

Abstract

This thesis examines the activity of the Jesuits in Colombia during the nineteenth century; it demonstrates how their return to the country in 1844 became a highly controversial political issue until 1884, when the national government authorized their permanent residence. The Jesuits were established in the country from 1844 to 1850, and then from 1858 to 1861. These two short sojourns generated significant debate between the Conservative and Liberal parties. The first return of the Jesuits coincided with the formation of these two parties and the debate over the separation of Church and State. It was after the *Guerra de los Supremos*, with the defeat of the Liberal Party and victory for the Conservative Party, that the latter passed a law on mission schools that allowed the return of the Society after its exile during colonial times.

The Liberals considered the law of April 1842 to be a tactic used by the Conservatives to empower their political project, and when the Jesuits arrived in the country, the Liberal Party started a campaign against them in Congress and through the press. As the invitation for their return to New Granada had been issued by the Conservative government, Liberals considered them to be allies of the Conservatives and deserving of their political antipathy.

The decrees issued regarding the return of the Jesuits clearly stated that they were to be assigned to *Colegios de Misiones* and *Casas de Escala* (Rest Residences) in mission territories. The Superior General of the order in Rome and the ecclesiastical authorities in Colombia interpreted the law as justifying the work of the Jesuits in establishing missions among the indigenous people and also in education in general.

Eladio Urisarri, the official in Rome in charge of arranging the return of the Jesuits, supported this interpretation, but the latent ambiguity was a continual issue.

The thesis analyses these episodes within the context of the republic's politics and the state of the Colombian Church at the time, and examines the Jesuits's experiences in Bogotá and the other dioceses where they were present.

Long Abstract

The Society of Jesus is one of the most studied of Catholic religious orders, especially with regard to the period between its foundation in 1540 and its suppression in 1773. From the beginning, the history of the Society has been polemical. In the Age of Reason, many philosophers and politicians criticized the role played by Jesuits in the Portuguese, French, and Spanish monarchies, and the Society of Jesus was banished from these kingdoms in 1759, 1764, and 1767, respectively. These monarchies then pressured the Pope, Clement XIV, to suppress the order completely, which the Pope did in 1773. The Jesuits were restored in 1814 by Pope Pius VII with the Papal Bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*. This Bull described the work of Jesuits in Russia and Sicily, where they had sought refuge during the suppression. The Pope had received numerous petitions for the restoration of the Society of Jesus from many parts of the world, and the re-establishment of the order was, in post-Napoleonic Europe a significant act. It is important to recognize that the restoration of the Society of Jesus occurred in the political and religious context of the Restoration, in a Europe that was in full reaction against the spirit of the French Revolution. The Society of Jesus in Europe,

particularly in Spain, was renewed in the counterrevolutionary atmosphere of the Congress of Vienna and the Holy Alliance.

The Society of Jesus was suppressed in Spain three times during the nineteenth-century, in 1820, 1835, and 1868, and once during the twentieth-century, in 1931. The suppression of the Jesuits in Spain coincided with the advance of Spanish Liberalism and heightened tensions between Church and State; in contrast, the restoration of the Society of Jesus coincided with the advent of governments in 1815, 1823, 1852, 1875, and 1938.

In Spanish America, the Jesuits were invited to return by several newly-independent governments to be missionaries and teachers in secondary schools. While they were suppressed in Spain in 1835, they were invited to establish missions in Argentina in 1836, and New Granada –Colombia– in 1842. There were opposing views about their return, Conservative factions supported and helped them, while Liberals using a range of arguments, restricted their presence or demanded their expulsion. Consequently their return to Spanish America during the nineteenth-century was often transitory: they were expelled from México in 1856, Guatemala in 1871, New Granada in 1850 and again in 1861, Ecuador in 1852, and Argentina in 1842.

In New Granada, following the civil war of *Los Supremos* (1839-1842), the winning Conservative side attributed the causes of the war to the false values taught by previous Liberal governments. The new government of Pedro Alcántara Herrán aimed, by contrast, to promote teachings based on religion, order, and morality: political stability was to be founded on such values. This government saw the need to bring missionary priests from Europe. There were discussions about which religious order would be most effective, and it was agreed that the Society of Jesus had achieved great

success in the past: the Jesuits in colonial New Granada had worked among the indigenous population, slaves, creoles, and Spaniards. They had taught in the missions of Casanare and Meta, and at schools and universities in the main colonial cities.

Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, *Secretario del Interior*, wrote a devastating account of the situation of the country in 1842: the republic had suffered severe destruction from the civil war, and he underlined the damage suffered by the economic, social, and political structure of New Granada. He described the deplorable situation of the missions in the country: the indigenous population had been neglected, and he proposed bringing Catholic missionaries from Europe to reorganize and expand the missions. On 28 April 1842 a new law was passed regarding the missions, to found more mission schools and to re-establish the missions of Casanare, San Martín, Andaquí, Mocoa, Goagira, and Veraguas. The government now promised to fund and support such a scheme.

The subsequent law of 3 May 1842 invited the Society of Jesus to return to New Granada, affirming that the Jesuits were the most suitable order to evangelize in regions where there was a significant indigenous population. According to the preamble, past experience had demonstrated that the Jesuits were the most capable of leading the missions, and they had already given proof of their efficiency under the previous Spanish rule. In addition, the Jesuits could rely upon the accumulated experience of missions in Asia, China, and Japan. Their missionaries were trained in geography, mathematics, physics, astronomy, architecture, music, and art; most importantly, they learnt native languages: Náhuatl, Quechua, and Chibcha. The Colombian legislators cited the example given by other nations such as France, England, the United States, and Argentina, which had welcomed the Jesuits back.

The thesis will begin with a résumé of the history of the order in Spanish America and particularly in New Granada, to set out the colonial antecedents of the return in 1844. The résumé is based on secondary sources. Included in the account of the return is a description of the political context in New Granada, and an analysis of those who supported the return and those who opposed it, and of their arguments and motives. The author here relies on contemporary printed materials, some memoirs and diaries, and on archival sources hitherto unexplored.

The thesis then examines in detail the experience of the Jesuits in New Granada up until their expulsion in 1850. Previous accounts of the Jesuits in this period of the republic have concentrated on the political polemics over their presence and on the arguments and counter-arguments at the time of their second expulsion. Hardly any critical research has been carried out on the activities of the Jesuits themselves at this time, and even in the polemical literature the voices of the Jesuits themselves are little heard. The thesis will examine from contemporary and archival sources the work of the order in Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán, Pasto, and the missions of Caquetá and Putumayo. A detailed survey of this sort, the author hopes, constitutes an original contribution to the history both of the order and of the republic at this time. No such work exists in the modern historiography.

The interest of the thesis lies partly in what it reveals about the Jesuits themselves at this time –the work they were doing, their efforts to convince the Liberal politicians that they had no political interests– but equally in the insights gained into the political context of the time. A dominant problem for all politicians and ecclesiastics concerned the role of religion in public life. It was their preoccupation with this question that led them to support or attack the Society of Jesus, which found itself tossed back and forth in a debate which it sought to avoid. In the process, many

eminent characters appear and the whole debate can be documented through the vigorous press of the period. The thesis analyses systematically the press debate on the Jesuits for the first time, and the very extensive import into New Granada of European polemics.

There then follows an exploration of New Granada's ecclesiastical structure at this time, bringing together material of the Jesuits' place within it, their relations with the hierarchy and with the other religious orders. These relationships were important to Manuel José Mosquera, and Antonio Herrán, Archbishops of Bogotá, to Fernando Cuero y Caicedo, Bishop of Popayán, and to Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata, Bishop of Antioquia. They were eager to secure the support of the Jesuits because of the lack of teachers in their seminaries. This section will also describe the support and help given to the Society of Jesus by prominent lay people, such as the politicians Mariano Ospina Rodríguez and José Eusebio Caro.

The last section studies the intensified debate over the order within the context of the acute Church-State conflicts beginning in 1849. It covers the expulsion of 1850, the brief re-admission of the order in 1858, and the re-expulsion of 1861. The particular position of the Jesuits in the separation of Church and State is analyzed and a general survey made of the anti-Jesuit polemics of the time, and of the confrontation of the leading exponents, lay and clerical. The depth of the conflict between Church and State and the centrality of this conflict to the struggles for power in New Granada at this time is emphasised.

The thesis provides relevant background information about the history of the Society of Jesus in Colombia from a combination of sources. These include documents in the National Archives of Bogotá, Medellín, and Popayán, and in the archives of the

Society of Jesus in Bogotá, Rome, and Alcalá de Henares. Other sources include the newspapers and pamphlets in the Luis Angel Arango Library and the National Library in Bogotá, and the substantial collection in Medellín.

