

Congregation and Urban Plan: The Organization and Development of Jesuit Frontier Missions

**Congregación y Plan Urbano:
La Organización y Desarrollo de las Misiones Jesuitas Fronterizas**

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Abstract

The Society of Jesus administrated mission communities on the frontier of Spanish America among indigenous groups with different levels of social-political organization. Jesuit missionaries attempted to evangelize indigenous peoples and engaged in a program of directed social-cultural change. They created new communities that, in theory, conformed to the norms of urban development based on the grid plan established by Spanish law. Where possible, the Jesuits congregated the indigenous peoples on the new communities. However, this was not always possible, and on some missions the Jesuits adopted a dispersed settlement plan with indigenous peoples living on the main mission community and other settlements designated as visitas. This article compares the urban plan and spatial organization of mission communities on the northern frontier of Nueva España and South America.

Keywords: Urban Plan, Spatial Organization of Populations, Congregation, Jesuits, Frontier Missions.

Resumen

La Compañía de Jesús administró comunidades misioneras en la frontera de Hispanoamérica entre grupos indígenas con diferentes niveles de organización sociopolítica. Los misioneros jesuitas intentaron evangelizar a los pueblos indígenas y se involucraron en un programa de cambio sociocultural dirigido. Crearon nuevas comunidades que, en teoría, se ajustaban a las normas de desarrollo urbano basadas en el plan de cuadrícula establecido por la ley española. Siempre que fue posible, los jesuitas congregaron a los pueblos indígenas en las nuevas comunidades. Sin embargo, esto no siempre fue posible, y en algunas misiones los jesuitas adoptaron un plan de asentamiento disperso, con los pueblos indígenas viviendo en la comunidad misionera principal y otros asentamientos designados como visitas. Este artículo compara el plan urbano y la organización espacial de las comunidades misioneras en la frontera norte de Nueva España y Sudamérica.

Palabras clave: Plan Urbano, organización espacial de las poblaciones, congregación, jesuitas, misiones fronterizas.

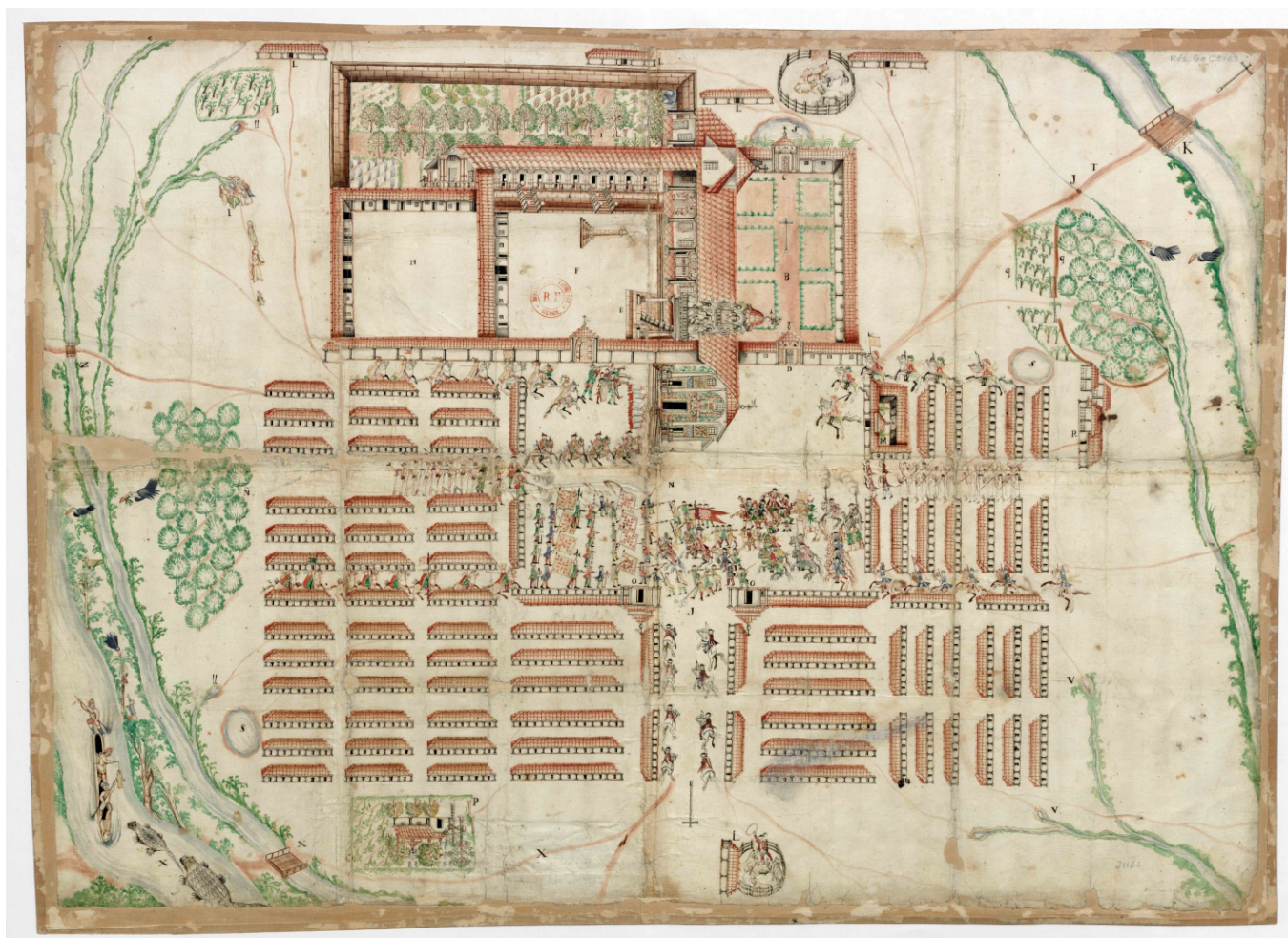
Recibido: 14 de octubre de 2025 – **Aceptado:** 16 de marzo de 2026

1. Introduction

Members of the Society of Jesus established, organized, and administered mission communities on the frontiers of Spanish America designed to integrate the indigenous peoples who lived in these regions into colonial society. Spanish law stipulated that urban development in the Americas should be based on the grid plan. The missionaries attempted to bring indigenous peoples to live on the missions, and thus create stable *pueblos de indios*. However, this objective was not always easy to realize. Some missions were *congregaciones*, in other words indigenous peoples were brought to live on newly organized mission communities. An example of the urban plan based on a grid is San Juan Bautista, one of the missions among the Guaraní located in what today is Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil) (see Figure 1). In other cases indigenous populations lived in a dispersed settlement pattern divided between a main mission community known as a *cabecera* and other settlements categorized as *visitas*. The missionaries

periodically brought the residents of the *visitas* to the main mission community on a rotating basis to receive religious training, or went to visit the *visitas*. In these cases, however, the residents of the *visita* communities lived with minimal supervision from the missionaries, and this lent itself to the persistence of pre-Hispanic religious beliefs and practices.

Figure 1. A c. 1754 diagram of the fully developed urban plan of San Juan Bautista Mission among the Guaraníes based on the grid plan



Source: Biblioteque Nationale de France, Paris.

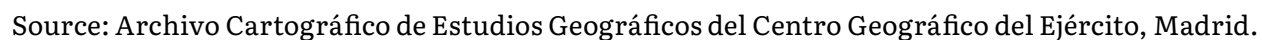
This article provides a comparative discussion of the urban plan and spatial organization of Jesuit missions located on the frontiers of Spanish America. It does so through a series of detailed case studies of selected mission frontiers that analyze the process of the formation of mission communities, the organization of the populations of Jesuit frontier missions as congregaciones or with dispersed settlement patterns, and the construction of mission complexes and communities that ostensibly conformed to the grid plan. The case studies are of four groups of missions. They are the Chiquitos and Moxos missions located in what today is eastern Bolivia on savannahs that form a part of the larger Amazon Region. A 1764 map reproduced below shows the locations of the two groups of missions (see Figure 2). The first named group of missions were administered as a part of the Jesuit Province of Paracuaria, and the second the Province of Perú. Both had similar social-political organizations, and both were examples of congregaciones. The Jesuits relocated indigenous peoples to mission communities

created from whole cloth. The third case study is of the Chiloé located in southern Chile in the larger Patagonia region. The Jesuits administered more than 70 communities scattered across a series of Islands. At the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits in June of 1767 only nine Jesuits staffed the missions. The vast majority of the communities were visitas that the missionaries visited only periodically, and this group of missions is an example of how the Jesuits adapted their organization to the geography and social-political realities of the indigenous peoples who lived in the region. The final case study is of the missions located on the northern frontier of Nueva España with a focus on the missions the Jesuits administered in Sinaloa, Sonora, and California. We first discuss the Chiquitos missions.

