sent by Bucarelli, the governor of Buenos Aires on August 7, he immediately “shut down the border entrances in the [Andes] mountain, and placed armed soldiers [in them], at the same time he got new troops and forbade two Spanish ships, which were on the port, to leave without his prior authorization.”<sup>19</sup> Guill y Gonzaga, although fond of the Jesuits, closed the borders and kept the contents of the package sent to him by Bucarelli a secret, placing his duty as governor before his friendship with the Jesuits in the colony.<sup>20</sup>

Guill y Gonzaga, against his better judgment, crafted a detailed plot to efficiently remove the Jesuits from Chile in order to minimize civil riots. The governor admired and respected the order, but he knew that their expulsion would devastate the population. It is for this reason that he planned everything with the greatest caution in order to avoid any upheavals once the news about the expulsion circulated the province. The governor sent detailed instructions consisting of two letters he wrote himself, the instructions of Conde de Aranda, and the royal decree of Charles III. The first letter, addressed to the commissioners sent to seize the Jesuits, read: “It is of such importance the commission I am entrusting in you, and it is so worthy of remaining in secrecy until the twenty-fifth of the current month [August, 1767], that I must highly warn you to maintain the present package sealed until that very night.”<sup>21</sup> All the secrecy and military reinforcement were set in order to prevent violent public protests. But they also made people question the reason behind the Governor’s new measure and reinforced security. Father Weingarten explained “The people did not know what to think about all these movements: some said that a war with England was going to break; others said they [officials] were getting ready to punish the Indians, who a few days earlier had robbed the Jesuits and had ran [the fathers] off the newly founded missions.”<sup>22</sup> Guill y Gonzaga successfully kept the contents of the package he received from Buenos Aires a secret. Nevertheless, his secrecy caused insecurities and fears among the people in the colony. In order to put the worries of the Chilean population to rest, the governor released a public announcement stating that on August 25 he would let everyone know about the news he had received from Buenos Aires. He also ordered a novena to be prayed in Santo Domingo Church for the successful outcome of the orders he was about to execute.

The governor’s efforts to conceal the contents of the letter from Buenos Aires were successful. But he could not prevent the anguish people felt as soon as they found out the orders were to remove the Jesuits from the province. As stated earlier, Guill y Gonzaga had promised the people he would personally reveal the purpose of the orders he had received from Bucarelli. But when August twenty-fifth came, a storm prevented the seizure, Guill y Gonzaga decided to postpone the removal until the next day. The tense situation did not get any easier and it became apparent that something was going to happen to the Jesuits, as Fr. Weingartner explained, “hour by hour the rumor of the eve was taking more conscience: it was widely spoken that all the preparations were guided against us.”<sup>23</sup> The extra forces were placed on their assigned posts, and rumors ran through the city. One of the soldiers was seen running through the streets crying that he owed everything he had to the Jesuits and that: “he would rather be killed before putting one of his hands on one of them.”<sup>24</sup> While others “came to offer many of us fathers a haven in their homes if we were to be removed from our [properties].”<sup>25</sup> Everyone knew at this point that the orders had something to do with the Order, but no one could imagine what was about to happen.

In the early hours of August 26, 1767, government officials seized every Jesuit home and school and the Order was removed from Chile after nearly two hundred years of presence in the colony. The officers were to proceed under Conde de Aranda’s detailed set of instructions to make sure that the expulsion was carried out in the most efficient way. The first instruction was a compendium of twenty-nine regulations that were to be followed by the officials during the seizure.<sup>26</sup> Attached to this was a second document, which included an extra set of steps especially designed to suit the needs of those in the most remote locations.<sup>27</sup>

Although government officials readied their troops in order to avoid any rioting from the people or resistance from the Jesuits, this proved to be unnecessary. As Guill y Gonzaga expressed in his report to Conde de Aranda, the Jesuits

“replied with the greatest submission and obedience, offering contribution from their part...with the resignation with which his majesty’s decrees must be obeyed which are supposedly founded in just, serious, urgent and necessary causes”<sup>28</sup> The Jesuits accepted their fate and submitted to the royal decree.