The thesis will be show that the Jesuits were aware of the history of their predecessors during colonial times, and that they returned to New Granada with the dream of recovering their glorious colonial past. However, they found a new political atmosphere which obstructed their goal. The Jesuits found two realities. They discovered that a significant number of politicians, the diocesan clergy, and members of the other religious orders supported them, but they also encountered powerful enemies, lay and clerical. It is very important to emphasise that the return of the Jesuits occurred in a context of intense conflict over relation between Church and State.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter I	
The Restoration of the Jesuits in the Republic of New Granada from 1842 to their Expulsion in 1850.....	38
The arrival of the Jesuits in Bogotá and Colonial Background: 1604-1767	41
Preliminary Negotiations for the Return of the Jesuits to the Republic of New Granada: 1842-1844.....	42
Reactions to the Decree and Negotiations in Europe for the Restoration of the Jesuits	50
The Jesuits in Bogotá from 1844 to 1850.....	54
Academic Training and Apostoli Background of the Jesuit Missionaries	56
New Requests from the Government of New Granada to the Superior General Roothaan	58
More Jesuits for the Colombian Mission.....	60
Minor Seminary.....	62
Popular Missions	64
Apostolate with the Working Class: the Popular Society.....	67
The Jesuits in Antioquia and Colonial Background: 1720-1767.....	69
The Return of the Jesuits to the Province of Antioquia in 1844	70
The Apostolic Work of the Jesuits in Medellín.....	73
The Jesuits in Charge of the Colegio Provincial or Colegio Académico of Medellín and the Controversy with the Group Amigos del País	76
Popular Missions	81
Pious associations (‘congregaciones’) in Medellín	82
The Presence of the Jesuits in Popayán Colonial Background: 1640-1767	83
The Jesuits in Popayán: 1845-1850	84
The Jesuits in Pasto and the Missions in Putumayo and Caquetá.	

Colonial Background: 1712-1767	88
The Start of the short-lived Missions in Putumayo and Caquetá	88
The Correspondence of José Segundo Laínez and his Companions: Missionary Work in Putumayo and Caquetá	90
Failure of the Missions in Putumayo and Caquetá	94
The Residence in Pasto.....	97
Chapter II	
The Jesuits and their Relations with the Secular Clergy and the Regular Clergy	100
The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy after Independence.....	101
The Relations between the Holy See and the Colombian Government from 1835 to 1861.....	104
Situation of the Secular and Regular Clergy between 1810 and 1861	108
Situation of the Religious Orders in New Granada from 1810 to 1861	112
Mgr Manuel José Mosquera, Archbishop of Bogotá and the Jesuits	119
Mgr Fernando Cuero y Caicedo, Bishop of Popayán and the Jesuits.....	125
Mgr Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata, Bishop of Santafé de Antioquia and the Jesuits	128
Conclusion	132
Chapter III	
The reception of the pro-and anti-Jesuit legends in New Granada: 1842-1850	133
First theme: the history of the Society of Jesus and anti-Jesuit literature	137
Second Theme: Is the presence of Jesuits in New Granada lawful?	148
Congress debates	154
Third Theme: that the Jesuits corrupt the young in their schools, and women and artisans in their churches and confessionals	161
Fourth Theme: The presumed wealth of the Jesuits	166
Fifth Theme: Structures of government of the Jesuit Order	168
Interpretation of the Jesuit foundational documents by Julio Arboleda and Florentino González: The Formula of the Institute and the Constitutions	170
Conclusion.....	178

Chapter IV

The Jesuits and their Relations with Two Conservative Politicians

and the General Public.....	180
Mariano Ospina Rodríguez.....	181
José Eusebio Caro	193
Representations and Letters of Support from the general public of New Granada.....	199
Conclusion.....	204

Chapter V

The Expulsion of the Jesuits by President José Hilario López, the eventual re-establishment under the Granadine Confederation, and the new expulsion by

President Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera.....	206
Political Context of the Expulsion of the Jesuits in 1850.....	209
Expulsion of the Jesuits from New Granada by José Hilario López in 1850	215
Election of José Hilario López, 7 March 1849.....	216
Events Prior to the Expulsion of the Jesuits	219
Previous Meetings of President López with Fr Manuel Gil, Superior of the Jesuits in New Granada	224
Expulsion of the Jesuits from Bogotá.....	227
Expulsion of the Jesuits from Medellín	234
Expulsion of the Jesuits from Popayán	235
Expulsion of the Jesuits from Pasto.....	236
Events between the Expulsion of the Jesuits in 1850 and the New Invitation from the Archbishop Antonio Herrán	238
The Civil War of 1851.....	240
Expulsion of the Archbishop	242
Return of the Jesuits at the time of the Granadine Confederation 1858.....	246
The Expulsion under President Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera in 1861	248
Causes of the Expulsion of the Jesuits in 1861	254
The Decree of Expulsion Issued by Mosquera.....	257