2. Chiquitos Missions

The Jesuits opened the Chiquitos mission frontier located in what today is Santa Cruz Department in eastern Bolivia after 1691 among native groups that practiced seasonal

swidden (slash and burn) agriculture, occupied shifting homesteads, and supplemented their economy by hunting and the collection of wild plant foods. They were organized in clans, a social-political structure the Jesuits preserved in a modified form on the missions. The Jesuits congregated hundreds of natives on the Chiquitos missions, and they were open populations, which meant that the Jesuits continued to relocate non-Christians up to the point of their expulsion in 1767. The Chiquitos missions were also multiethnic and multilingual communities, which complicated the effort to communicate the basic elements of Christian doctrine. There always existed a problem with explaining culturally embedded religious concepts from the Judeo-Christian tradition. A European Christian generally understood doctrinal points, but it was a problem to explain these same points to individuals from a different cultural background with different religious concepts and terminology.



The Jesuits established ten missions between 1691 and 1760 by congregating non-Christians on new mission communities. They also shifted populations from existing missions to establish new ones. The expansion of the mission frontier depended on the availability of missionaries, and there were periods in which few Jesuits were available to staff the existing establishments, and let alone found new missions. For example, there was a shortage of missionaries during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1713). The Jesuits temporarily abandoned San Juan Bautista in 1709, and only re-established the mission in 1716, although it most likely was a community periodically visited by Jesuits stationed at other missions until the number of available missionaries increased. In 1709, the Black Robes established Concepción (Tomicha Charupá, 2002: 517; Jackson, 2017).

Several of the missions occupied multiple sites, and were relocated for different reasons. For example, the Jesuits relocated San Francisco Xavier in 1696 because of

the threat of Portuguese raids (Page, 2010: 33). The Jesuits established San Ignacio de Boacocas in 1707, but later combined it with Concepción. In 1745, they abandoned San Ignacio de Zamucos (established 1723), as a consequence of actions by the native residents of the mission. The three ethnic groups settled on the mission, the Zamucos, Zatiños, and Cutades, reportedly abandoned the mission, and migrated to San Juan Bautista where they were settled. The first reports on the abandonment of the mission suggested that the natives wanted to be at a site closer to the other mission communities (Page, 2010: 318-319). However, three years later, in 1748, the Jesuits established a new mission San Ignacio, and the new mission reportedly had a population of 1,655 (Page, 2010: 338). The final expansion of the Chiquitos mission frontier occurred between 1754 and 1760. The Jesuits established three new missions: Santiago with natives from San José and San Juan Bautista missions (1754), Santa Ana (1755), and Santo Corazón de Jesús with population from San Miguel and San Juan Bautista (1760) (Page, 2010: 557-559).

The Jesuits organized expeditions they called *excursiões* that often lasted for months to recruit new converts. The Jesuits sometimes went themselves accompanied by native converts, or sent groups of neophytes. The narrative reports the Jesuits prepared, the *Littre Annuae*, dedicated considerable space to describing the recruitment expeditions, which were important in the Chiquitos mission program since they reflected efforts to evangelize non-Christians. In 1702, for example, two Jesuits accompanied by 40 natives visited different groups (Matienzo, Tomicha Charupá, Combes, y Page, 2011: 47). One *excursión* from San Rafael left the mission on August 1, 1711 and went towards the Paraguay River. The expedition returned to San Rafael with 24 non-Christians that spoke a language distinct from Chiquita (Biblioteca Nacional, Archivo General de la Nación, 1712). A second example was the 1735 expedition that left San Miguel mission on July 1, 1735, and consisted of 112 natives from the mission. The expedition visited a group known as the Guarapes, and returned to San Miguel on December 12 of the same

year with 282 non-Christians (Biblioteca Nacional, Archivo General de la Nación, 1735). Many expeditions met little or no resistance, and often returned with new converts. Others were not successful at all, and in some instances the groups visited hid their children from the missionaries or the neophytes sent from the missions. As Daniel Santamaría points out, the natives on the Chiquitos and Moxos mission frontier practiced seasonal migration, leaving established village sites to hunt and collect wild plant foods during the rainy season (December-April) (Santamaría, 1986: 197–228). The Jesuits documented expeditions sent out in search of potential recruits that returned empty handed. In 1740, for example, the Black Robes sent expeditions from all of the missions. Two sent from San Miguel returned with no new recruits, and reported that the one that visited the Guarayos found their villages «deserted» (Matienzo, Tomicha Charupá, Combes, y Page, 2011: 237). These expeditions largely failed because the Jesuits sent them out during the rainy season.

During the entire period of Jesuit administration of the missions the Jesuits settled hundreds of natives from different ethnic groups. One consequence of the congregation of natives from different ethnic groups was linguistic diversity among the Chiquitos mission populations. In 1745, for example, the missions counted a total population of 14,706. Of this the majority, 9,625 people or 65.5 percent of the total spoke Chiquita, 1,617 were Arawak speakers (11 percent), 649 were Chapacura speakers (4.4 percent), 1,341 were Otuqui speakers (9.1 percent), 1,160 were Zamuca speakers (7.9 percent), and there were 314 Guaraní speakers (2.1 percent) (Jackson, 2015: 20-21). The Jesuits maintained the indigenous clan-based social-political organization on the Chiquitos missions, and used the term *parcialidad* to identify the clans. This was similar to the clans on the missions among the Guaraníes identified by the Jesuits employed as *cacicazgos*. A series of detailed tribute censuses drafted in 1745 enumerated the populations by *parcialidad*, and family group (see Table 1). Several patterns emerge, including the

ethnic diversity of the mission populations. Several *parcialidades* were found on two of the missions. Examples included the Paycones/Paicones, Boros, and Guarayos. There was also a *parcialidad* of Baures on San Francisco Xavier mission. The Baures were an ethnic group also found on the Moxos missions located further north.

The mission populations expanded with the recruitment and resettlement of non-Christians, but also through natural reproduction. The available evidence shows that in most years the number of births and baptisms of non-Christians was greater than the number of deaths, and the Chiquitos mission populations grew at slow to moderate rates. Periodic epidemics slowed but did not stop population growth. The congregation of large numbers of people in spatially compact communities facilitated the spread of contagion. The population of San Francisco Xavier was typical. It grew during most years prior to the Jesuit expulsion in 1767. From the 1,690 reported in 1718, the numbers nearly doubled by 1765,

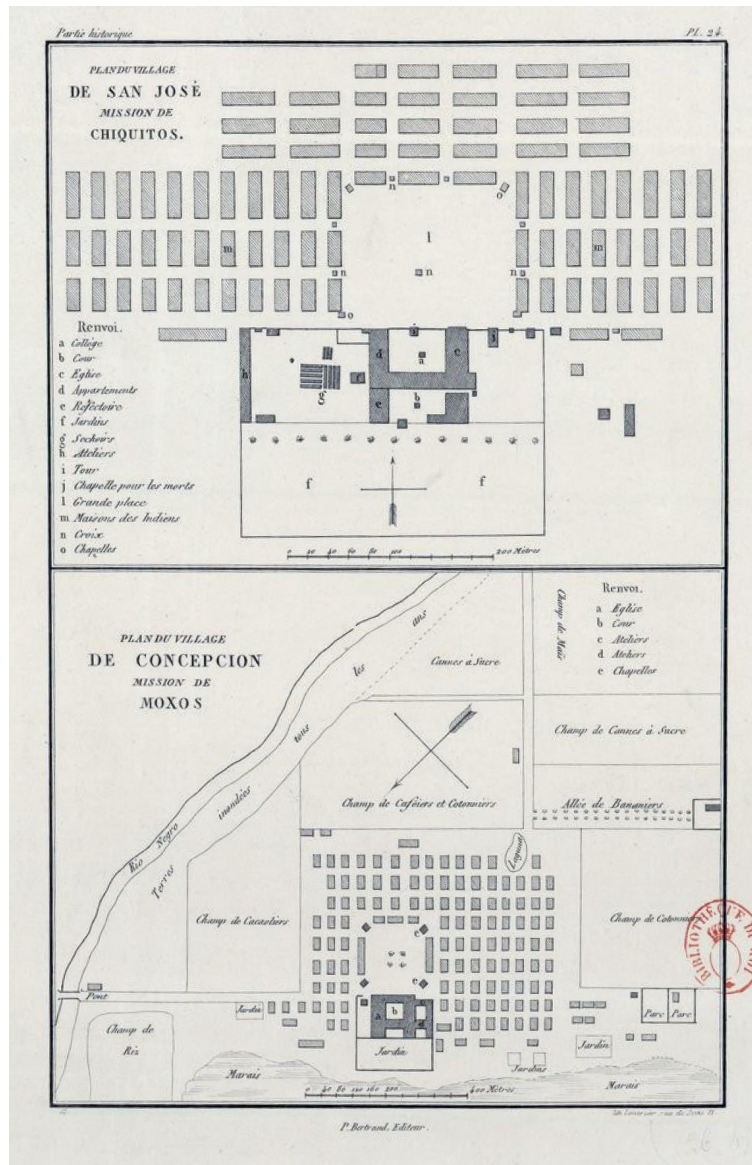
in which year the population was 3,302. What factors contributed to this growth? Birth rates were one factor, but so to was the resettlement of non-Christians, particularly in the 1760s. The Jesuits congregated 467 new converts on San Francisco Xavier in 1760, 1762, and 1763, and the population jumped from 2,799 in 1758 to 3,256 in 1764 and 3,302 in the following year (Jackson, 2015: 20, 260). The number of children also increased from 1,422 in 1758 to 1,813 in 1764, suggesting that many of the non-Christians congregated on the mission were children. In the years 1760 to 1765, the Jesuits baptized 1,088 children, but no adults (Jackson, 2015: 260). The percentage relationship of children to the total population also increased from 52.2 percent in 1758 to 55.7 percent in 1764. In the years 1738 to 1767 for which there is a complete record, the Jesuits baptized 4,433 natives, both adults and children. In 25 years for which there is more complete information the Jesuits baptized 3,497 natives and recorded 2,764 burials, or a net difference of +733. Similarly, the population of Concepción increased