The Jesuits succumbed to their fate obediently without protesting. According to official reports, the fathers silently consented to the decree of 1767. No one dared to protest or to question the king’s resolutions, complying with one of Ignatius’ rules, in which all members of the Order were to “obey wholly and with proper humility, without excuses or murmuring, even if [they were] ordered to do hard or even repulsive things.”<sup>29</sup> Faithful to their founders’ principles, the Jesuits endured endless ordeals and remained strong believers of Christ:

According to the promise of our Lord Jesus Christ to his servers: ‘if they persecuted me, they will also persecute you’. Oh! Words full of consolation. This is the real way to God’s kingdom. Let us follow this true way to our death and we will laugh afterwards in eternity of all that has come upon us.<sup>30</sup>

The dogma on which the order was founded allowed the Spanish officials to oppress the Jesuits easily. They would never hear any complaints from the priests, because it would have conflicted with Ignatian principles. This made them an easy target.

One of the first things that government officials were ordered to do was to take full possession of all Jesuit-owned properties and goods. Eighteenth century Spain no longer had the riches the Spanish crown had gathered after conquering the New World. It was certainly not wealthy enough to take on the expensive task of removing three thousand men from all their domains and transporting them to Italy. By 1767, the Jesuits in Chile held a great amount of property and had a number of different businesses for their sustenance. According to Aranda’s instructions once the priests were intimidated, the commissioners were to confiscate the Jesuits’ “archives, papers of all sources, the common library, books and desks...[and] after taking possession of the keys with great precaution, you will take control of all the wealth and other possessions of importance that they may have of whatever title of rent or deposit.”<sup>31</sup> The priests were not allowed to take anything with them, except for their clothes. Everything else was made part of the inventory.

Although Guill y Gonzaga had cautiously planned the arrest of the Jesuits, he could not stop the devastation that this brought to the community, especially to the families of the apprehended priests. The morning after the priests were taken into custody, the news about the seizure ran through the cities and small towns. The general public seemed shocked to see this happening to the Order, especially those whose relatives were Jesuits. The removal took everyone by surprise and many blamed themselves for such a punishment. Father Weingartner described the reaction of the people:

All over, in Santiago, as well as other cities of the kingdom, the people tried with tears to do fasting, prayers, processions and all kinds of penitence to calm down the cholera from the sky, because they attributed their sins to be the cause of our departure and thought that [their sins] were the origin of all these evils.<sup>32</sup>

The nuns prayed novenas for the release of their beloved priests and “their mothers, relatives and friends begged them to leave the company and go back to their families.”<sup>33</sup> The decree of Charles III devastated the people of all social classes in the colony. It was customary for the wealthiest families to have at least one of their sons as a member of the order. The variety of economic and spiritual activities that the Jesuits developed in Chile during their first nearly two hundred years in the colony made everyone to be involved with the company in some way or another.

The unrest of the people forced both government and clerical authorities to congregate in order to analyze such a tragic occurrence. As the priests were transported to the Jesuits’ main school in Santiago, Bishop Almay tried to gather clergy members to discuss the seizure. But as soon as he pronounced a few words, he broke down into tears. Later in the day he wrote a letter to the other Catholic orders in Santiago advising them to “show their obedience and respect to the king, and set the example to the secular people.”<sup>34</sup> The governor, for his part, also tried to gather an assembly with government officials but everyone also left in tears. As Fr. Weingartner described: “The Bishop and the Governor of Chile, very affectionate towards the company, visited us during our residing and reclusion in the school, which it was a considerable amount of time.”<sup>35</sup> The clerical and secular highest authorities had to impose Charles III’s decree on the Jesuits against their own better judgment. Distraught and unable to do anything for the order, they visited them to show their affection. The resolution clearly affected everyone, not only the commons, but also the authorities. There were too many unanswered questions about what could have caused such a drastic and unfair sanction and who could be the next target of the King’s wrath.

The Jesuits established strong bonds with the people in the Province of Chile. The colony’s most important figures, such as Bishop Almay and Governor Guill y Gonzaga admired and loved the order. But yet, when they were summoned to take full control over the Jesuits and their possessions, they chose to comply without major opposition. The Chilean

population was obviously devastated to see their beloved fathers suppressed in such a way. King Charles III knew that the majority of the native-born Chilean Jesuits were from the wealthiest and most influential noble families, some of whom held important government offices within the province and other parts of the Spanish kingdom. In order to prevent his own officials (or anyone else for this matter) from legally complaining about his decree: “a royal pragmatic appeared, which prohibited under severe penalties to take our [the Jesuits’] defense, to speak or write in our favor and even to communicate with us or give us money.”<sup>36</sup> His majesty’s explicit orders read as followed: “anyone who would keep corresponding with the Jesuits, [which] is generally and absolutely prohibited, will be punished according to the severity of his offence.”<sup>37</sup> Fear of the King’s retaliation forced both secular and religious authorities to remain silent. Charles III was taking full advantage of his despotic powers by threatening the people with severe punishments if they were to attempt any defense on behalf of the order.

