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The Post-Jesuit Expulsion Population of the Paraguay Missions, 1768-1803

ROBERT H. JACKSON

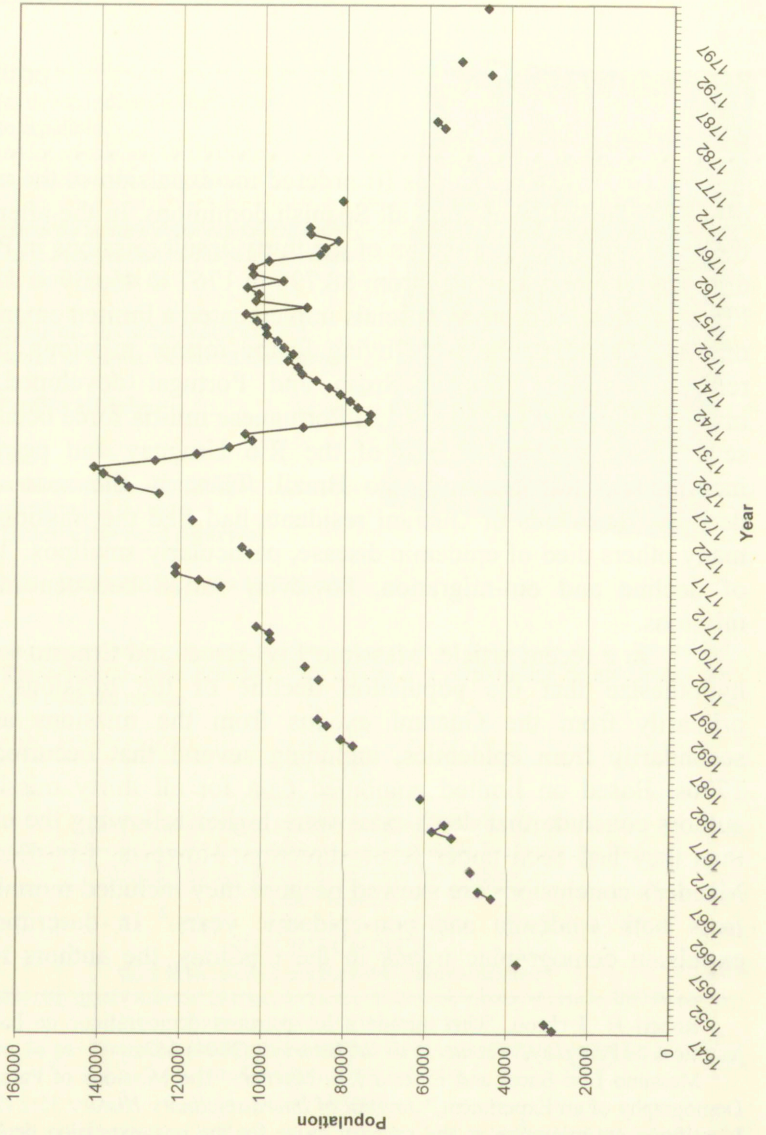
In 1767, King Carlos III ordered the expulsion of the members of the Society of Jesus from all Spanish dominions. In the aftermath of the royal order, the population of the thirty Jesuit missions in Paraguay dropped by more than half, from 88,796 in 1767 to 45,637 in 1801 (see Figure 1).¹ In 1800, royal officials implemented a limited emancipation of those Guaraní who were living in the former missions, just as a regional conflict between Spain and Portugal developed, which involved the missions. In 1801, a Portuguese militia force occupied the seven missions located east of the Río Uruguay and permanently incorporated this territory into Brazil. Thus, in the span of three decades, thousands of Guaraní residents had fled the missions, while many others died of epidemic disease, particularly smallpox. The rates of decline and out-migration, however, varied between individual missions.

In a recent article, Massimo Livi-Bacci and Ernesto J. Maeder hypothesize that the population decline of the missions resulted primarily from the Guaraní exodus from the missions and only secondarily from epidemics, including several that occurred in the 1770s. Based on limited combined data for all thirty missions, the authors conclude that death rates were higher following the expulsion than they had been under Jesuit direction. However, Livi-Bacci's and Maeder's conclusions are skewed because they included mortality rates from both epidemic and non-epidemic years.² In describing post-expulsion demographic trends in the missions, the authors relied on

¹ Robert H. Jackson, "Una mirada a los patrones demográficos de las misiones jesuíticas de Paraguay," *Fronteras de la Historia* 9 (2004):162.

² Massimo Livi-Bacci and Ernesto J.A. Maeder, "The Missions of Paraguay: The Demography of an Experiment," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35:2 (2004):220. Identifying out-migration as the primary cause for the post-expulsion decline in the mission populations represented a shift in Maeder's previous interpretation of post-expulsion population dynamics. In earlier publications, Maeder identified increased mortality as the principal cause for the population decline. See, for example, Ernesto J.A. Maeder, *Aproximación a las misiones guaranílicas* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Universidad Católica Argentina, 1996), 117-20.

Figure 1
Population of the Jesuit Missions, 1647-1801



limited sources, while neglecting other records that might have shed additional light on population change, such as detailed tribute censuses, mission accounts, and inventories. These sources could provide clues to ecological crises such as drought or epidemics among mission livestock that might have caused famine and contributed to the spread of epidemic disease. Moreover, the authors do not consider how medical treatments, responses to epidemics, or the networks of regional trade facilitated the transmission of disease.

This work examines and evaluates several factors that contributed to the post-expulsion population decline of Paraguay's missions, including the effects and treatment of epidemic disease (primarily smallpox), the impact of out-migration, shifts in royal policy, and the role of regional conflict. The mission of Los Santos Mártires del Japón, located in Misiones Province, Argentina, will also serve as a case study in order to outline the effects of disease and out-migration and to evaluate the question of mortality both before and after the Jesuit expulsion.

The treatment of disease in the missions generally was not effective. Germ theory did not gain wide-spread acceptance until the end of the nineteenth century. During the period of the Jesuit tenure in the missions and following their expulsion, the Jesuits' medical theories ranged from the belief that epidemics were sent as a punishment or blessing from God, that disease resulted from imbalances in the four basic "humors," or that it rose and spread as poisonous clouds (miasma) from rotting vegetation, decaying corpses, or other corrupt material.³

Quarantine was the most common technique used in contemporary Europe to combat epidemics. The process entailed physically isolating those infected by or exposed to contagion away from the rest of the population in a pesthouse, where afflicted individuals received minimal care, if at all. Moreover, quarantine required restrictions regarding the movement of people in and out of communities in which an epidemic had broken out. The Jesuits and, following the expulsion, the civil administrators practiced quarantine in the missions, separating the ill and exposed people from the general

³ For contemporary European demographic patterns, theories of disease, and methods used to combat epidemics, see Michael W. Flinn, *The European Demographic System, 1500-1820* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981); and Robert H. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

population.⁴ However, as mortality levels during epidemics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries show, quarantine measures often did not prove effective. As documented during a 1786 smallpox outbreak at the missions of Apóstoles and San José, family members resisted attempts to send relatives to plague hospitals.⁵

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, smallpox claimed the greatest number of lives of native peoples in the Americas.⁶ In the former Jesuit missions, the earliest reference to the use of inoculation by variolation was in 1785.⁷ In that year, a doctor inoculated the Guaraní living at San Miguel, significantly reducing the level of mortality from the contagion. However, officials at other missions continued to rely on quarantine methods in temporary hospitals.⁸ A decade later, the doctor stationed at the former mission of Yapeyú inoculated a total of 126 people at the former mission of San Francisco de Borja during a smallpox epidemic that occurred in 1796. In this instance, only fifteen Guaraní died; the doctor attributed these deaths to other complications, such as venereal disease, which weakened the immunological system of those already infected with smallpox.⁹

Inoculation by variolation entailed the injection of pus, taken from a ripe pustule on the skin of a smallpox victim, into the body of a healthy individual. Doctors hoped that any subsequent infection would be milder in the patient. However, smallpox was such a feared disease

⁴ Guillermo Fúrlong Cárdiff, *Misiones y sus pueblos de guaraníes* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Theoría, 1962), 612.