from 1,087 in 1718 to 1,858 in 1739, and 3,287 in 1765. In 24 years for which there is complete data the Jesuits baptized 2,980 natives and registered 1,891 burials, a net difference of +1,089 (see Table 16).

The urban plan of the fully developed mission communities was similar to that of Mission San Juan Bautista discussed above. An 1845 lithograph based on a plan drafted by Alcide D'Orbigny who visited the two communities in the 1830s documented the spatial organization of San José de Chiquitos (Chiquitos) and Concepción de Baures (Moxos) Missions (see Figure 3). The main square was at the center of the community, and small chapels and crosses marked it as Christian space. The mission church and colegio occupied one side of the square. It was a common practice for the churches to have an east-west orientation. Rows of structures with small apartments for the indigenous residents of the mission occupied three sides of the plaza, and streets laid out on the grid plan separated the structures. The practice was to assign blocks

of the housing structures to the different clan chiefs for the members of their clans. There were separate clans for the different ethnicities settled on the missions.

Figure 3. An 1845 lithograph documenting the urban plan of San José de Chiquitos and Concepción de Baures (Moxos) Missions



Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

The Jesuits directed the construction of the mission complex at San José using stone. The free-standing bell tower and the church façade reportedly were completed in 1748. Actual work on the church may not have been completed until shortly following the expulsion of the Jesuits, around 1770. Work on the mortuary chapel reached completion in 1750 and the colegio with its vaulted roof in 1754 (Gutiérrez da Costa, y Gutiérrez Vinuales, 1995: 347–352). The Jesuits employed other techniques and materials in the construction of the other Chiquitos and the Moxos missions, and there is some information on the chronology of church construction. The construction of the church at San Francisco Xavier concluded in 1752, that of San Juan Bautista between 1755 and 1759, the church at Concepción was built between 1753 and 1760, and the churches at San Ignacio and Santiago were completed respectively in 1761 and 1767. The information regarding the other churches is less precise: that of San Miguel dates to the 1740s, the church of Santo Corazón to the 1760s, and that of Santa Ana to after the Jesuit expulsion

(Gutiérrez da Costa, y Gutiérrez Vinuales, 1995: 347–352). The construction process employed in the other missions first entailed planting large wooden columns in the ground without stone foundations. The building walls rested on the ground that had been flattened and compressed. The next step was to construct a temporary roof to protect the adobe walls from the torrential rains during the rainy season. The adobe bricks were laid in between the columns. The permanent roof was extended to form a covered walk to protect the adobe walls from the rains, and to also provide artificial shade. The roof was a structure built of wood sections and beams joined by joints, and required few iron nails. The interior and exterior walls of the churches were plastered with a lime base plaster, that also provided a surface for murals and design elements that were painted by native artists on the dry plaster.

3. The Moxos Missions

Jesuits from the Province of Perú focused on the evangelization of the indigenous

peoples of the sierra and coastal regions until the 1670s. It was only at that time that they established a chain of missions in the Amazon Basin in what today is Beni Department, Bolivia. The Moxos missions shared characteristics in common with the Chiquitos missions discussed above, both in terms of social, political, and economic organization, as well as in architecture and the development of a similar urban plan. The architecture of Concepción de Baures mission (see Figure 4) was typical, and was similar to the architecture of the Chiquitos missions. The Moxos missions were also multilingual communities populated by different ethnic groups (Block, 1994). The Moxos missions were also similar to the Chiquitos missions in terms of demographic patterns. Some of the Moxos missions had open populations, meaning that the Jesuits continued to congregate non-Christians on the mission communities. The 1748 Moxos mission census enumerated the number of natives baptized, as well as those who had not been baptized. Two missions, San Nicolás and San Miguel, still had large numbers of

unbaptized residents (see Table 3). At San Nicolás the number of baptized totaled 1,374 as against 442 unbaptized, and it was 2,822 and 622 respectfully for San Miguel. Both missions already existed in 1732, so the 1748 census data shows that the Jesuits continued to congregate non-Christians as did the missionaries stationed on the Chiquitos missions. Five other missions reported non-Christian residents, but the total was only 149. Deposorios de la Virgén María had the largest number with 80 (Pastells, 1912-1915, vol. 7: 746-747).

Figure 4. Concepción de Baures Mission in a c. 1859 painting



Source: Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre.

The Moxos missions were also located on a frontier disputed by the Portuguese, and became a war zone in the aftermath of the Treaty of Madrid (1750) that attempted to delineate the boundaries of Spanish and Portuguese territories in South America. Under the terms of the treaty Spain transferred the Moxos mission of Santa Rosa to Portugal, and the Jesuits transferred the mission to a new site. Following the annulling of the treaty in 1761, Spain and Portugal agreed to return the territories exchanged under the terms of the treaty. However, the Portuguese governor of Mato Grosso refused to return the original site of Santa Rosa mission. Spain and Portugal went to war in 1762 as a part of the larger European conflict known as the Seven Years War (1755-1763). During the war the Portuguese occupied the site of a second Moxos mission. The 1763 Treaty of Paris stipulated the return of Spanish territory occupied by the Portuguese, but the governor of Mato Grosso refused to return the site of the second mission. Royal officials in La Plata (modern Sucre, Bolivia) organized a 1764 military expedition, but

failed to dislodge the Portuguese. Portugal retained the two mission sites.

4. The Chiloé Missions

The Jesuits administered missions on the southern frontier of Chile, including the Chiloé missions in Patagonia. The Jesuits first visited the Chiloé region in 1608, and established the first mission at Castro in 1617. The Argentine architect Ramón Gutiérrez described an organization model for the Jesuit missions that he called «circular» missions (Gutiérrez da Costa, 2007). His previous research focused on the Jesuit missions among the Guaraní and in Chiquitania. As discussed above, the Jesuit policy in these missions was to congregate the entire indigenous populations on a single settlement. In the case of the Chiloé missions the Jesuits had a limited number of personnel available, and administered some 75 settlements from a smaller number of villages designated as cabeceras (see Table 4). However, this pattern of organization was similar to the Jesuit missions in northern New Spain discussed

below. This was a strategy dictated by the limited number of missionaries, and the geographical reality of having to evangelize communities scattered over a group of small islands (see Figure 5). Two indigenous groups inhabited the region. The first group, the original inhabitants, was known as Chonos. They were hunter-gatherers that fished, collected shell-fish, and hunted seals. They were skilled sailors and had small launches called *dalca*. The second group was known as Huilliches or Viliches. They were Mapuche groups that had migrated to the region and displaced the Chonos. They practiced agriculture growing corn and a local variety of potatoes, and also hunted and collected shell-fish. In the 1550s the indigenous population of the Chiloé region was about 30,000, and this number dropped to around 12,000 in 1609 as a consequence of epidemics and a 1600 revolt against Spanish rule. There is a record of epidemics in 1633, 1657, and 1696. In 1755, the indigenous and non-indigenous populations totaled 18,896. A 1773 census shortly after the Jesuit expulsion recorded an indigenous population of 5,922 in the

jurisdiction of Castro, 1,484 in Calbuco, and 1,326 in Chacao.