After the priests were seized and their possessions confiscated, they began their long journey into exile. Chile is a long and narrow country, and the transportation of the priests was arranged according to their geographical location. The priests in Santiago and its surroundings were apprehended and kept in the *Colegio Máximo* where they waited to be transported to the port of Valparaíso. Those in Mendoza, San Juan and San Luis were sent to Buenos Aires. A group of twenty recently-arrived Jesuits led by Fr Javier Varas were kept in Buenos Aires. The fathers whose residence was located between Copiapó and Valdivia were all transported to Valparaíso. Finally the priests living in the most remote southern areas, such as Chiloé, were sent to Lima on a ship named the *San José*.<sup>38</sup> The official list sent to Conde de Aranda from Governor Guill y Gonzaga of all the Jesuits arrested on August 26<sup>th</sup>, totaled 334 individuals.<sup>39</sup> However, the list did not include some individuals who, for various reasons, were later added to the list of exiles.

Some of the men who were later added as part of the Province of Chile were Frs. José Salinas and Juan Manuel Varas’ group whose saga was recorded by one of their novices, Juan Arqueiro. The men left the port of Santa Maria, Spain on January 11, 1767, only a few months before the announcement of the expulsion decree and arrived in Montevideo on July 25 of the same year. During the long trip, the priests encountered storms, disease and hunger. As soon as they arrived to Montevideo, they were informed that they could not leave the ship until further notice. The morning after their arrival in America, the Governor came aboard and read the royal decree. Arqueiro wrote on his diary: “many of us were astonished and sort of stupefied, without really knowing what was going on.”<sup>40</sup> They remained in Montevideo for thirty-five days and were then forced to walk on foot to Buenos Aires. They arrived in Buenos Aires on September 1 and spent their last month in America on board the ship that eventually transported them back to Spain. They left the Indies on October 12, 1767 without seeing much of the place, and without ever seeing Chile.

Although the removal had been well planned to minimize rioting, some logistics seemed to have been overlooked. The transportation of the priests from one place to the next took months, making the journey exhausting and uncomfortable for the exiled Jesuits. On the evening of October 23<sup>rd</sup>, after two long months waiting in Santiago, the priests were finally escorted to the port of Valparaíso where they were reunited with the members from other localities. Afraid of riots, Guill y Gonzaga ordered everyone in Santiago to remain inside their homes, while his officers escorted the Jesuits out of city, as told by Fr. Weingartner “The streets were guarded by a double line of soldiers in the middle of which we had to walk carrying our suitcases.”<sup>41</sup> It took them eight days to walk all the way to the port. Once there, they were obliged to live in tight quarters, having to share a small room among ten or more priests.

The Jesuits were then boarded onto two ships and were finally transported to Lima. Dn. Manuel de Amat y Junicat, the viceroy of Lima, was known to dislike the company.<sup>42</sup> The Chilean priests heard that he treated the Jesuits from Lima with much cruelty, and they were obviously worried about his conduct. But the Governor’s old friendship with the Provincial Jesuit of Chile, Fr. Baltazar Hueber, prevented him from mistreating the Chilean caravan. They remained in Lima for two extra months where, according to Fr. Weingartner’s account, many of them became ill with local diseases, “the fevers called *tercianias* and *cuartana* also visited us. These diseases, very common in here, are not well known in Chile. More than thirty of our [men] were struck by it at the same time.”<sup>43</sup> Succumbed by disease, the Chilean Jesuits finally left Lima on May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1768, nearly nine months after the royal decree had been officially declared to the company.