⁵ Royal officials reported Guaraní at Apóstoles hiding the sick to prevent them from being sent to the quarantine hospital. See Expediente s[ob]re la Epidemia de Viruelas q[u]e acometio a los Pueblos de S[a]n J[ose]ph y Apóstoles, Gonzalo de Doblas, Concepción, 15 November 1786, Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires (hereinafter cited as AGN), Sala 9-11-8-3, leg. 3, exp. 52. Documents in the AGN cited in this study are not organized into *expedientes*, with the exception of the *expediente* cited in this note, and no folio numbers are given.

⁶ The Edward Jenner cowpox vaccine, first described in 1796, did not reach Spanish America until the early nineteenth century.

⁷ Robert H. Jackson, *Missions and Frontiers of Spanish America: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Rio de la Plata Region and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Scottsdale: Pentacle Press, 2005), 349. Variolation was a smallpox treatment introduced in the early eighteenth century into Europe from the Middle East, where it had a long history of use.

⁸ Expediente s[ob]re la Epidemia de Viruelas, Concepción, 15 November 1786, AGN, Sala 9-11-8-3, leg. 3, exp. 52.

⁹ Fúrlong Cárdiff, *Misiones y sus pueblos de guaraníes*, 609.

that there was general popular resistance to the procedure, which was perceived as spreading contagion and exposing the healthy to a horrible disease. Regardless, the Spanish government disseminated information on the technique throughout the colonies in the Americas during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Doctors first used the procedure in Mexico City during a smallpox epidemic in 1779. Two years later, after the contagion had spread northward to the frontier, several Dominican missionaries in Baja California inoculated neophytes at their missions. Inoculation resulted in much lower death rates than at neighboring missions where the natives did not receive the procedure.¹⁰

There was little that the Jesuits could do to protect the Guaraní neophytes in the missions from periodic epidemics and the ineffectiveness of treatment. Epidemics in the 1730s and again in 1764-1765, for example, exacted a heavy mortality in the Paraguay missions. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, it appears that civil administrators responded aggressively to the threat of disease. The limited evidence available suggests that, although disease remained a problem in the former missions, no major epidemics followed the Jesuit expulsion. There is only one instance of mortality outbreak following the expulsion of the Jesuits that paralleled the severe outbreaks of the 1730s and 1760s: at Yapeyú, where more than 5,000 people reportedly died in 1771.¹¹ The crude death rate at Yapeyú totaled more than 600 persons per thousand, which made for one of the most lethal outbreaks in the history of the Paraguay missions. As a result, the population of Yapeyú dropped from more than 8,000 to 3,322 persons.

Several factors explain the severity of the 1771 smallpox outbreak at Yapeyú. Epidemics generally spread through the Paraguay missions about once a generation, when there were enough potentially susceptible people born since the previous outbreak of contagion to maintain the chain of infection.¹² At Yapeyú the previous smallpox outbreak had occurred in 1764-1765, but few people died during this epidemic.¹³ Given the large population of Yapeyú in 1771, particularly

¹⁰ Robert H. Jackson, "The 1781-1782 Smallpox Epidemic in Baja California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3 (1981):138-43.

¹¹ Martín Joseph de Larrazalde, Yapeyú Padrón, AGN, Sala 9-18-8-7 (document incomplete).

¹² On this point see Robert H. Jackson, "Demographic Patterns in the Jesuit Missions of the Río de la Plata Region: The Case of Corpus Christi, 1622-1802," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 13:4 (2004):337-66.

¹³ A Spanish army used the Paraguay missions as a base from which to launch a campaign in Rio Grande do Sul. Sick soldiers came into contact with the mission

the number of people not previously exposed to smallpox, the outbreak proved to be exceptionally lethal. While severe, subsequent outbreaks at Yapeyú and other former missions did not claim as many lives as during the epidemics of the 1730s and 1760s.

Mortality due to smallpox during the period 1770-1790 appears less than in previous decades, although the contagion continued to be a health problem. The 1777 census of Corpus Christi, for example, reported that 277 people died there from smallpox, an estimated crude death rate of 63.7 persons per thousand population, which was low when compared to death rates during previous epidemics.¹⁴ Perhaps aggressive intervention by royal officials, coupled with a relatively small number of potentially susceptible hosts, had limited mortality during the 1785-1786 smallpox outbreak. Conversely, the contagion claimed more lives at a number of the other former missions in 1797 and 1798. For example, there were 777 deaths reported at Yapeyú in 1797, or a crude death rate of 172.3 per one thousand persons.¹⁵

Fiscal and economic records relating to the mission of Los Santos Mártires del Japón provide clues that suggest that epidemics were not the main cause for the decline in population during the three decades following the Jesuit expulsion. Epidemics in pre-modern societies could occur in conjunction with subsistence crises, such as famine.¹⁶ The farming and ranching economies of the Paraguay missions could have been susceptible to food shortages caused by crop failure or decreases in the number of livestock as a result of drought that degraded pasture, warfare, raids that depleted herds and flocks, or

residents and spread smallpox throughout the missions. However, due to its location in relation to the other missions, the Jesuits at Yapeyú may have implemented effective quarantine measures. For a general discussion of the epidemic, see Jackson, "Una mirada;" and Jackson, "Demographic Patterns in the Jesuit Missions." The 1764 and 1765 censuses of the Paraguay missions summarized smallpox mortality. In 1765, some 4,000 people died from the contagion. The largest number was 1,833 reported at Loreto, or a crude death rate of 404 per thousand population. In comparison, the crude death rate per thousand population at Yapeyú was 55.7 and 44.9 in 1764 and 1765, respectively.

¹⁴ Jackson, "Demographic Patterns in the Jesuit Missions," 15.

¹⁵ Santiago Samanla et al., Yapeyú, 1 January 1798, *Anua Numeracion de los Yndividuos existentes de todos sexos y edades en este Pueblo de la Real Corona nombrado Nuestra Señora de los Reyes y Yapeyú en el presente año de 1798*, AGN, Sala 9-18-6-5.

¹⁶ Flinn, *The European Demographic System, 1500-1820*, 20-90; and Massimo Livi-Bacci, *Conquest: The Destruction of the American Indians* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 31, 159-223.

disease that killed large numbers of animals.¹⁷ However, accounts from the mission of Los Santos Mártires del Japón do not provide evidence of a subsistence crisis. In the 1770s, for example, during the period when smallpox killed more than 5,000 Guaraní at Yapeyú, prices for corn, *peroto* (a type of bean), tobacco, and *yerba mate* remained stable.¹⁸ Moreover, the number of most livestock also remained constant.

At the same time, the mission accounts identify one element of the post-expulsion regional economy that facilitated the transmission of contagious disease. The civil administrators of Los Santos Mártires del Japón traded surplus production with other mission communities and to other markets in the region. The different missions evidenced economic specialization, and Los Santos Mártires del Japón specialized in the production of *yerba mate*. The accounts record sales of *yerba mate*, transported on boats owned by other nearby mission communities located on the Río Paraná and Río Uruguay. The ease and frequency of the movement of goods on the navigable rivers in the region also facilitated the spread of contagious disease.¹⁹ Relatively rapid trade by river might account for the spread of epidemic disease to the Paraguay

¹⁷ Volatility in the price of basic food crops recorded in accounts or inventories that noted rapid declines in livestock might indicate a subsistence crisis. At the same time, active regional trade, particularly trade in basic foods, might blunt the effects of food shortages if grain could be imported from areas with surpluses to areas of scarcity.