How did the Chiloé mission system work? The Jesuit missionaries periodically went on the circuit to the visitas to hear mass, catechize, and administer the sacraments. One *carta annua* described how the system worked during the mid-seventeenth century when there were few missionaries. The population would come to the main mission at Castro during Easter week, for the feast days of Santiago, San Ignacio, and San Francisco Xavier at the end of July and in early August. The third was from August 8-16 for the celebration of the Asunción. When more missionaries were available the pattern was to periodically visit the outlying communities. One document described how residents from the first visita on the circuit would come to Castro around the middle of September with several small launches to transport the missionary and several of the statues from the mission at Castro. The Jesuits trained native *fiscales* or catechists to supervise the visitas until the missionaries were able to visit (Moreno Jeria, 2006).

The Chiloé missions were unique architecturally in that they were built completely of wood in a style similar to New England churches. Wood was abundant and the indigenous groups had experience building with it. There were many examples of the use of wood during the first stages of building construction on other mission frontiers such as the Jesuit Chiquitos missions, and those among the Guaraní. However, the Jesuits later had structures built of adobe, *tapia frances* (compressed earth), or stone. Although built with hard woods resistant to high humidity, the churches and related structures also required considerable maintenance. The Franciscans who replaced the Jesuits following their expulsion continued the practice of building in wood, and it was a tradition that continued into the nineteenth century. The eighteenth-century church as Achao was typical of the architecture on the Chiloé missions (see Figure 6). The indigenous residents of the missions most likely continued to live in their traditional housing.

Figure 6. Santa María de Loreto Achao Mission



Source: Wikipedia. In the public domain.

5. The Frontier Missions in New Spain in the Mid-1750s

The Jesuit organization of the missions they administered on the northern frontier of New Spain (modern Mexico) were different from the Chiquitos and Moxos missions discussed above, but at the same time were similar to the Chiloé missions with the indigenous populations settled on the cabecera and communities designated as visitas. A Bourbon reform initiative in the 1740s had already reduced the number of missions the Jesuits administered. The reform initiative implemented in a 1749 decree sought to secularize older doctrinas or indigenous parishes in Spanish America, or, in other words, transfer them to Episcopal authority. 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). Following the issue of the 1749 royal decree ordering secularization, royal officials moved forward with the transfer of 22 Jesuit administered missions in Tepehuana and Topia 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). A c. 1755 Jesuit map shows the missions they staffed in the region (see Figure 7). Following the partial secularization, the Jesuits assigned a smaller number of people to missions on the northern frontier.

Figure 7: A c. 1755 Jesuit map of their missions on the northern frontier showing those transferred to Episcopal authority, and those they still administered. Chorographia de las Misiones Apostolicas q Administro antes en Topia y la Tepeguana y actualmente administran en Nayarit Tarahumara Chinipas, Cinaloa, Sonora Primeria y California de la Compañía de Jesus en la America Septentrional.



Source: Mapoteca Manuel Orozco y Berra, México City. Reproduced in Jackson y Siller Camacho, 2023: 97.

A detailed series of reports prepared in 1754–1755 By José de Utrera, S.J., documented the organization and population of the missions the Jesuits still administered following the secularization of the older missions in Nueva Vizcaya (see Table 5) (W.B. Stephens Collection No. 67). The Jesuits administered 30 missions in Sonora, 20 in Sinaloa, 12 in Chinipas, 13 in California, and eight in Nayarit. The recent secularization resulted in 11 missions in the Tepehuana region and another 11 missions in Topia being surrendered to the Bishop of Durango. The main evangelization campaign was in what remained of the Sinaloa-Sonora missions including those among the Yoreme (Mayo, Yaqui), and California. They still administered missions in the Tarahumara region, and the Nayarit missions established beginning in 1722. Because of the limited missionary personnel available, most missions included the main mission community or cabecera, and communities designated as *visitas* that the missionaries visited periodically. Many indigenous peoples saw a missionary only sporadically, and were not under close supervision of their religious beliefs and

practices the majority of the time. Utrera's report on the California missions noted, for example, that the Jesuits had the people living away from the mission community come to the missions every 15 days for religious instruction. The lack of daily supervision, however, lent itself to the persistence of non-Christian religious beliefs. Several of the missions in the Pimeria Alta region of northern Sonora had not recovered following an uprising. The missions the Jesuits administered in Sinaloa-Sonora were typical of those on the northern frontier of New Spain, and their organization is examined in detail below.

6. The Sinaloa-Sonora Missions

The organization and history of the Jesuit missions in northern Sinaloa and Sonora was typical of their evangelization on the northern frontier of New Spain. They initiated their evangelization campaign on the Sinaloa River in the mid-1590s, some 60 years following the Spanish subjugation of the region. The Jesuits established several missions for the local indigenous population,

but remains of these missions exist at only two sites. The first was at El Nio Icesave, founded in 1595 south of the Villa de San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa and Bamoa. The Jesuits designated the mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. The mission at El Nio occupied two sites, and there are ruins at both. The older ruins are located in the town cemetery at Pueblo Viejo, which is about two kilometers south of the modern town of El Nio. The second site is in the small town of El Nio. There was another Jesuit mission at Tamazula, also on the Sinaloa River south of El Nio. The existing church dates to the period following the Jesuit expulsion in the late eighteenth century. There was also a mission at the site of modern Guasave, but nothing remains of this establishment.

The natives of northern Sinaloa did not universally support the Jesuit evangelization campaign, and the Black Robes adopted tactics to undermine the status of their principal rivals, the shaman or traditional religious leader. In 1594, for example, Gonzalo de Tapia, S.J., who had earlier founded the

first Jesuit mission at San Luis de la Paz, had a shaman flogged. The traditionalist faction headed by the shaman responded by killing the Jesuit (Dunne, 1940: 33–36). An epidemic that struck the native population of the Sinaloa River Valley had given the traditional religious leaders effective propaganda in the cultural war with the Jesuits. As occurred on numerous occasions on different mission frontiers, the traditional religious leaders blamed the missionaries for the epidemics that killed many (Dunne, 1940, 31–36). However, the Jesuits were able to use Spanish colonial authority and support from the military to overcome opposition to their mission program. There were other instances of resistance to the Jesuit mission program. The Upper Pimans (O’odham/Sobaipuri), for example, revolted twice against the Spanish and the Jesuit missions in 1695 and again in 1751, and in both instances the natives killed missionaries. Not all of the rebels returned to the mission, and some sought refuge in the Cerro Prieto Mountains in southern Sonora where they joined other groups that resisted

the Spanish presence. Other individuals and small groups there included Seri. The «renegades» in the Cerro Prieto raided the missions and other Spanish settlements in Sonora. The Spanish launched a military campaign into the Cerro Prieto as part of the general effort between 1767 and 1771 to pacify the region. During his visitation of Sonora in 1768, José de Gálvez y Gallardo suffered heat prostration and temporary dementia. He ordered the importation of Guatemalan apes to confront the problem of hostile indigenous groups. The frontier military faced the problem of having to track down hostile natives in difficult and largely unknown terrain that the natives knew very well. The Spanish were never able to overcome the problem of raiding from hostile groups on the fringes of Sonora.

The establishment of missions in northern Sinaloa and southern Sonora also brought demographic consequences to the native populations. Epidemics of highly contagious crowd diseases such as smallpox and measles decimated the populations, killing thousands.

The Black Robes, for example, reported that by 1603 some 4,000 natives had died on the Sinaloa River missions because of disease and warfare, and in 1617 the natives in the same area fled their communities following the outbreak of an epidemic (Dunne, 1940: 75). The Jesuits reported large numbers of baptisms in northern Sinaloa and southern Sonora. Between 1591 and 1631, the number of baptisms reached 151,240. However, in the mid-1620s 27 Jesuits staffed missions with a reported population of 67,375 (Dunne, 1940: 217, 220). These figures suggest a rate of depopulation in excess of fifty percent over a period of some 40 years.