From Lima, the Jesuits were then transferred to Santa Maria, Spain. The conditions only got worse for the priests, who were forced to wait months to be sent to their final destination, Italy. When Father Juan José Godoy, from the mission in Mendoza, arrived in Santa Maria, there were about “three hundred members from all the Indies provinces in [t]here, the old and the young combined and about fifty of those were from our province.”<sup>44</sup> Father Juan Arqueiro reported that in Santa Maria there were “individuals arriving from all the provinces in America, reason why it was necessary to cramp ourselves in the hospice, in which there were up to three and five hundred at one time.”<sup>45</sup> Many of the priests were stranded in this city for long months waiting for the orders to be sent to Italy. The uncertainty of their situation made everyone wonder how much more they had to endure in this ordeal.

In addition to the inadequacy of the living arrangements, there was also the scarcity of food. As Father Godoy wrote in one of his letters to his brother about the lack of a good meal: “[the food is present] but not with the abundance and easiness than over there [America]. If there is ever a little piece of bread, it soon finds an owner, either from the ones

serving us, or the ones who are panhandling on the streets.”<sup>46</sup> Father Arqueiro also reported: “we experienced a lot of misery, especially on food, which it was given to us measured in such a way that we could barely sustain ourselves. This [food] was reduced every twenty-four hours [in which] a little bit of rice [was given] or a little bit of salted meat with few a cookies and wine.”<sup>47</sup> The government underestimated the time it would take to transport such a large number of men and the provisions necessary to support them during the journey. Inadequate food and living conditions caused many priests to fall sick and to miss their old lives even more.

The long journey to and around Europe and the inappropriate living conditions began to take a toll on the priests, who longed for America and the lifestyle they had previously enjoyed. The scarcity of food only increased their desire to go back to the Indies, as Fr. Godoy told his brother in a letter: “everyone longs for the Indies, even those who were originally from here [Europe].”<sup>48</sup> Tired from a long journey that lasted over two years for some, living in cramped places with little or no food, and waiting for months to reach their final destination only augmented their agony caused by the edict of 1767.

When the Jesuits finally arrived in Italy, they began a new life in an unfamiliar place where some, forgotten by even their own families, were forced to live in pitiful conditions, and to depend on the charity of benefactors. The priests of the province of Chile were sent to Imola, a town of the province of Bologna in north central Italy. After a long journey into exile, many priests arrived to their final destination where “hundreds of Jesuits of all ages [were] walk[ing] with shoes... under the hot sun, dust and all kinds of inclemency of the weather for many miles.”<sup>49</sup> Although the King had set a pension to be given to the exiled priests, the money was not always given or it was simply not sufficient to live on. Father Thadeo de Godoy wrote to one of his benefactors to thank him for his generosity, stating “it had been eight years and nearly nine since anybody thought of me, because in the middle of so much helplessness of hard work and harsh temperament, what have we not endured.”<sup>50</sup> Father de Godoy, a Mendoza native, was forty-seven years old and, at the time he wrote this letter, was going blind. After serving as an administrator of haciendas in San Juan and doing missionary work in San Luis, in exile he had been forced to live on the charity of others. Judging by his letters, he had also been forgotten by his family. He asked for news about his family because, “in the last eight and nearly nine years I have written about ten letters to my mother, fifteen to my brother, to my brother-in-law, Videla, about sixteen, to Abarrategui few others, that I no longer want to bother them.”<sup>51</sup> Cases like Father Godoy were more common than not, forgotten by everyone and left to fend for themselves. He died in Genoa, Italy on November 13, 1789.<sup>52</sup>

Although the surviving priests had to endure terrible hardships during and after their suppression, some of them tried to make the best of the situation by returning to one asset that was not taken away from them, their educated minds. The Jesuits were well known for their training in academia. It was, therefore, no surprise to see some of them writing significant literary works during their exile. Fr. Miguel de Olivares, a Chilean native, was born in Chillán in 1713 into one of the noble families in the colony. Prior to the removal, he had been formally named the historian of the Province and served as Superior in the mission in La Mocha from 1766 to 1767.<sup>53</sup> While in Italy, Fr. Olivares, along with Frs. Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre (historian), Juan Ignacio Molina (naturalist) and Manuel Lacunza (theologian) began corresponding with the Spanish Minister in Rome, Dn. Luis Gneco and the Secretary of Justice and Grace, Dn. Antonio Porlier. Porlier had shown interest in the different academic works authored by Jesuits and gathered the different materials written by members of the Company. Fr. Olivares had already started writing a book related to the history of Chile, which “had been commissioned to me by Fr. Lorenzo Ricci, who was the General of the Company at that time.”<sup>54</sup> Works by Olivares and others were published later on and have served as one of the most important sources of colonial Chile.