Conclusion	260
General Conclusions	261
Bibliography	269

Photographs and Statistic Tables

Photograph of José Segundo Laínez, Jesuit missionary in Caquetá.....	99
Situation of the Secular and Regular Clergy between 1810 and 1815.....	109
Situation of the Secular and Regular Clergy in New Granada in 1848.....	111

Acknowledgements

I conceived the idea of research into the history of the Society of Jesus in Colombia during a conversation I had with José del Rey Fajardo in 2004 about the reasons why the Jesuits were expelled twice from Colombia during the nineteenth century. Fajardo suggested a study of the political and social context in Colombia that made possible the return of the Jesuits, and at the same time that I should continue the work begun by Juan Manuel Pacheco, a historian of the Society who had died in 1987. I am grateful to the Jesuits of the British Province of the Society of Jesus for supporting my programme at Oxford during the last four years and to the Jesuits of the Colombian Province for supporting my research in different cities of Colombia and also in Spain, and for the scholarship that I received from the Historical Institute while I was in Rome consulting sources in the Jesuit archive. I am grateful to Malcolm Deas my supervisor, who has helped me with his personal library and with valuable comments and tutorials. He suggested reading the history of the Jesuits beyond that of complex nineteenth century Colombia and being objective in writing about the history of the Society of Jesus. I am grateful to José David Cortés, who has read the thesis and given significant comments and suggestions on my topic, and also to the scholars from different cities in Colombia who gave ideas about the documents existing in libraries. I am grateful to the Caro and Ospina families who kindly granted me access to their privately held material. A number of people have read and helpfully commented on parts or the whole of this thesis. In this regard, I am grateful to Alberto Gutiérrez, Fernán González, Fabio Ramírez, José del Rey Fajardo and Joseph Munitiz. While I greatly benefited from their

comments, I bear full responsibility for the final form and content of what is presented here.

JESM

Introduction

The return of the Jesuits to Colombia in 1844 took place through the initiative of a group of conservative politicians who, under President Pedro Alcántara Herrán, passed new laws for the evangelization of native communities in Casanare, San Martín, Andaquí, Mocoa, Goajira and Veraguas. After assessing which religious order was most suitable to carry out this mission, the government chose the Society of Jesus in part because of its performance during colonial times. Once this decision had been made, the Superior General of the Jesuits in Rome selected a group for the task. Of the religious who had been expelled from both New Granada and Spain, by Carlos III in 1767, none survived. Most had joined the diocesan clergy when the order was perpetually banned in 1773 and naturally none were still alive in 1844. The Jesuits who returned to New Granada in that year were all Spaniards. When the Superior General summoned them to accept the invitation from the government of New Granada, they were living in exile in France, Italy, and Belgium, as they had been expelled from Spain in 1835. Their Spanish origin was a cause for dislike and distrust among some members of the new Liberal party. They associated the Jesuits with a number of elements from the colonial heritage, the prevalence of religious concerns and the cultural dominance of a traditional church. The younger members in the Liberal party ‘believed that their generation had the duty to abolish any trace of colonial times, as well as to establish a truly democratic republic’.¹

Both the return and the presence of the Jesuits between 1844 and 1861 coincide with the birth of the new Liberal party, which elected candidate José Hilario López to the presidency on 7 March 1849. López would promote a number of reforms geared

¹ M. Palacios y F. Safford, *Colombia: país fragmentado, sociedad dividida*. Bogotá, 2002, p. 385.

toward developing a modern state. One of the measures concerning the Church was the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1850, without any legal process or defense on the part of those expelled. The ironic aspect of this expulsion was that, according to the President, the law of Carlos III of Spain was still in force and, therefore, their presence in the Republic was illegal.² This shows a certain incoherence in a Republican statesman who talked about democracy and tolerance, and were supposedly fighting against any 'trace of colonial times' that still existed in the Republic. Later, the government decreed the election of parish priests by local authorities, the abolition of sacramental fees, the withdrawal of ecclesiastic privileges, the abolition and reduction of tithes, the institution of civil marriage and divorce, and the separation of Church and State. The Archbishop objected to these laws and Congress brought charges against him, and in May 1852 put him on trial and expelled him from the country.³ The Archbishop of Bogotá was the highest ecclesiastic authority in the country, and the first prelate to be judged by the new secular society. This measure led to a deep division in the Colombian Church.⁴ These interferences did not end with the separation between Church and State in 1853, as such procedures were repeated years later during the second administration of General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera in 1861. He expelled the Pope's delegate in Colombia, Miecislao Ledochowski, as well as Archbishop Herrán and some of his colleagues, and once more, the Jesuits. He dissolved all recalcitrant religious communities and finally expropriated Church property in defiance of Pope Pius IX.⁵