Over the next ninety years, the Jesuits moved northward along the coastal river valleys, and into the mountains of the Sierra Madre Occidental, establishing missions among native communities of sedentary or semi-sedentary agriculturalists. In 1605, the Jesuits established missions among the Yoreme (Mayo) living along the Río Fuerte in northern Sinaloa, and in 1614 in the Mayo River Valley in southern Sonora. This was

followed in 1617 with the first mission among the Yoémem (Yaqui) founded by Andrés Pérez de Rivas, S.J., and Tomás Basilio, S.J. Two years later, in 1619, Jesuits visited Sahuaripa, the residence of the Sisibutari or paramount chief of the Tehuimas (Opata). The Black Robes established a mission at Sahuaripa in 1627. Over the next several decades the Jesuits established new missions among the Tehuimas at sites such as Huepac and Arispe in the Sonora River Valley, and Bacadehuachi and Bavispe in the mountains of eastern Sonora. The Jesuits established missions among the Névome (Pimas Bajos) beginning in 1620, and expanded the number of missions in later years as more missionaries became available to communities such as Yecora (1673) (Dunne, 1940: 80, 144). Around 1650, the Jesuits established a mission at the Tehuima community Cucurpe, just south of the Upper Pima communities. Jesuits baptized some 160 Hymeris Pimas (modern Imuris), and had the converts moved to a site closer to Cucurpe (Bannon, 1955: 102). This group of Hymeris was the first Upper Pimas the Jesuits baptized, and they later formed

the nucleus Mission Dolores which was the first mission that Eusebio Francisco Kino (1645-1711) established located just north of Cucurpe. From Dolores Kino visited the native communities in the region the Spanish named the Pimeria Alta, and organized a network of missions at existing Upper Pimas communities. Kino envisioned directing a chain of missions staffed by Jesuits, but the reality was that few missionaries were available for the north Sonora mission frontier.

The organization of the mission at Arispe founded about 1650 was typical of the Jesuit missions in Sonora. A 1755 Jesuit map of the mission district documented the location of the cabecera, and four communities designated as visitas (see Figure 8). The Jesuit church completed in 1755 still exists, and was typical of Jesuit architecture in the region. There is no record of the form of housing for the Tehuimas who lived on the mission. A c. 1760 map of central and northern Sonora showed the cabeceras and visita communities in the period shortly before the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 (see Figure 10).

Figure 8. A 1755 map of the Arispe Mission district showing the main mission village and visitas



Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Figure 9. The Jesuit church in Arispe completed in 1755



Source: Photograph in the collection of the author.

Figure 10. A c. 1760 map of the Jesuit Missions in Sonora. Mapa de la Provincia de Sonora, Opatas, Pimas altos y Pimas baxos, c. 1760



Source: Archivo Cartográfico de Estudios Geográficos del Centro Geográfico del Ejército, Madrid, AR-T.3-C.2-70. In the public domain. The map shows the main mission villages («caveza»), and communities designated as visitas shortly before the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767.

With the dispersed settlement pattern most residents of the visitas only saw a missionary only sporadically, the Jesuits themselves reported the superficial conversion of the indigenous peoples and their lack of knowledge of basic Catholic doctrine. In the early 1750s, for example, the natives at San Francisco Xavier Wa:k (Bac) located on the Santa Cruz River in what today is Arizona were not well instructed in basic doctrine, and the Jesuits complained that there were no catechists to instruct them in doctrine (Jackson, 1994: 23). The Jesuits had first visited Bac in the early 1690s, some sixty years earlier, but visited the community only sporadically after that date. The mission did not consistently have a resident missionary until the 1750s, and it was visited by Jesuits stationed on other missions and more specifically from Guevavi that was staffed by a Jesuit beginning in the 1730s. In 1751, Jacobo Sedelmayr, S.J., the missionary stationed on Tubutama, also visited Wa:k. He reported that the residents did not know basic Catholic doctrine well, and that there were no trained catechists at the mission to oversee religious instruction

(Galvin Collection, 1751). This reality lent itself to the persistence of pre-Hispanic religious beliefs alongside an incomplete understanding of Catholic doctrine

Baptismal and burial registers exist for a number of the northern Sonora missions; although they are not complete (see Table 6). However, the record does show the ethnic diversity of the frontier indigenous population, and the colonial practice of slavery. The Magdalena Parish Archive in Magdalena de Kino, Sonora preserves two baptismal registers for Cucurpe that date to the 1680s, and is the oldest such record for the region. As already discussed, Cucurpe was a community predominately of Tehuimas, but administratively was included in the group of missions that Kino organized after 1687. The larger register contain the baptisms of 448 natives, mostly Opata and Pima, five settler children, 12 Seri or Tepoca from the fringes of Spanish Sonora on the coast of the Sea of Cortes (Gulf of California), two Yoémem from the Yaqui River Valley in southern Sonora, and two non-Christians

(Upper Pimas) the missionaries labeled as «gentiles». The second smaller baptismal register is titled «Hiaquis (Yoémém) and servants of the settlers». The Yoémém came to the frontier to work for the settlers living in the region. This register recorded the baptisms of 78 native children, five settler children, four Tehuima, one Névome, five Seri, one Pima, and 14 Yoémém. The missionaries had to co-exist with a growing settler population, and at times there were conflicts between the missionaries and the settlers. One cause of conflict was that some natives elected to leave the missions and work for the settlers. The Sonora frontier was fluid, and there were movements of people. There was also considerable ethnic diversity (Jackson, 1985: 464).

A small number of Yoémém (Yaqui) and Névome came to work in the northern frontier region, and there were baptisms of Seri, Apache, and Quechan or Yuma from the Colorado River region. These were mostly war captives and children distributed as servants to settler families. In the sample of

baptisms there were, for example, baptisms of 163 Quechan or Yuma. A last category was that of *nijora* which was a group of slaves held by frontier settler families, and most came from the Colorado River region as well. The majority most likely were Quechan or Yuma. There was an active slave trade in *nijoras* cloaked in the legal fiction that they were war captives that had been taken in battles between different indigenous groups, and had been «ransomed» by the settlers who thus saved their lives and put them to work. The sample of baptisms includes 286 *nijoras*. The largest group consisted of different Pima groups.

Disease and other factors, including warfare, reduced the size of the populations living in the river valleys, and in the case of the Pimeria Alta missions the Jesuits and later the Franciscans recruited converts from among Papagos communities. A detailed case study of Guevavi-Tumacacori mission located in the Santa Cruz River Valley in what today is southern Arizona is typical of the pattern of the spatial organization of the indigenous

communities, and the consequences of population decline. At the same time as the population declined, the Jesuits and later the Franciscans relocated the surviving natives onto a smaller number of settlements. They also suppressed some missions with small populations. In the 1740s, for example, the Jesuits closed Dolores mission and relocated the surviving population to Cocóspera (Jackson, 1994: 26). From the 1730s to the 1760s, the Jesuits resettled the populations of twelve communities onto four settlements: Guevavi, Tumacacori, Calabazas, and Sonita. A 1754 census recorded 316 people living on the main mission community and three visitas. This increased to 507 in 507 with the resettlement of communities from the neighboring San Pedro River Valley, but then dropped to 488 in 1766 and 310 in 1768 as a result of epidemics and chronic ailments. Within another decade only one settlement remained, Tumacacori (Jackson, 1994: 23). A family reconstitution based on a sample of 123 children born on the mission between 1773 and 1825 provides evidence of a pattern of high infant mortality. A total of 46

percent of the children died within the first year of life, 27 percent from age one to five, and 21 percent from age five to ten. A mere seven percent of the children lived beyond age ten (Jackson, 1994: 62–65).

7. The California Missions

The second case study is of the California missions. The California missions had a unique history, because the Jesuits themselves financed the costs of colonization beginning in 1697 after Crown efforts to colonize the region had failed. The Crown abandoned colonization efforts after a last expedition in the years 1683–1685 was abandoned. The Jesuits led by Juan María Salvatierra, S.J., petitioned for the right to colonize California at their own expense. The Crown granted the request, and also gave the Jesuits the right to recruit and direct soldiers and other non-missionary personnel. Supporters of the Jesuits donated money and income producing properties to fund the California missions. Salvatierra established the first mission he named in honor of the Virgen of

Loreto in 1697, and the Jesuits established new missions as funds became available. The Jesuits added new missions when a fund that generally was 10,000 pesos was available to invest to produce income to cover the costs of the new establishment. The Jesuit experiment in California came close to being a frontier theocracy of the type some scholars claimed to have existed in the Jesuit missions in South America.