The revenues that the sale of the confiscated goods belonging to the Jesuits would bring to the devastated economy of the Spanish crown could not be overlooked. Eighteenth century Spain was by no means the same glorious empire that it had been only two centuries earlier. The fast decline of the Spanish monarchy was due to the mismanagement of the fortunes acquired during the conquest of America, as well as outstanding war debts. The royal decree clearly stipulated that arrangements would be made to transport every single Jesuit from the place to which he had been assigned to Italy, all three thousand of them. This raises an interesting question: Why would the Spanish government take the expensive task of removing priests not only from Spain itself, but also from its colonies and ship them to the Pontifical States in Italy? Why would a financially devastated government want to increase their debt? The answer lies in Aranda's instructions: “[As to the cost of the whole operation] the expenses resulting from this can and will be borne by the Royal Coffers, with the understanding that the amount will be reimbursed from the effects of the Jesuits.”<sup>55</sup> Aranda was very well aware of the amount of property the Jesuits held throughout the Empire. Appropriating their lands and estates would cover the traveling expenses and it would also increase the wealth of the crown. Bringing the priests' possessions and alleged gold to the Spanish government would financially benefit the empire.

Spanish officials hoped to obtain some financial gain by appropriating the goods of the company, but instead they created a financial deficit in the colony of Chile. Although the Jesuits owned enough land to cover the costs of the removal and some for the profit of the crown, the Chilean colony did not automatically see this extra money. They first had to finance the procedures themselves, thus causing a financial crisis to the colony. In order to transport the Jesuits

into exile, the Spanish government had to first use royal funding up front to finance the priests' removal. Therefore, one of the immediate consequences that the expulsion of the Jesuits brought to Chile was devastation to its economy. Governor Guill y Gonzaga was forced to pay 91,038 pesos for the cost of transportation, food and salaries for commissioners and military reinforcement.<sup>56</sup> After gathering the money from all the schools and homes and selling some of the properties, the colony was left with a deficit of 69,009 pesos.<sup>57</sup>

After the removal the colony was not only financially devastated. Many other institutions were affected in Chile as the result of the decree of Charles III. The Jesuits were heavily involved in so many different aspects of the colony that the removal affected everyone in one-way or another. The Jesuits had established two *boticas* (drug stores) in Chile, the only ones in the colony up to that time. One of these drug stores was forced to close its doors to the public shortly after the priests were forced into exile. The other remained open, but only because one of the priests was ordered to stay behind in order to train a secular man in the arts of medicine. The manufacture industries were also compromised and the colony was forced to look elsewhere to provide the needs of the population.<sup>58</sup> The educational system was also terribly impacted by the expulsion, and an increasing number of young men had to travel to Europe in search of higher education.<sup>59</sup>

The Jesuits obeyed the harsh decree of the king, offering their suffering as atonement for their sins. There is no report (at least from Chile) that noted any rebellion from the Jesuits either during or after their removal. Guill y Gonzaga wrote on his report to Conde de Aranda that the priests had humbly abided with the royal orders and silently accepted their fate. During their trip, the members of Ignatius order had to live in inadequate spaces, with little food, removed from everything they knew. And once in Italy, they were forced to living with little to nothing, relying on the generosity of others. Not real complaints are heard in the writings of the exiled priests. Their letters seemed to rather focus on their religious beliefs and the longing to see their families and homeland. Nothing is ever said against Charles III or his decree, the cause of their suffering. It seems as if their faith, their vocation and devotion to God was far more important than the despotic and unfair royal ruling. Although the circumstances took a toll on everyone, the faithful fathers humbly succumbed to Charles III's orders, finding consolation only on the words of Ignatius, *ad maiorem dei gloriam* (For the greater glory of God).

## 2. Endnotes

1 Charles E. O'Neill, S. I. and Joaquín Ma. Domínguez, S. I. *Diccionario Histórico De la Compañía de Jesús: Bibliográfico-Temático Vol I.* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), 771.

2 Walter Hanisch Espindola, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en Chile (1593-1955)* (Cuernavaca, Mexico: Centro Cultural de Documentación, 1969), 1-2. The two Chilean priests had traveled to Perú in order to gain entrance to the Company.