¹⁸ Testimonio del Ynbentario del Cargo de las Quantas de D[o]n Juan Fernandez q[u]e conluio en 31 de Diziembre de 1785. Y El Ynbentario Orijinal de la Entrega q[u]e hiso d[ic]ho Fernandez a su sucesor D[o]n Thomas Gomez q[u]e concluye, en 27 de Diziembre de 1787. Yncluso en las Estancias de mismo Pueblo Como el anterior testimonio, y son Dos Ynbentarios, Los Santos Mártires del Japón, 31 December 1785, AGN, Sala 9-18-7-3. Civil administrators charged royal accounts for supplies provided to the Guaraní from Los Santos Mártires del Japón for military service or labor services provided to the royal government. These records from 1773 to 1784 do not provide evidence of crop failures. Other contemporary accounts documented regional trade and, in the case of Los Santos Mártires del Japón, sales of *yerba mate*. These accounts also do not provide evidence of crop failures. See, for example, Juan Martín Martínez, Los Santos Mártires del Japón, 8 August 1771, Diario de la Admin[istraci]on de este Pueblo, AGN, Sala 9-17-4-4.

¹⁹ Accounts from the 1770s and 1780s, for example, recorded the transportation of *yerba mate* and other goods from the former mission of Los Santos Mártires del Japón in boats belonging to the missions of Ytapúa, Corpus Christi, San José, Candelaria, San Ignacio Mini, and Yapeyú. River trade facilitated the spread of contagion. See the sources cited in note 18 and, particularly, Juan Martín Martínez, Los Santos Mártires del Japón, 8 August 1771, Diario de la Admin[istraci]on de este Pueblo, AGN, Sala 9-17-4-4.

missions. However, other factors contributed to demographic changes in the missions.

In the decades following the expulsion of the Jesuits, the populations of the former missions experienced significant changes, including a diaspora, due to other factors besides disease. Shifts in the structure of the populations of the former missions following the expulsion of the Jesuits provide evidence not only of the accelerated out-migration from the missions, but also reveal how the diaspora modified the age and gender structure of the mission populations. As will be seen, the social and political relationships within the missions, as defined by the *cacicazgos*, continued to exist after the diaspora.

The diaspora from the missions actually began prior to the Jesuit expulsion but then escalated following their removal. One report regarding five Paraguay missions summarized the number of Guaraní who had migrated in the years 1772 and 1776: from Santiago, 750; from Santa Rosa, 329; from Santos Cosme y Damián, 281; from Santa María la Fe, 683; and from San Ignacio Guazú, 368.²⁰ A 1778 report on conditions at eight of the missions—Candelaria, San José, San Carlos, Apóstoles, Concepción, Los Santos Mártires del Japón, Santa María, and San Francisco Javier—reported 1,146 Guaraní as absent.²¹

Although not always successful, royal officials did attempt to return fugitive Guaraní to the former missions. A 1790 report, for example, listed the number of fugitive Guaraní in different jurisdictions. In preparation for an effort to return the fugitives to their home communities, Tomás Estruday, at the Colônia do Sacramento in the Banda Oriental, enumerated thirteen fugitive Guaraní, including seven from former Jesuit missions.²² A second report listed more than three hundred Guaraní classified as fugitives in the jurisdictions of the Villa de Concepción del Uruguay, San José de Gualeguayes, and San Antonio de Gualeguay (see Table 1).

Guaraní residents of the missions also migrated to the disputed borderlands of the Banda Oriental, where they established new communities that were independent of the Jesuits. One such community, called Las Víboras, was first settled in 1758, following the suppression of the Guaraní uprising. Approximately 1,500 people lived

²⁰ Edgar Poenitz and Alfredo Poenitz, *Herencia misionera*, <http://www.territorioidigital.com/herencia/capitulo20.htm> (accessed 2 December 2010).

²¹ Poenitz and Poenitz, *Herencia misionera*, Chap. 18.

²² Tomás Estruday, *Relación de los Yndios que se han recogido de la provincial del Paraguay, y de los Pueblos de Misiones del Uruguay y Paraná, Colônia do Sacramento*, 31 March 1790, AGN, Sala 9-17-3-6.

Table 1
 Number of Guaraní Listed in the Jurisdictions of the
 Villa de Concepción del Uruguay, San José de Gualeguayes,
 and San Antonio de Gualeguay, 1790

Jurisdiction of the Villa de Concepción del Uruguay			
Former Mission	# of Guaraní	Former Mission	# of Guaraní
Yapeyú	21	Concepción	21
San Carlos	15	San Luis	5
Loreto	14	San Nicolás	5
La Cruz	8	Santa María la Mayor	4
Santo Tomé	4	San Javier	3
San Borja	5	Mártires	2
Santo Ángel	1	Apóstoles	6
San Juan	3	San José	8
San Miguel	2	Santa Ana	5
Candelaria	2	San Ignacio	6
Corpus Christi	3	Trinidad	2
Jesús	5	Ytapúa	9
Santos Cosme	4	Santiago	4
Santa Rosa	5	La Fe	1
Guazú	1		
Jurisdiction of San José de Gualeguayes			
Former Mission	# of Guaraní	Former Mission	# of Guaraní
Loreto	1	Mártires	1
Santo Tomé	1	Yapeyú	3
Corpus Christi	1	San Juan	1
Concepción	1	Santa Ana	1
San Miguel	1	Apóstoles	1
Jurisdiction of San Antonio de Gualeguay			
Former Mission	# of Guaraní	Former Mission	# of Guaraní
Yapeyú	8	San José	1
Santa Ana	2	Loreto	2
San Luis	1	Candelaria	2
Santa Rosa	1	La Cruz	3
Apóstoles	2	Corpus Christi	3
Santos Cosme	1	San Juan	1
Santo Ángel	1		

Vicente Ximenez, Lista de los Yndios Guaranís procedentes de los Pueblos de Misiones que se hallan en las Villas de Concepción del Uruguay, San Joseph de Gualeguayes, y San Antonio del Gualeguay y sus partidos, Villa de Concepción, 26 April 1790, AGN, Sala 9-17-3-6.

there in 1800. An analysis of 1,045 entries in the baptismal registers from Las Víboras for the years 1770-1811 provides evidence of the diverse origins of the Guaraní residents of the community. The majority, 784, or 75 percent of the total, were the children of Guaraní who once had resided in the Jesuit missions. Others came from the Franciscan missions in southern Paraguay and from other areas in the greater Río de la Plata region. In any case, the residents of Las Víboras abandoned the community in 1846 as a result of an attack that occurred during a civil war in nearby Uruguay.²³

Physical destruction of many of the eastern missions during a series of wars in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, between Portuguese Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay over control of the borderlands of the Banda Oriental, also represents another important cause of the post-expulsion diaspora. In 1801, a Portuguese militia force occupied the seven missions located east of the Río Uruguay.²⁴ Subsequently, the Portuguese distributed Guaraní mission lands to settlers in grants called *sesmarias*.²⁵ Moreover, during the turbulent decade between 1810 and 1820, the eastern missions served as a base of operations for Portuguese invasions of the territory between the Uruguay and Paraná rivers. Invasions occurred in 1811, 1812, 1817, and 1818. During the last invasion, the Portuguese invaders sacked many of the missions. In Misiones, 3,190 people died and 360 were taken prisoner. A major battle that occurred in early April 1818 at San Carlos resulted in massive damage to the church and other mission buildings. Attempting to assert control over the territory between the Paraná and Uruguay rivers, Paraguayan forces occupied and sacked the mission communities along the eastern bank of the Río Paraná in 1817, including San Ignacio, Santa Ana, Loreto, and Corpus Christi.²⁶ The Guaraní abandoned many of the missions located in the war zone and sought refuge elsewhere or were forcibly relocated.