Because of the aridity of much of the Peninsula, the Jesuits were unable to congregate the neophytes on a single community. Instead, they implemented a system based on a dispersed settlement pattern, and periodic visits to the main mission community for religious instruction and mass. The spatial distribution of the population was different from the examples discussed above in Chapter 3. In 1720, for example, the population of Guadalupe mission totaled 2,000, and six years later in 1726 it reportedly was 1,707 living on 32 *rancherías* (Jackson, 1984: 102). The case of the two missions established among the group collectively known as the

Guaycuros also typified the Jesuit system. In 1721, Clemente Guillen, S.J., established the first mission among the Guaycuros as Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and in 1737 the Jesuits established San Luis Gonzaga. Guillen reported that it took him some twenty years to congregate the natives to a group of six settlements he identified as *pueblos*, which meant that they were different from the seasonally shifting native settlements. In 1744, the six villages were known as Dolores, the main mission village, with a population of 159; Limpia Concepción with a population of 124; Encarnación that counted 112 neophytes; Trinidad with 82; Redención with 130; and Resurrección counting 142. The neighboring mission San Luis Gonzaga consisted of three villages: San Luis Gonzaga with 190 neophytes; Santa María Magdalena with 195, and San Juan Nepomuceno with 131 neophytes. Guillen also reported he had organized a village named Jesús María to the west near Magdalena Bay with 195 natives, and another 56 he hoped to settle at Jesús María. Because of the distance of the village from both Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga,

the Black Robe hoped to establish another mission for these groups. Guillen noted that he had to visit caves and go into the nearby mountains to look for the natives. Once brought under the sphere of influence of the mission, the Jesuits periodically brought the natives to the main mission village to receive religious instruction (Guillen, 1744). The population of Dolores del Sur and San Luis Gonzaga totaled 1,000 and 516 respectively in 1744, but this number dropped to 458 and 288 twenty-four years later, in 1768. The majority of the Guaycuros and other indigenous peoples received little day-to-day oversight from the Jesuits, and their lives changed little.

San José de Comondú Mission provides a second example of patterns of development during the Jesuit tenure. The Jesuits founded San José de Comondú in 1708 at a site known today as Comondú Viejo. The Jesuits established the mission once they had an endowment of 10,000 pesos to cover the costs of its administration. The Jesuits operated the mission at the site for 28 or 29 years, and

there are still ruins of a small church and other structures. The Black Robes relocated in the mission in 1736 or 1737 to a valley to the south that had a more reliable water supply. The new site had been a visita of Loreto mission known as San Ignacio. A second visita named San Miguel Cadandogomo existed at a site in the same valley several miles away. Juan de Ugarte, S.J., stationed on San Francisco Xavier, founded the visita in 1714. He had the site populated, and had a dam and irrigation system constructed. Between 1730 and 1737, Agustín Luyando, S.J. resided there. A baptismal register exists for San Miguel, and Luyando recorded 57 baptisms mostly of children. In 1735–1737, Luyando settled a handful of Guaycuros on the community (Jackson, 1984: 101). It became a visita of Comondú following the relocation of the mission to San Ignacio (Jackson, 1984: 98–102).

Following the formation of the mission community and visitas the population of Comondú Mission slowly declined. The 1744 report on Comondú noted a population of 513,

and that between 1708 and 1744 the Jesuits had baptized 1,563. A complete set of baptismal and burial registers survives for the years 1737–1806. The Jesuits generally did not record enough detailed information in baptismal entries to distinguish between the baptisms of new-born children or non-Christians congregated on the mission, but does show the declining population. Between 1737 and 1767, the Jesuits recorded 798 baptisms and 852 burials, or a net difference of -54 (Mariano Cuevas Collection). The mission population dropped to 387 in 1755, 350 in 1762, and 330 in 1768 (Jackson, 1984: 100).

Santa Gertrudis (established in 1751) is another example. It is located in a particularly arid part of the Central Desert in Baja California. In 1755, the mission district had a population of 1,586, but only a small number actually lived on the main mission community. A report and census from that year documented the spatial distribution of the population. The cabecera or main mission community had a population of only 69. The rest of the population was

dispersed in eight rancherías or settlements: Trinidad 152; Guadalupe 151; Carmen 279; Visitación 230; Purificación 269; La Merced 235; Loreto 132; and San Miguel 69 (W.B. Stevens Collection, folio 218). As seen in Table 5, the majority of the Jesuit missions had a dispersed settlement pattern. The Jesuit California missions were an extreme example of this pattern.

8. By Way of Conclusion: To Congregate or not to Congregate, That was the Question

The adoption of a scheme of a dispersed settlement pattern by the Jesuits on the northern frontier of New Spain responded, in part, to the aridity of some regions where they administered missions, as in the case of the California missions. The dry climate and limited rainfall prevented the production of sufficient food to congregate the indigenous populations on a single mission community. But the small number of Jesuits available to staff the missions also was a factor. In 1592, for example, a couple of years before the first missionaries arrived in Sinaloa, there were

216 Jesuits in the Province of New Spain. There were 348 Jesuits in 1620 about the time the missionaries established the first missions in southern Sonora. In 1698, the year following the establishment of the first mission in California, there were 513. The Jesuits conceivably could have congregated the indigenous peoples of Sinaloa and parts of Sonora, but chose not to. One of the reasons was that the Jesuits were also establishing a network of colegios and residencias in the cities. They attended to the spiritual needs of city-folk, and established *casas de ejercicios* where people could study the Ignatian exercises. They also had an important educational mission. In any given year the majority of the Jesuits in the Province of New Spain staffed the colegios and residencias.

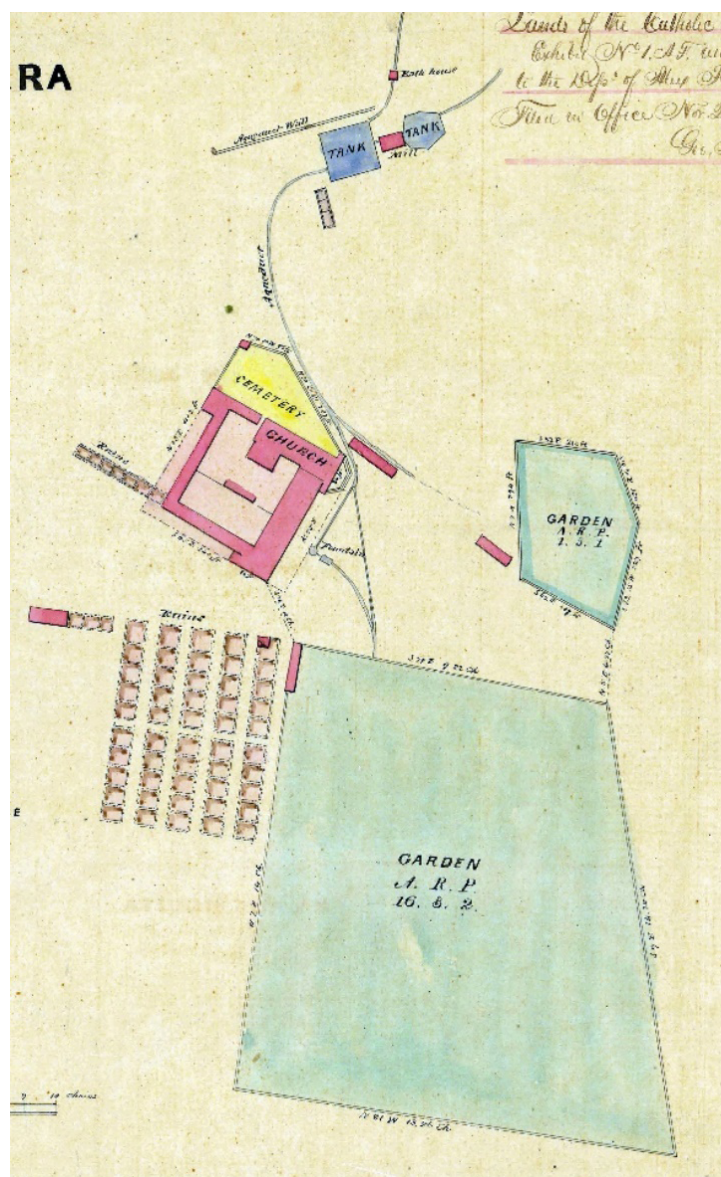
There were examples of Franciscan administered frontier missions that were congregations. Two examples are those of Coahuila-Texas that dated to the early eighteenth-century, and the Alta California missions established beginning in 1769 immediately following the Jesuit expulsion.

In both cases the Franciscans congregated indigenous peoples on the newly created mission communities. Franciscans from the Apostolic Colleges of Santa Cruz (Querétaro) and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Zacatecas) administered missions in Coahuila-Texas. Most lasted only a short period of time, and the only missions that achieved a degree of stability were the five located in what today is San Antonio, Texas, and two Goliad, Texas. Hostile indigenous groups such as Comanches and Lipan Apaches raided, the missions, and the fully developed mission complexes incorporated defensive elements. The Mission San José y San Miguel de Aquayo established in 1720 was typical. In the 1780s, the mission complex was built in a square shape, and was surrounded by defensive walls. The small apartments for the neophyte population were built on the inside of the walls, and other structures also formed a part of the wall. The church and residence of the missionaries were located within the walled complex, and defensive bastions with canons were located at the four corners (Jackson, 2023).