3 Jaime Eyzaguirre, in Valdés, 36.

4 Valdés, 45

5 Valdés, 47.

6 Fr. Gaspar Sobrino Carta Anual de 1630, "Jesuitas, Vol. 93" Archivo Nacional de Santiago, Chile.

7 Valdés, 48.

8 Valdés, 50.

9 Valdés, 75.

10 Voltaire was his writer's name; his actual name was François-Marie Arouet.

11 Magnus Mörner. *The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Latin America.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965, 35.

12 Charles III was King Phillip V's first child with his second wife Elizabeth Parnese of Parma. After George III succeeded his brother Ferdinand VI to the Spanish crown, he ceded his Kingship in Sicily and Naples to his son Ferdinand.

13 Morner, 37.

14 Morner, 37.

15 King Charles III "Borrador del Real Decreto de Expulsión de la Compañía de Jesús, Elaborado en Marzo de 1767 y Remitido para su conocimiento al Conde de Aranda, Presidente del Consejo de Castilla" Royal Decree, March 1, 1767, [http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib\\_tematica/jesuitas/seleccion\\_textos/seleccion\\_textos2.shtml](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib_tematica/jesuitas/seleccion_textos/seleccion_textos2.shtml)

16 Felipe Gomez de Vidaurre, *Historia Geográfica, Natural y Civil del Reino de Chile, Vol 2* (Santiago, Chile: Imprenta Ercilla, 1889), 277.

17 Anonymous, "Estrañamiento de la Compañía de Jesus del Reyno de Chile en el año de 1767," Archivo de la Provincia Canónica de Toledo de la Compañía de Jesús, Alcalá de Henares, Spain.

18 Antonio Guill y Gonzaga, "Report to Conde de Aranda on the Expulsion of the Jesuits from Chile," Archivo Nacional de Santiago de Chile.

19 Pedro Weingartner, Letter to Father José Erchard, January 23, 1770, *Historia de Chile: Importante Documento sobre la Expulsión de los Jesuitas en 1767* (Chile: Imprenta Nacional, 1869), 4.

20 Bucarelli was the Governor of Buenos Aires and was in charge of notifying Guill y Gonzaga of the royal decree.

21 Guill y Gonzaga, "On the Instructions to Government Officials for the Removal of the Jesuits from Chile on August 25, 1767," quoted in Anonymous Document, "Estrañamiento de la Compañía de Jesus del Reyno de Chile en el año de 1767."

22 Weingartner, 4.

23 Weingarten, 5.

24 Weingarten, 5.

25 Weingarten, 5.

26 Conde de Aranda "Instrucción de lo que deberán executar los Comisionados para el Estrañamiento y ocupación de bienes y haciendas de los Jesuitas en estos Reynos de España e Islas adjacentes, en conformidad de lo resuelto por S. M.," March 1, 1767,

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27 Conde de Aranda, "Adición a la Instrucción sobre el Estrañamiento de los Jesuitas de los Dominios de S. M. por lo Tocante a Indias e Islas Filipinas," March 1, 1767,

[http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib\\_tematica/jesuitas/seleccion\\_textos/seleccion\\_textos2.shtml](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib_tematica/jesuitas/seleccion_textos/seleccion_textos2.shtml)

28 Antonio Guill y Gonzaga. Archivo Nacional de Santiago de Chile.

29 Saint Ignatius of Loyola, *Reglas de la Compañía de Jesus y la Carta de la Obediencia de Nuestro Glorioso Padre San Ignacio Formula de los Votos y Documentos del Mismo Santo Padre*, (Seville, 1735), 1-14.

30 Father Manuel Lacunza letter to his Sister Mercedes, May 19, 1794, *Revista Chilena de la Historia y Geografía* 9 (Santiago: 1914), 219, ed. Juan Luis Espejo.

31 Conde de Aranda "Instrucción de lo que deberán executar los Comisionados para el Estrañamiento y ocupación de bienes y haciendas de los Jesuitas en estos Reynos de España e Islas adjacentes, en conformidad de lo resuelto por S. M.,"

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32 Weingartner, 8.