²³ Luis Rodolfo González Rissotto, "La importancia de las misiones jesuíticas en la formación de la sociedad uruguaya," *Estudios Ibero-Americanos* 15:1 (1989):191-214.

²⁴ In 1801, Spain and Portugal also were at war due to the ongoing conflict in Europe. Spain was a French ally and Portugal was allied to England. The conflict between Spain and Portugal was part of the larger conflict that ended in 1801 with the signing of the treaty of Luneville with Austria and in 1802 with the treaty of Amiens signed with Great Britain. Poenitz and Poenitz, *Herencia misionera*, Chap. 21.

²⁵ Moacyr Flores, *Reduções Jesuíticas dos Guaranis* (Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 1997), 127.

²⁶ Poenitz and Poenitz, *Herencia misionera*, Chaps. 26-28.

The odyssey of a group of Guaraní residents of missions east of the Río Uruguay illustrates how refugees were caught up in the unsettled political conditions in the region. In 1828, during the last stages of the war between Argentina and Brazil, Uruguayan president, Fructuoso Rivera, led a force that sacked the seven eastern missions. Rivera took some six thousand Guaraní back to Uruguay, where they established a new settlement on the Río Paraná called Santa Rosa de la Bella Unión. The refugees remained at the site for five years but were forced to flee following an attack on the settlement by the militia of the Colorado faction involved in civil war with the Blancos.²⁷ In addition, a group of 860 refugees from eleven missions established a new community which they named San Borja de Yí. Eventually, the population of the town reached some 3,500 residents. Of the 860 refugees who initially settled San Borja de Yí, 139 came from the San Francisco de Borja mission. Another 350 persons originally came from the other six eastern missions, and 371 hailed from the Yapeyú, La Cruz, Santo Tomé, and Corpus Christi missions.²⁸

Economic change in the greater Río de la Plata region also contributed to the diaspora from the former missions. During the period of Jesuit administration, the missions sold *yerba mate*, a practice continued by the post-expulsion civil administrators. By the end of the eighteenth century, the mission communities produced 121,000 arrobas (1,512.5 tons) per year. Reports from 1787 and 1790 record the amount of *yerba mate* produced at six former missions; in 1787, production totaled 22,500 arrobas (281.25 tons), and sales totaled 30,667 pesos. In total sources of income for the six former missions, *yerba mate* ranked second behind cattle hides, which generated 45,174 pesos in revenue.²⁹

The implementation of *comercio libre* (free trade within the Spanish mercantile system) in the 1770s created opportunities for the colonial administrators of the former missions, who needed to cover administrative costs, and for Spanish entrepreneurs. One example is the rapid expansion of exports of cattle hides. Between 1768 and 1771, exports from Buenos Aires totaled 177,656 hides. This number increased to 1,258,008 hides in the years 1779 to 1784. At some

²⁷ Rival factions identified as the Colorados and Blancos, allied with Argentina and Brazil respectively, vied for control over the Banda Oriental in the late 1820s. The civil war followed the conclusion of the war between Brazil and Argentina for control over the same territory.

²⁸ González Rissotto, "La importancia de las misiones jesuíticas," 201-03.

²⁹ Ernesto J.A. Maeder, *Misiones del Paraguay: conflictos y disolución de la sociedad guaraní, 1768-1850* (Madrid: Editorial MAPRE, 1992), 167.

Table 2
The Population of Selected Former Missions, 1799

Mission	Guaraní Present	Guaraní Absent
Ytapúa	2,244	793
Loreto	1,212	840
San Ignacio	771	1,046
San Cosme	939	358
Santiago	1,289	266
Santa Rosa	1,228	286
Jesús de Tavarangue	981	824
Trinidad	937	528
Santa Ana	1,329	1,689
Corpus Christi	2,287	1,671
Total	13,217	8,301

See note 31 for sources.

missions, administrators over culled the herds, which also occurred at Yapeyú during the same period of expansion in hide exports. Yapeyú counted 48,119 head of cattle in 1768, but this number dropped to 24,500 head of cattle in 1778. Through several methods, including round-ups of wild cattle, the Yapeyú cattle herd increased to 76,000 heads in the early 1790s.³⁰ Many Guaraní took advantage of work opportunities in the expanding trade in hides and elected to leave the missions in search of work.

Censuses prepared following the Jesuit expulsion document the Guaraní diaspora. These population counts provide evidence of the scale of out-migration, as well as clues to the age and gender profile of the Guaraní that royal officials classified as fugitives from the former missions. A gender imbalance already existed in the missions at the time of the Jesuit expulsion, with more females than males. Post-expulsion population counts show a widening gender imbalance, particularly towards the end of the eighteenth century. Censuses prepared for selected missions in 1799 documented this gap. Data for ten former missions show that 13,217 Guaraní still resided in the former missions but that 8,301 residents were absent (see Table 2).³¹ Of

³⁰ Jackson, *Missions and Frontiers of Spanish America*, 154-55.

³¹ Sources for Table 2 are located in AGN, Sala IX-18-2-2: Lazaro de Ribera, Estado Que manifiesta el numero total de Almas presentes de que se compone este Pueblo de Ytapua del Paraguay, y de los que se hallan profugos, resultantes de este Padron practicado por el S[eñ]or D[o]n Lazaro de Ribera Gobernador Yntendente de esta Provincia, Ytapua, 6 March 1799; Juan Valcarcel, Estado Que manifiesta el numero total de Almas presentes de que se compone este Pueblo de Loreto del Paraguay, y de los que se hallan profugos, resultantes de este Padron practicado por Comision del S[eñ]or D[o]n Lazaro de Ribera..., Loreto, 4 May 1799; Juan Valcarcel, Estado Que manifiesta el numero total de Almas presentes de que se compone este Pueblo de San Ignacio de Mini del Paraguay, y de los que se hallan profugos, San Ignacio Mini, 8 April 1799; Lazaro de Ribera, Estado Que manifiesta el numero total de Almas presentes de que se compone este Pueblo de S[a]n Cosme del Paraguay, y de los que se hallan profugos, Santos Cosme y Damían, 4 April 1799; Lazaro de Ribera, Estado Que manifiesta el numero total de Almas presentes de que se compone este Pueblo de Santiago del Paraguay, y de los que se hallan profugos, Santiago, 13 April 1799; Lazaro de Ribera, Estado Que manifiesta el numero total de Almas presentes de que se compone este Pueblo de S[an]ta Rosa del Paraguay, y de los que se hallan profugos, Santa Rosa, 17 April 1799; Juan Valcarcel, Estado Que manifiesta el numero total de Almas presentes de que se compone este Pueblo de Jesus del Paraguay, y de los que se hallan profugos, Jesus, 29 March 1799; Juan Valcarcel, Estado Que manifiesta el numero total de Almas presentes de que se compone este Pueblo de la Santisima Trinidad del Paraguay, y de los que se hallan profugos, la Santisima Trinidad, 2 April 1799; Juan Valcarcel, Estado Que manifiesta el numero total de Almas presentes de que se compone este Pueblo de Santa Ana del Paraguay, y de los que se hallan

those absent, males comprised between 61 and 77 percent. At Ytapúa, for example, males made up 76.2 percent of those absent and 42.4 percent of those present. Similarly, males represented 73.5 percent of those absent at La Santísima Trinidad and 49.6 percent of those still living at the former mission (see Table 3).

The records also show that smaller numbers of children left the former missions along with their parents or family members. Children of both sexes comprised between 31 and 47 percent of the fugitives. Children made up 43.9 percent of those absent from La Santísima Trinidad mission and 31.5 percent absent from Ytapúa (see Table 4). At the end of the century, it was more common for men and boys to leave the former missions, and for husbands to abandon their wives or to leave their wives and daughters in the missions for safe keeping.