The Franciscans from the Apostolic College of San Fernando (Mexico City) administered missions in the Sierra Gorda region of Querétaro (1744-1771), and then occupied the California missions (1768-1773) following the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. In 1769, the important royal official José de Gálvez y Gallardo organized the colonization of (Alta) California, and assigned the Franciscans from San Fernando to establish and administer missions. The new missions were also congregations, and the fully developed mission urban plan was similar to that of Mission San Juan Bautista with the monumental church, cloister, and housing for the neophyte population. An 1854 plat map of Mission Santa Barbara (established 1786) documented the urban plan with the church, cloister, and neophyte housing laid-out on a grid (see Figure 11). An 1827 drawing of Mission San José (established in 1797) shows the monumental church, cloister, and rows of structures with small apartments for neophyte families (see Figure 12). The urban plan of the Franciscan missions in California more closely conformed to that of

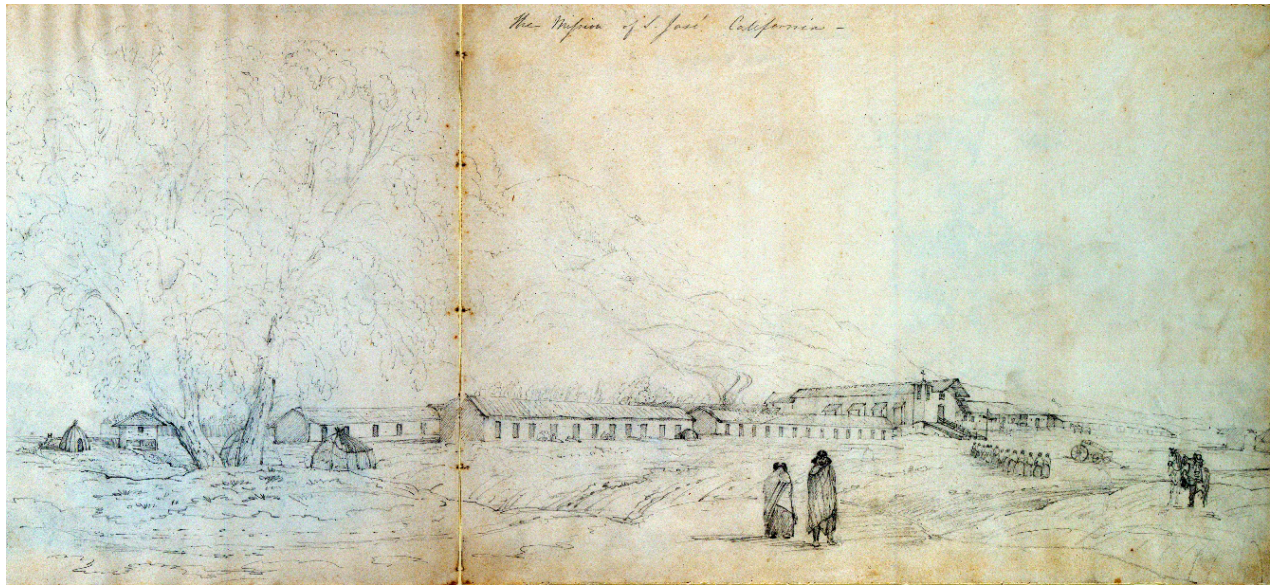
the more sophisticated and well-developed Jesuit missions in the Province of Paracuaria discussed above.

Figure 11. Detail of the 1854 plat map of Mission Santa Barbara showing the fully developed urban plan



Source: The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Figure 12. An 1827 drawing of the Franciscan California mission San José, founded in 1797. The California mission communities were laid-out on the grid plan, and the urban plan of San José mission was very similar to that of San Juan Bautista in Figure 1



Source: The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Declaración de autoría

El autor realizó la conceptualización, investigación, metodología, redacción –borrador original, redacción– revisión y edición.

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Appendix

Table 1: The *Parcialidades* of the Chiquitos Missions in 1745

San Francisco Xavier	Concepción	San Miguel
Pinocas	Punasicas	Tancas
Purasis	Boococas	Tanipicas
Paycones	Paicones	Pequicas
Baures	Puizocas	Xamanucas
Quiviquicas	Yurucaricas	Otuques
Guapas	Cibacas	Carabecas
Guarayos	Quimomecas	Guarayos/Guarayocas
San Rafael	Quitemos	Carabacas (Cristianos Nuevos)
Taos	Napecas	A group congregated in 1744
Veripones	Paunacas	San Juan Bautista
Quidagones	Cucicas	Boros
Basolos	Tapacuracas	Taos
Curuiminas	San José	Morotocos
Sarabes	Pinocas	Panonos
Batasis	Penoquis	Cucarates
Curucanes	Chamaros	Ororobedas
Cupies	Tapiis	
Ocobares	Boros	
San Ignacio de Zamucos		
Zamucos		
Satienos		
Ogaronos		
Tapios		

Source: Padrones de Tributarios of the Chiquitos Missions, 1745. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain, Charcas 293, ff. 22-323.

Table 2: The Population and Vital Rates of Mission San Francisco Xavier, 1712–1768

Year	Families	Population	Baptisms		Burials	Crude Birth Rate	Crude Death Rate	AFS**
			Children	Adults				
1712	478	1955	93		19	49.4*	10.1*	4.0
1718	505	1688	75		22	44.6	13.1	3.3
1735	605	2345	109		94	46.8*	40.3*	3.9
1738	559	2342	138	7	189	57.8*	79.1*	4.2
1739	560	2364	111	1	191	47.4	81.6	4.2
1740	564	2481	120	2	65	50.8	27.5	4.4
1741	558	2378	130	3	75	52.4	30.2	4.3
1742	545	2413	135	3	110	56.8	46.3	4.4
1743	546	2416	131		138	55.1	58.0	4.4
1744	556	2403	127		140	52.6	58.0	4.3
1745	552	2293	115		138	47.9	57.4	4.2
1746	582	2314	125		71	54.5	31.0	4.0
1747	612	2435	115		144	49.7	62.2	4.0
1748	620	2497	153		91	62.8	37.4	4.0
1749	622	2480	115		130	46.1	52.1	4.0
1750	633	2550	156		86	62.9	34.7	4.0
1751			72			28.2		
1752		2323	72					
1753			216					
1754			156					
1755	606	2578	158		92	62.9*	36.6*	4.3
1756	615	2639	165		104	64.0	40.3	4.3
1757	631	2728	156		57	59.1	21.6	4.3
1758	642	2799	154		83	56.5	30.4	4.4
1759			170					
1760	656	2978	171		101	58.8*	34.7*	4.5
1761	666	3065	191		104	64.1	34.9	4.6

1762			158			51.6		
1763			194					
1764	703	3256	176		113	55.1*	35.4*	4.6
1765	728	3302	198		142	60.8	43.6	4.5
1766	720	3201	164		265	49.7	80.3	4.5
1767			173	2				
1768		2022	147			45.9		

*Estimated. **AFS –Average Family Size.

Source: Jackson, 2015: 260.

Table 3: The Population of the Moxos Missions, in selected years

Mission	Founded	1691	1698	1713	1717	1732	1748	1768
Trinidad	1686	2254	2693	1700		2208	1720	700
Esposorio	1694				1576	1623	1199	
Santa Rosa	1705			1600	666	624	388	
Loreto	1682	3822		2000	1768	1255	1054	850
San Xavier	1691	2361	1863	2000		1717	1710	1200
San Pedro	1697			1900	2864	3223	3296	2100
Exaltación	1709			1400	1684	1851	1593	1900
San Ignacio	1689	3014	3202	1505	1981	974	621	1160
San José	1691	2036		2105	1008	923	686	
San Miguel	1696					1298	3444	
S. L. Gonzaga	1698			1630	1011	906	523	
S.F. Borja	1693			1924	1256	1826	998	
San Pablo	1703			1390	2048	2000	1324	
Los Reyes	1710			1500	1641	2108	1782	1060
San Juan	1710			1304	581			
Concepción	1708				2152	3157	2803	1295
San Joaquín	1708			1206	2310	2622	2112	680
Santa Ana	1709			200		1378	1394	1000
Magdalena	1720					2782	3112	4300
San Martin	1717					1557	1222	600
San Nicolás	1740					1514	1816	400
San Simón	1744					914	493	

Source: Catalogus Redoctionum Misionis Moxorum in Provincia Peruana Jesu Die 1 Aprilis 1732, Archivo Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, Paraguay; Pastells, 1912a: 157-158, 1912b: 746-748; Querejazu, 1995:

336.