33 Weingartner, 8.

34 Manuel de Alday y Aspée "Letter to the Religious Orders in Santiago 27 Agosto 1767" quoted in Anonymous Document, "Estrañamiento de la Compañía de Jesus del Reyno de Chile en el año de 1767."

35 Weingartner, 7.

36 Weingartner, 6.

37 King Charles III, Pragmática Sanción of his Majesty, April 2, 1767,

[http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib\\_tematica/jesuitas/seleccion\\_textos/seleccion\\_textos2.shtml](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib_tematica/jesuitas/seleccion_textos/seleccion_textos2.shtml)

38 Hanisch, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en Chile (1593-1955)*, 96.

39 Antonio Guill y Gonzaga "Lista de los Religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus de esta Provincia de Chile que se Encontraron en Colegios, Residencias, y Haciendas al Tiempo de Poner en Execucion las Ordenes de S. M. para su Estrañamiento." *Jesuitas*, Archivo Nacional de Chile, Chile.

40 Juan Arqueiro "Breve Razón del Viage que Hicieron las Misiones de Chile y Paraguay a la América el anode 1767 y de la Vuelta a España, y de lo que Principalmente Acaeció Tanta a la Ida, Como a la Vuelta, y Últimamente del Viage Hecho Desde España a Italia." Fr. Manuel Luengo, *Colección de Papeles Varios*, T. III Archivo Jesuita de Loyola, Spain.

41 Weingartner, 8.

42 Amat y Junicat had previously been the governor of Chile.

43 Weingartner, 12.

44 Juan José Godoy to Ignacio Godoy, October 28, 1769, *Fuente Americana de la Historia Argentina: Descripción de Cuyo, Cartas de los Jesuitas mendocinos*, ed. Juan Draghi Lucero (Mendoza: Best Hermanos, 1940), 142.

45 Arqueiro, in Luengo, *Papeles Varios*.

46 Godoy, 143.

47 Arqueiro, in Luengo, *Papeles Varios*.

48 Godoy, 142.

49 Anonymous, "Vita P. Xaverii Varas, Chilensis" In *Vitae*, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, Rome (ff. 258-274v.), 272.

50 Father Thadeo de Godoy to Don Joseph Antonio Acosta, July 15 1776, Draghi, 146.

51 Father Thadeo de Godoy to Don Joseph Antonio Acosta, July 15 1776, Draghi, 146.

52 Hanisch, *Itinerario y Pensamiento de los Jesuitas Expulsos de Chile (1767-1815)*, 285.

53 Hanisch, *Itinerario y Pensamiento de los Jesuitas Expulsos de Chile (1767-1815)*, 224-225.

54 Miguel de Olivares to Commissioner Don Luis Gneco, August 17, 1788, *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la*

*Historia* 58, ed. Jaime Eyzaguirre, (Chile: 1958), 90.

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56 Guillermo Bravo Acevedo, "Las Consecuencias Económicas de la Expulsión de los Jesuitas de las Provincias de Chile y Perú." In *Los Jesuitas y la Modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, edited by Manuel Marzal y Luis Bacigalupo, 421-449 (Lima, Peru: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru, 2007), 429.

57 Bravo, 429.

58 Valdés, 95.

59 Valdés, 95.

### 3. Acknowledgements

The author wishes to express her appreciation to Dr. Mark Harvey, Dr. Herman Holt, and Mila Lemaster from The University of North Carolina Undergraduate Research Program, the International Experience Grant from UNCA Study Abroad Office, the Phillip Walker Scholarship, Dr. Cynthia Ho from UNCA Humanities Department, Dr. Mark Gibney and Dr. Linda Cornett from UNCA Political Science Department, the Merritt Moseley Study Abroad Scholarship, Dr. Ellen Pearson, Dr. Dan Pierce, and Mr. Bruce Cahoon from UNCA History Department, Dr. William Spellman, and Dr. Ed Katz from UNCA Office of the Deans, Dr. Lora L. Holland from UNCA Classics Department, Dr. Gordon Wilson from UNCA Philosophy Department, Fr. Pratt and Fr. Medina from Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (Rome), Dr. Inmaculada Fernandez from Universidad de Alicante (Spain), Archivo de la Provincia Canónica de Toledo de la Compañía de Jesús (Spain), Archivo Jesuita de Loyola (Spain), Archivo Nacional de Santiago (Chile), and Biblioteca Nacional (Chile).

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