The population of the former missions continued to be organized politically and socially into *cacicazgos*, the jurisdiction of clan chiefs over a group of Guaraní. The Guaraní caciques continued to enjoy a privileged status within the former missions, although there were instances of friction between the caciques and Spanish officials. Moreover, records generated as late as the early 1840s show a continuing role for caciques in the former mission communities, as shown by baptismal, burial, and marriage records that documented the *cacicazgos* to which the Guaraní belonged.³² At the same time, many *cacicazgos* declined in population as a result of the Guaraní diaspora from these communities, and there were instances, reported in a number of post-expulsion tribute censuses, of *cacicazgos* that consisted of only the nuclear family of the cacique. In some cases, the caciques themselves also were absent from the former missions.

The tribute censuses from 1801 record the population by *cacicazgo*, although the type and the completeness of the information reported varied. The Corpus Christi census recorded forty-one *cacicazgos*, which ranged in size from one in which all surviving members were absent to one with a population high of 190. The number of *cacicazgos* reflected the large population of Corpus Christi prior to and following the expulsion of the Jesuits. The average *cacicazgo* consisted of fifty-four people present, but the census also

profugos, Santa Ana, 9 May 1799; and Juan Valcarcel, Estado Que manifiesta el numero total de Almas presentes de que se compone este Pueblo del Corpus del Paraguay, y de los q[u]e se hallan profugos, Corpus Christi, 27 April 1799.

³² As late as 1841, the priests stationed at the parish of Santa Rosa registered the name of the cacique in the baptismal records of newborn children. Santa Rosa Baptismal Registers, Santa Rosa Parish Archive, Santa Rosa, Paraguay.

Table 3
Males as a Percentage of the Total Population of
Selected Missions, 1799

Mission	Males Present	Percentage of Total Present	Males Absent	Percentage of Total Absent
Ytapúa	1,063	47.4	604	76.2
Loreto	583	48.1	584	69.5
San Ignacio	373	48.4	640	61.2
San Cosme	427	45.5	276	77.1
Santiago	622	48.3	181	68.1
Santa Rosa	607	49.4	218	76.2
Jesús	468	47.7	534	64.8
Trinidad	465	49.6	388	73.5
Santa Ana	654	49.2	1,087	64.4
Corpus Christi	1,044	45.7	1,099	65.8

See note 31 for sources.

Table 4
 Children as a Percentage of the Total Population of
 Selected Missions, 1799

Mission	Children Present	Percentage of Total Present	Children Absent	Percentage of Total Absent
Ytapúa	854	38.1	250	31.5
Loreto	544	48.9	317	37.7
San Ignacio	336	43.6	447	42.7
San Cosme	397	42.3	121	33.8
Santiago	499	38.7	110	41.4
Santa Rosa	484	36.2	87	30.4
Jesús	444	45.3	326	39.6
Trinidad	352	37.6	232	43.9
Santa Ana	565	42.5	641	38.0
Corpus Christi	963	42.1	785	47.0

See note 31 for sources.

reported the absence of 1,203 Guaraní, including 19 caciques. The 1801 Candelaria tribute census recorded 29 *cacicazgos* with an average of 48 members, with a low of 9 and a high of 108. Furthermore, the census classified 624 Guaraní as fugitives, including 6 caciques.³³

The 1801 tribute censuses also enumerated a new tribute category: "libres de comunidad," which signified those Guaraní only recently emancipated from the authority of the caciques and the civil administrators of the former missions. In 1800, Viceroy Gabriel de Avilés y del Fierro ordered the emancipation of the more assimilated Guaraní, which referred to those that could speak Spanish, support themselves, and had demonstrated "good customs." In the initial stage of the program, royal officials emancipated 323 families from twenty-eight of the former missions and distributed land and livestock to the heads of household (see Table 5).³⁴

The geographic distribution of the largest number of emancipated Guaraní also exposes one of the main purposes of this reform program. The largest number of Guaraní resided in the former missions located along the frontier, east and west of the Río Uruguay, in a region contested with the Portuguese. On other contested frontiers, the Spanish government pursued similar policies to promote the creation of local militias that could assume the burden and the costs of defense. Thus, the program to emancipate the Guaraní may have had the additional objective of creating local militias independent of the former missions.

The terminology used in the 1801 tribute census also denotes the change in the legal status of the communities following the Jesuit expulsion. The former missions now were politically autonomous native communities similar to the *pueblos de indios* in the Andean region and central Mexico.³⁵ The Paraguayan missions were among the

³³ Joaquín de Soria, Corpus Christi, 26 March 1801, Padrón del Pueblo de Corpus, AGN, Sala 9-17-3-6; and Joaquín de Soria, Candelaria, 26 January 1801, Padrón del Pueblo de Candelaria, AGN, Sala 9-17-3-6.

³⁴ Alfredo Poenitz and Edgar Poenitz, *Misiones, provincia guaraníca: defensa y disolución* (Posadas: Editorial UNAM, 1993), 78.

³⁵ José Gordillo Claire and Robert H. Jackson, "Formación, crisis y transformación de la estructura agraria de Cochabamba: el caso de la hacienda de Paucarpata y de la comunidad del Paso, 1538-1645 y 1872-1929," *Revista de Indias* 53:199 (1993):723-60; Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson, "El liberalismo y el problema de la tierra en Bolivia, 1825-1920," *Siglo XIX* 5:10 (1990):9-32; and Robert H. Jackson, *Regional Markets and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba, 1539-1960* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 23-38.

Table 5

The Population of Selected Former Missions, 1801

Former Mission	De comunidad	Libres de comunidad
Trinidad	860	17
Santa Rosa	1,116	145
Jesús	993	43
San Ignacio Guazú	630	82
Nuestra Señora de la Fe	1,042	191
Santos Cosme y Damián	655	205
San Ignacio	886	20
Loreto	1,072	92
Candelaria	1,175	172
Corpus Christi	2,286	49
Yapeyú	4,899	49
La Cruz	3,196	42
Santo Tomé	1,616	170
Mártires	684	24
Apóstoles	986	328
San Francisco Xavier	712	247
San José	479	386
San Carlos	796	217
Concepción	1,033	94
Santa María la Mayor	399	160
San Lorenzo	895	142
San Nicolás	1,946	460
San Luis Gonzaga	2,500	276
San Juan Bautista	548	744
San Francisco de Borja	1,912	501

Individual Mission Censuses, AGN, Sala 9-17-3-6.

few missions that made the transition to the status of autonomous indigenous communities. Furthermore, the emancipation of some Guaraní living in the former missions also reflected the reform agenda of royal officials who had been influenced by Enlightenment ideas. A growing number of civil and military leaders questioned the continued reliance on missions as a frontier institution, and they increasingly viewed missions as an anachronism that prevented the integration of native peoples into colonial society. The paternalism of the missionaries also was seen as a factor in delaying integration.³⁶

Population trends can be examined in greater detail by looking at the mission of Los Santos Mártires del Japón. The mission occupied three sites over the course of its history, which, in turn, had a direct bearing on demographic patterns. The Jesuits initially founded the mission in 1628 in the region east of the Río Uruguay. In the late 1630s, they relocated the mission to a new site just west of the Río Uruguay between Concepción and Santa María la Mayor, in the aftermath of raids by slave traders from São Paulo. The Jesuits again relocated the mission to a new and final site in 1704, at the beginning of an international war that pitted Spain against Portugal.³⁷