Table 4: Population of the Chiloé Missions in 1758

Pueblo	Families	Population	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials
Ichoac	75	370	24	2	12
Vitupulli	42	200	12	3	8
Cucau	26	123	2	1	8
Huyllinco	35	172	3	0	12
Notuco	29	133	0	0	3
Chonchi	58	289	10	4	7
Terau	34	155	3	0	11
Aoni	25	122	6	1	0
Tanqui	14	73	0	0	1
Huilad	17	57	3	0	1
Chadmo	Depopulated				
Compu	14	55	0	0	0
Pailad	16	86	2	0	0
Queilen	15	82	5	1	4
Chadmo	15	92	1	0	2
Detif	35	181	9	0	5
Chelin	36	179	15	5	6
Quehui	61	311	17	1	2
Huitlacquinchao	58	280	9	2	8
Lac	34	206	5	2	5
Alau	7	39	0	0	1
Apiau	47	276	19	1	8
Cabach	34	206	10	2	3
Meulin	23	97	6	4	2
Quenac	8	33	16	0	0
Linlin	59	282	10	2	5
Linao	12	56	5	1	1
Achao	40	180	0	1	1
Palqui	24	95	4	3	2

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Huyar	33	146	10	0	3
Curaco	31	140	9	3	4
Aredchildec	37	159	20	0	1
Puqueldon	37	152	16	4	12
Curahue	15	77	7	2	1
Pillan	51	217	26	3	2
Dalcahue	5	23	17	2	1
Calen	20	88	10	2	0
Anihue	40	189	10	2	7
Vutachauquei	31	167	8	1	4
Chegniao	18	96	2	3	3
Quicavin	28	143	15	0	5
Caucahue	21	118	5	1	2
Linao	24	122	10	3	4
Caulin	21	103	6	1	3
Caypudiet	13	80	8	0	2
Cogomo	14	69	8	0	3
Quecto	14	79	6	0	2
Quetalmahue	33	149	15	3	4
Ilegible					
Carelmapic	12	78	19	7	2
Aptao	26	118	9	0	9
Quenue	19	74	1	1	3
Tabot	43	207	10	0	3
Chiohuapi	22	92	7	0	4
Chopi	33	154	6	1	4
Machil	47	180	4	2	10
Poluqui	11	64	7	0	0
San Rafael	17	94	2	2	1
Menmen	27	127	1	0	6
Caycaen	73	345	8	0	16
Chayahue	39	191	4	3	6

Pu Estero	11	42	2	1	1
Manau	24	151	6	0	3
Lligco	28	128	9	1	2
Huilu	17	77	4	2	2
Chounet	14	74	4	2	2
Chowahuc	6	28	4	2	2
Tenaun	24	119	5	0	8
Quelahuec	45	145	11	1	5
Tey	24	111	4	2	2
Llaullau	26	122	3	3	1
Nercon	25	131	0	0	3
Rauco	54	260	16	3	5
Yutui	45	199	15	0	7
Puteumun	44	190	10	1	8
Castro*	88	408	27	12	10
Total	2,295	11,047	626	113	315

*Spanish settlement.

Source: «Plano de las misiones de los padres jesuitas en el Archipiélago de Chiloé», AGI, Perú-Chile, 186.

Table 5: The Population of the Missions in the Province of New Spain, 1754–1755

Year	Mission	Visitas	Population
Sinaloa			
1755	Mocorito	None	250
1755	Chicorato	1	370
1755	Nio	2	1,280
1755	Sinaloa	Town, Mission, Colegio	3,500
1755	Guasabe	1	720
1755	Mochicahui	2	1,890
1755	Ohuera	1	220
1755	Tehueco	2	2,190
1755	Toro	2	350
1755	Batacosa	1	500
1755	Vaca	1	126
1755	Comicari	1	500
1755	Caamoa (Bamoa)	1	650
1755	Navojoa	1	760
1755	Santa Cruz	1	1,457
1754	Guaymas	1	720
1754	Huirbis	None	3,800
1754	Rahun	1	4,841
1754	Torim	1	2,500
1754	Potam	None	2,192
1754	Bachcon	1	2,000
Sonora			
1754	Cumuripa	1	450
1754	Movas	1	250
1754	Onovas	2	1,300
1754	Tecoripa	1	630
1754	Mátape	2	500
1754	Batuc	1	200

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1754	Ures	1	550
1754	Opodepe	1	360
1754	Cucurpe	1	400
1754	Aconchi	1	690
1754	Banámichi	2	480
1754	Arispe	2	1,100
1754	Cuquiárachi	2	165
1754	Oposura	1	360
1754	Guázabas	1	400
1754	Baseraca	1	860
1754	Bacadéguachi	1	505
1754	Saguaripa	1	365
1754	Arivechi	2	480
1754	Onapa	1	100
1754	Suamca	4	450
1754	Cocospera		No Data
1754	Guevavi	3	330
1754	San Francisco Xavier del Bac	Population dispersed	
1754	Caborica	2	400
1754	Tubutama	4	Dispersed
1754	Caborca		Dispersed
1754	Saric		Dispersed
1754	Sonoita	Mission Abandoned	
1754	Nuestra Señora del Populo (Seris)	No data	
Chinipas			
1755	Santa Inés de Chínipas	1	500
1755	Moris	None	200
1755	Santa Ana	2	1,525
1755	Guazápares	2	780
1755	Cerocahui	3	1,080
1755	Tubares	3	1,260
1755	Satebo		No data.

1755	Maicoba		No data.
1754	Yécora	1	400
1754	Cuteco		No data.
1754	Baborigame	6	1,055
1754	Navogame	2	460-470
Tarahumara			
1754	Noeogachic	6	2,140
1754	Tonachic	2	760
1754	Nonoava	2	1,050
1754	San Francisco de Borja	3	2,400
1754	Coyachic	2	580
1754	Santa Ana Chinarras	None	92
1754	Temeichic	3	1,575
1754	Carichic	3	1,850
1754	Sisoquichic	4	760+
1754	Tomochic	4	1,550
1754	Papigochic	2	1,400
1754	Santo Tomás	2	2,080
1754	Matachic	1	520
1754	Temosachic	1	1,920
1754	Tutuaca	1	400
California			
1755	Nuestra Señora de Loreto	None	91
1755	San Francisco Xavier	2 rancherías	380
1755	Santa Rosalía de Mulegé	2 rancherías	294
1755	San José de Comondú	None	387
1755	La Purísima Concepción	6 rancherías	320
1755	Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe	4 rancherías	472
1755	Nuestra Señora de los Dolores	5 rancherías	624
1755	Sr. Santiago Apóstol	None	232
1755	San Ignacio	6 rancherías	1,012
1755	San José del Cabo	None	73

1755	Nuestra Señora del Pilar (Todos Santos)	3 rancherías	151
1755	San Luis Gonzaga	3 rancherías	352
1755	Santa Gertrudis la Magna	8 rancherías	1,586
Nayarit			
1755	San Pedro Zicatán	None	419
1755	Dolores (suppressed)	None	190
1755	Guaynamota	None	800
1755	Jesús, María y José	1	770-790
1755	Santa Rita (Peyotán)	1	450
1755	La Mesa	None	600
1755	Santa Teresa	None	343
1755	40 soldiers and a Captain and his family		

Source: Joseph de Urera, S.J., Nuevo Estado de las Misiones de esta Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España. W.B. Stephens Collection No. 67, General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin.

Table 6: Baptisms recorded on the northern Sonora Missions

Mission	Years	Pima	Yaqui	Nebome	Opata	Seri	Apache	Yuma	Nijora
Cucurpe	1681-1711	4	2	0	444	12	0	0	0
Cucurpe	1686-1703	1	14	1	82	5	0	0	0
Magdalena	1698-1718	258	0	0	0	0	6	0	1
Magdalena	1744-1776	211	5	0	1	0	5	0	17
Magdalena	1810-1830	24	91	0	1	0	3	11	0
San Ignacio	1720-1762	2,625	37	0	4	10	10	0	70
Soamca	1732-1768	1,641	1	0	0	0	10	0	8
Soamca	1743-1753	361	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Guevavi	1741-1763	1,144	4	0	2	1	10	1	20
Tumacacori	1773-1825	290	9	0	1	0	18	19	5
Ati	1757-1827	347	3	0	0	0	1	2	13
Oquitoa	1757-1841	333	4	0	3	0	7	8	19
Oquitoa	1778-1830	3	43	0	0	0	0	3	7
Caborca	1764-1838	1,121	66	0	22	2	1	100	55
Pitiqui	1772-1845	325	68	1	2	7	0	08	36
Bisanig	1768-1803	296	1	0	1	0	1	0	23
Tubutama	1768-1833	241	13	0	3	0	2	9	12
Tubutama	1804-1837	24	20	0	6	0	0	1	0
Cocospera	1822-1836	64	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total		9,513	381	2	512	37	75	163	286

Source: Jackson, 1994: 29.