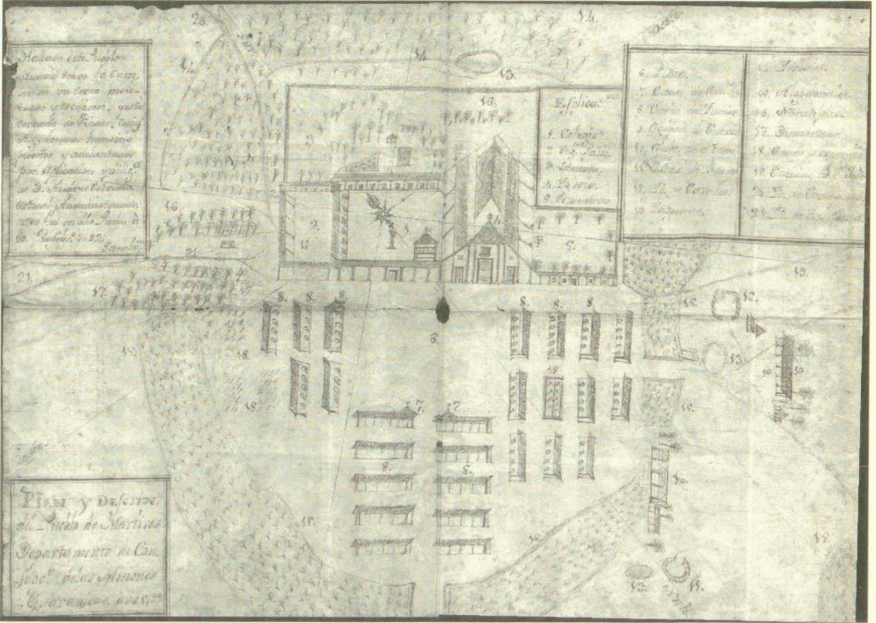
The decision to relocate Los Santos Mártires del Japón mission in 1704 most likely was related to heightened tensions between Spain and Portugal during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1713). Thus, the new site can be described best as having been chosen for defense. The Jesuits selected the crest of a strategically located hill that, if necessary, could help defend the missions or serve as a place of refuge in case of Portuguese attack. The Jesuits established two other missions at strategic locations during the course of the war: Trinidad and Santo

³⁶ Similar debates occurred on the northern frontier of New Spain in the last decades of the eighteenth century, and in the mid-1820s the newly independent Mexican government instituted a similar emancipation program in the California missions. For a discussion of the debate over the missions and the California emancipation plan of the mid-1820s, see Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 90-93; Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 59-61; and Robert H. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects: Missions in the History of the American Southwest* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), 116-19.

³⁷ In a report prepared in March 1706, Salvador de Rojas noted that the Jesuits relocated Los Santos Mártires del Japón and that a temporary church had been built and dedicated. Salvador de Rojas, San Luis, 7 March 1706, Angelis Collection, Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 29-79, 93.

Figure 2

1792 Diagram of Los Santos Mártires del Japón Mission



Courtesy of Graciela de Kuna, Posadas, Argentina.

Table 6
Vital Rates of Los Santos Mártires del Japon Mission, in Selected Years

Year	Population	Families	Baptisms	Burials	CBR	CDR	A.F.S
1702	3,536	897	289	259	82.4*	73.9*	3.9
1724	3,343	795	190	155	57.4*	46.9*	4.2
1733	3,665	901	202	491	51.1*	124.2*	4.1
1736	3,396	861	188	199	55.0*	58.3*	3.9
1739	2,777	723	132	545	40.9	184.2	3.8
1740	2,829	682	170	95	61.2	34.2	4.2
1741	2,833	701	192	160	67.9	56.6	4.0
1744	2,834	699	184	201	64.5*	70.5*	4.1
1745	2,847	710	170	141	60.0	49.8	4.0
1746	2,930	723	220	134	77.3	47.4	4.1
1747	2,974	734	214	143	73.0	34.1	4.1
1753	3,235	812	188	144	58.9*	45.1*	4.0
1756	3,217	737	205	341	61.1*	101.7*	4.4
1759	3,218	763	187	198	57.9*	61.3*	4.2
1762	3,225	760	169	182	51.8	55.9	4.2
1763	3,099	729	167	185	51.8	59.2	4.3
1764	2,220	324	173	1129	54.1	364.3	6.9
1765	1,688	365	83	561	37.4	25.2	4.6
1767	1,662	430	115	128	67.6*	75.3*	3.9
1797	751	185	44	58	57.5*	75.8*	4.1
1798	715	191	32	41	42.6	54.6	3.7
1799	681	173	28	28	39.2	39.2	3.9
1802	605		13	38	20.5*	59.9*	
1803	609	155	14	32	23.1	52.9	3.9

*Estimated; see note 39 for sources.

Ángel Custodio, the easternmost of the missions, located east of the Río Uruguay and close to Portuguese territory.

The Jesuits expended considerable labor in developing the mission complex at the new site. The main building complex, which included the church and cloister built around two patios, was constructed on an artificial terrace protected by a retaining wall. A contemporary diagram prepared in 1792 also shows the presence of *aguadas*, or pools of water, very close to the housing of the Guaraní residents of the missions (see Figure 2). Mosquitoes most likely bred in these stagnant bodies of water and may have spread a variety of diseases, such as malaria or yellow fever.³⁸ If this hypothesis is correct, chronic mosquito-borne maladies might account for several patterns that were unique to Los Santos Mártires del Japón prior to the Jesuit expulsion, such as a gender imbalance, with more men than women, and high mortality and even net population loss in years in which the evidence does not show epidemics at neighboring missions. A comparison of crude death rates in and near to the mission Santa María la Mayor during non-epidemic years shows an average mortality index of 36.8 per thousand population at Santa María, as compared to 58.0 at Los Santos Mártires del Japón. In the year 1756, for example, the crude death rate was an estimated 38.0 at Santa María and 101.7 at Los Santos Mártires del Japón (see Table 6).³⁹

³⁸ A team of scholars affiliated with the Universidad Nacional de Misiones has conducted archaeological, architectural, and historical research on Los Santos Mártires del Japón mission. See, for example, Ruth Poujade, "Arqueología reduccional jesuítica en Misiones (1615-1767/68)," paper presented at the symposium "Indígenas, Espanhóis e Missionários: O Paraná no Contexto da Bacia do Prata, Séculos XVI e XVII," Curitiba, Brazil, 15-17 October 2008. Arq. Graciela de Kuna developed a diagram of the mission complex that identified the bodies of water near the housing of the Guaraní.

³⁹ The vital rates of Santa María la Mayor and the other Paraguay missions can be found in Robert H. Jackson, "Constructing Colonial Frontiers: Social, Cultural, and Demographic Change on Jesuit Missions on the Fringes of Spanish South America, 1609-1803," unpublished manuscript, Appendix 2. Sources for Table 6: Ernesto Maeder, "La población de las misiones de Guaraníes, 1641-1682: reubicación de los pueblos y consecuencias demográficas," *Estudios Ibero-Americanos* 15:1 (1989):49-80; Ernesto Maeder, "Fuentes jesuíticas de información demográfica misional para los siglos XVII y XVIII," in *Fuentes útiles para los estudios de la población americana: Simposio del 49° Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Quito, 1997*, ed. Dora Celton (Quito: Abya-Yala, 1997), 45-57; Guillermo Furlong Cárdiff, S.J., *Misiones y sus pueblos de Guaraníes* (Buenos Aires: Tip. Editora, 1962), 175-79, 674; Thomas Whigham, "Paraguay's Pueblos de Indios: Echoes of a Missionary Past," in *The New Latin American Mission History*, ed. Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 168; Pablo Hernández, S.J., *Organización social de las Doctrinas Guaraníes de la Compañía de Jesús* (Barcelona: G. Gili, 1913),

The population of the mission grew during the course of the seventeenth century, following the relocation of the community to the site west of the Río Uruguay. In 1643, 1,040 Guaraní lived in the mission. The numbers increased to 1,980 in 1682 and to 2,371 in 1691. In 1702, two years before the relocation of the mission to its final site, they numbered 2,124. In 1731, just prior to the first of three epidemic outbreaks during the decade, the population totaled 3,874 by the end of 1739. Following the three epidemics, the population had declined to 2,777.⁴⁰

A tribute census, prepared in August 1735, provides a detailed look at the population of the mission at one point in time and, in particular, the effects of epidemic disease (see Table 6). There are several indications of heavy mortality from two epidemics that struck the mission population in 1733 and 1735. First, there was the presence of a large number of orphans, a total of 129 boys and 131 girls. Second, an analysis of the actual family size shows that the majority of families consisted of a married couple with no children (35 percent) or a couple with one child (28.3 percent) or with two children (19.4 percent). If this structure had persisted over time, the population of the missions at best would have remained stable with minimal growth or would have declined at worst. Moreover, the data suggests heavy mortality rates among children during the epidemics of 1733 and 1735. Data from 1733 shows that the crude death rate was 124 per thousand population. Slightly more than twelve percent of the population died during the year. Deaths were higher among *párvulos* (children under the age of 9

2:616-17; Júlio Quevedo dos Santos, *Guerreiros e jesuítas na utopia do Prata* (Bauru, S.P.: EDUSC, 2000), 96; Individual annual censuses of the Jesuit missions for 1711, 1714, 1724, 1731, 1733, 1735-1736, 1738-1741, 1744-1747, 1757, 1760, 1762-1765, and 1767 titled *Catálogo de la numeración anual de las Doctrinas del Río Paraná Año*; *Catálogo de la numeración anual de las Doctrinas del Río Uruguay*, AGN, Sala 9-7-2-1, 9-6-9-6, 9-6-9-7, 9-6-10-6; *Empadronamiento de las Treinta Pueblos de Misiones*, por el Coronel Don Marcos de Larrazabal, 1772 AGN, Sala 9-18-8-4; for 1797 in AGN, Sala 9-18-6-5; for 1798 in AGN, Sala 9-18-2-4; for 1798 in AGN, Sala 9-8-2-5; for 1801 in AGN, Sala 9-17-3-6; for 1803 in AGN, Sala 9-18-3-3; for 1702 *Catálogo de la Numeración de las Doctrinas del Río Paraná*, *Catálogo de la Numeración de las Doctrinas del Río Uruguay*, Manuel Gondra Collection, MG 592, Benson Latin American Collection, General Libraries of the University of Texas at Austin; Pedro Vives Azancot, "Entre el esplendor y la decadencia: la población de misiones, 1750-1759," *Revista de Indias* 42:169-170 (1982):541-44; and Ernesto Maeder and Ramón Gutiérrez, *Atlas histórico y urbano de la región del nordeste argentino: pueblos de indios y misiones jesuíticas, siglos XVI-XX* (Resistencia: Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas, CONICET, FUNDANORD, 1994).

⁴⁰ Jackson, *Indian Population Decline*, Appendix 2.

or 10) than among adults. The net decline in the number of children was 135. In total, 491 Guaraní died: 154 adults and 337 *parvulos* (see Table 7).

As was common practice for tribute censuses of the Paraguay missions, the census recorded the population as divided into *cacicazgos*.⁴¹ There were a total of 35 caciques who governed populations of different sizes. The Quaratimivi, with a population of 252, was the largest, and Abatubi, with only seventeen people, was the smallest. Regardless of the size of the population, the caciques retained their status within the former mission community, which included exemption from the obligation of paying tribute. Blind to status, the epidemics claimed the lives of caciques as well. There were five caciques under the age of ten at the time of the census, who most likely had replaced a deceased parent.

The population of Los Santos Mártires del Japón mission experienced a net decline of 1,097 persons between 1731 and 1739, but then recovered through the 1740s and into the early 1750s. Crude birth rates exceeded death rates, and the number of Guaraní living at the mission increased from 2,777 in 1739 to 3,176 in 1751 and numbered 2,981 in 1753. In 1756, the death rate reached 101.7, the highest recorded in all of the missions. In 1759, and again in the years 1762 and 1763, death rates were slightly higher than birth rates and the numbers fluctuated. The population totaled 3,328 in 1760 and then declined to 3,099 in 1763.

In 1764 and 1765, smallpox spread throughout the missions and claimed the lives of hundreds of Guaraní at Los Santos Mártires del Japón. At the time of the epidemic, 381 refugees from the missions east of the Río Uruguay, who originally had been evacuated to the missions west of the river following an uprising in the mid-1750s, still lived there. In 1764, the contagion claimed the lives of 808 Guaraní, who were native to Los Santos Mártires del Japón, and another 149 fugitives from Santo Ángel Custodio. An additional group of 421 natives of the mission died from smallpox in 1765. The number of refugees from Santo Ángel Custodio still numbered 330 in 1765, but the report on smallpox mortality at Los Santos Mártires del Japón in 1765 did not specify how many of the refugees died in that year. In any case, smallpox claimed the lives of 560 refugees at different missions. At the end of 1765, there were only 1,688 Guaraní native to the mission

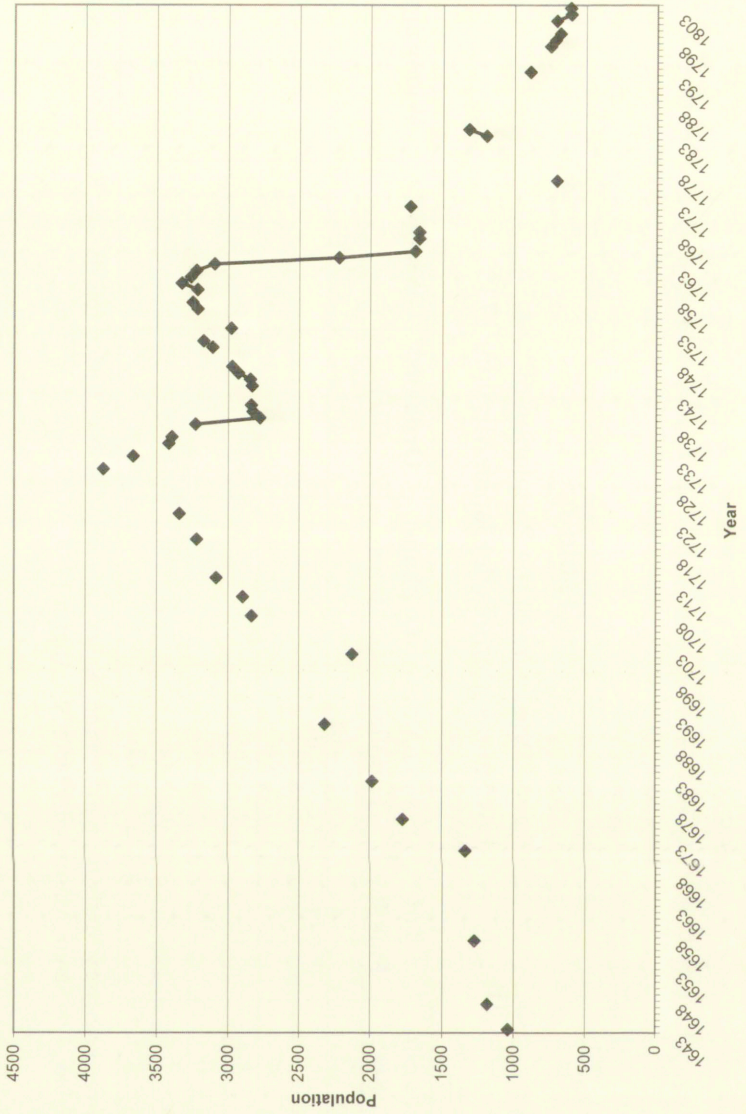
⁴¹ This pattern is evident in tribute censuses prepared in the 1730s, 1750s, 1770s, 1790s, and in 1801.

Table 7
 Structure of the Population of
 Los Santos Mártires del Japón Mission, 1735

Family Size	# of Families	# People/ Families	Orphans: Boys	Orphans: Girls	Widows	Widowers
2	312	624	129	131	133	9
3	253	759				
4	173	692				
5	103	515				
6	38	228				
7	9	63				
8	5	40				

Source: Francisco María Raspari, Padrón de los Tributarios de esta Reducción de Los Santos Mártires del Uruguay, Los Santos Mártires del Japón, 15 August 1735, AGN, Sala 9-17-3-6.

Figure 3
Population of Los Santos Mártires del Japón Mission, 1643-1803



still living at Los Santos Mártires del Japón. Two years later, in 1767, on the eve of the expulsion of the Jesuits, 1,662 Guaraní remained at the mission (see Table 6).⁴²

Following the expulsion of the Jesuits, their replacement by Dominicans, and the appointment of civil administrators to manage the mission, the population of Los Santos Mártires del Japón declined due to epidemics as well as out-migration. Post-expulsion censuses reported absent residents of the mission, considered fugitives, and showed evidence of epidemic mortality rates. In 1772, the population of the mission totaled 1,724, an increase from the number reported in 1767, but then declined substantially in subsequent years. According to the censuses, the population was 1,321 in 1785; 892 in 1793; and 609 in 1803 (see Figure 3).⁴³ The evidence strongly supports the argument that out-migration constituted the more important factor in the decline of the mission population following the Jesuit expulsion. A 1776 population count, for example, classified 352 Guaraní as fugitives, since they were absent but had not been legally emancipated. The census also listed others who were absent for acceptable reasons, including 67 individuals working in the mission estancias and 32 individuals in the "service of the King."⁴⁴

Later enumerations documented subsequent years in which mortality rates surpassed higher birth rates, in addition to continued out-migration. During the period 1797-1799, deaths totaled 127, as compared to 104 baptisms and births, which indicated a net decline in population. The censuses also reported information on fugitives: in 1797, the number of fugitives reached 41; in 1798, 38 fugitives, including 17 adult men (15 fugitives who had been absent from the mission reportedly were returned); and in 1799, 18 fugitives (15 recovered). Altogether, the record shows 97 new fugitives, with 30 individuals returned, for a net loss to the population of 67 persons.⁴⁵

⁴² Jackson, *Missions and Frontiers of Spanish America*, 464-76.

⁴³ Jackson, *Missions and Frontiers of Spanish America*, 464-76.

⁴⁴ Relacion que Demuestra el numero de Jente Desertada y Existente de todos sexos quese halla en este Pueblo de Los Santos Mártires del Japón oy día de la fecha 27 de Sep[tiemb]re de 1776, assaver, Los Santos Mártires del Japón, 27 September 1776, AGN, Sala 17-6-1. The Guaraní, both before and following the Jesuit expulsion, provided services to the king, which included military service as well as labor on projects organized by local royal officials. One set of accounts from the 1770s recorded instances of Guaraní providing this type of service.

⁴⁵ Annuia Numeracion de los Yndividuos Existentes de todos sexos y edades en este Pueblo de la Real Corona Nombrado Los Santos Mártires del Japón en el presente año de 1798, Los Santos Mártires del Japón, 1 January 1798, AGN, Sala 9-18-6-6; Annuia

Data from the 1801 census for Los Santos Mártires del Japón highlights the gender imbalance in specific age groups, which is consistent with information abstracted from the 1799 census counts showing the absence of men (see Table 8). The age pyramid constructed for Los Santos Mártires del Japón demonstrates an excess of females in the 5-9 and the 25-29 age groups, the same ages at which males would be expected to leave the mission. Moreover, the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups were considerably smaller for both males and females than would be expected. The shortfall in numbers in this age group may have reflected, in part, the results of mortality during a smallpox epidemic in 1777, but also the absence of young adults in their prime, who would be more likely to leave the mission to find work elsewhere.

As hypothesized by Livi-Bacci and Maeder, the available evidence examined herein supports the conclusion that out-migration was the primary cause for the decline in population. Nevertheless, there are methodological limitations in evaluating mortality trends based on an assessment of global figures that do not take into consideration local and regional variations. In any case, epidemics continued to spread through the region following the Jesuit expulsion. With the exception of extreme mortality at Yapeyú in 1771, there is no indication that death rates during outbreaks were higher following the expulsion than they had been prior to the expulsion. Smallpox in particular continued to kill hundreds of Guaraní throughout the period 1770-1790. At the same time, as shown by the response to the outbreak in 1785, royal officials and the civil administrators of the missions responded aggressively when epidemics spread through the missions.

The high mortality rates at Yapeyú in 1771 were the exception rather than the rule in regards to overall patterns of epidemic mortality following the Jesuit expulsion. Smallpox did not kill large numbers of people at Yapeyú in 1764-1765, during the previous outbreak in the region. The large size of the mission population, coupled with the relatively large number of potentially susceptible hosts not previously exposed to the contagion, explains the high death rates recorded in 1771. However, the limited available documentation shows no evidence of other instances of such high death rates at any of the other

Numeracion de los Yndividuos Existentes de todos sexos y edades en este Pueblo de la Real Corona Nombrado Los Santos Mártires del Japón en el presente año de 1799, Los Santos Mártires del Japón, 1 January 1799, AGN, Sala 9-18-2-4; and Anua Numeración de los Yndividuos Existentes de todos sexos y edades en este Pueblo de la Real Corona Nombrado Los Santos Mártires del Japón en el presente año de 1800, Los Santos Mártires del Japón, 1 January 1800, AGN, Sala 9-18-2-5.

Table 8
Age and Gender Structure of
Los Santos Mártires del Japón Mission, 1801

Cohort	Male	Percent	Female	Percent
0-4	46	12.3	32	9.9
5-9	36	9.7	35	10.8
10-14	52	13.9	53	16.4
15-19	32	8.6	32	9.9
20-24	16	4.3	16	4.9
25-29	16	4.3	15	4.6
30-34	42	11.3	35	10.8
35-39	21	5.6	22	6.8
40-44	24	6.4	22	6.8
45-49	32	8.6	16	4.9
50-54	25	6.7	23	7.1
55-59	15	4.0	11	3.4
60-64	8	2.1	2	0.6
65-69	3	0.8	5	1.5
70+	5	1.3	5	1.5

Departamento de Concepción 1801: Padron practicado por el Ten[ien]te Governador D[o]n Feliciano del Cora, AGN, Sala 9-17-3-6.

missions in the three decades following the Jesuit expulsion. On the contrary, the highest documented death rates at individual missions in the eighteenth-century epidemics occurred during the smallpox outbreaks in 1738-1740 and 1764-1765 during the period of Jesuit administration.⁴⁶ As compared to the Jesuits, there is no evidence that civil administrators were lax in responding to epidemics.

Thousands of Guaraní, particularly young adult men, left the missions. Out-migration also included caciques who sought opportunities elsewhere. Spanish policy identified those who left as fugitives, since they had not been legally emancipated from the authority of the Crown and were expected to continue to live and work at the missions under the authority of civil administrators. Although many Guaraní no longer resided at the missions after 1768, they continued to live within the colonial society of the Río de la Plata and to participate in the regional economy. Efforts by royal officials to return fugitives to the missions generally failed, and the outbreak of hostilities in the region after 1800 only accelerated the process of out-migration.

⁴⁶ Jackson, "Una mirada," 144-46; Robert H. Jackson, "Mortality Crises in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay, 1730-1740," *World History Review* 1:2 (2004):2-23; Jackson, *Missions and Frontiers of Spanish America*, 478; and Robert H. Jackson, "The Population and Vital Rates of the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay 1700-1767," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28:3 (2008):401-31.