The two expulsions of the Jesuits coincide with these profound confrontations between Church and State. These conflicts worsened in the mid-nineteenth century

² *Gaceta Oficial*, Bogotá, 21 de mayo de 1850, no. 1123.

³ M.M. Mosquera, ed. *Documentos para la biografía e historia del Episcopado del Ilustrísimo Señor D. Manuel José Mosquera, arzobispo de Bogotá*. vol. 2, Paris, 1858, pp. 637-744.

⁴ J.D. Cortés, 'Las Relaciones Estado-Iglesia en Colombia a mediados del siglo XIX', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Colegio de México, México, 2008), p. 57.

⁵ F. Díaz Díaz, *La desamortización de bienes eclesiásticos en Boyacá*, Tunja, 1977, pp. 11-130.

through the decrees of President López, and are embodied in the 1853 Constitution. The first chapter of its fifth article defined that *Granadino* citizens could freely profess their faith in public or in private, as long as they did not disturb the public peace, did not commit any moral offense, and did not prevent others from practicing a religion. Act No. 15, from June that year, was based on this constitutional article. In its first paragraph, it ordered the end of a 'any intervention by civil, national and municipal authorities in the election and presentation of candidates for the provision of benefits, as well as in any agreement and negotiation concerning the practice of Catholicism or any other faith professed by people living in the Republic'.⁶ This new legislation, during the administration of José María Obando, inaugurated the separation of State and Church in Colombia.

It is important to remember that, between 1824 and 1853, the new governments maintained the *Patronato*, the political patronage of the Church. This *Patronato* was an inheritance from the colonial system, as the Catholic Church granted privileges to the Spanish monarchs. The Bull of Pope Julius II, issued on 28 July 1508, stated that no 'metropolitan church, cathedral, school, abbey, parish, monastery, convent, hospital, hospice, or any other charitable or religious place of any kind, could ever be erected, established, funded, equipped or built without prior permission by their Majesties'.⁷ Likewise, the Crown could present and nominate those archbishops, bishops, prebendaries, and beneficiaries whom it found suitable for ecclesiastical service. During the Bourbon period, this intervention in Church affairs became what some experts have called 'regalismo'. This concept has been developed by the historian Pedro Borges in his extensive works. According to him, the power exercised by monarchs was not intended to obtain Papal favor, but to satisfy their urge for

⁶ J.P. Restrepo, *La Iglesia y el Estado en Colombia*, Londres, 1885, p. 372.

⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 25.

sovereignty. They unilaterally exercised this privilege over the Church at certain juncture in history:

La regalía, in this sense, were not acknowledged in the eighteenth century nor, as one may conclude from the allusion to Louis XIV, in the late seventeenth century. Here *regalia* is a right of the Crown, a royal right, corresponding to the king in virtue of his title. Eventually the term was used almost exclusively to refer to the rights of monarchs in the ecclesiastical field, so much that today ‘regalism’ is the theory that considers rulers to be entitled to a governing power in ecclesiastical matters, not subject to papal concessions, but based on their own sovereign status.⁸

Both José Hilario Lopez and Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera acted like the monarchs of the XVIII century with their drastic and unilateral intervention in Church affairs. Mosquera’s authoritarian attitude toward the Church caused Pope Pius IX to write a lengthy protest against the President’s oppressive measures, in which expressed his sorrow for the freedom the Church had lost.⁹

Thesis Objective and Plan

Our aim in writing a history of the Society of Jesus in Colombia during this period is to examine the process of restoration of the Order and the political, social, and religious context in which it occurred, as well as the impact of the Jesuits’ return to Colombia after a 77-year absence. The priests had been expelled from Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán, and Pasto in 1767 by the King’s orders. Despite a long absence, Colombian society remembered the men who had helped forge their colonial culture. The Jesuits had played a vital role in education with the Academia Javeriana, and with schools in Santafé de Bogotá, Santafé de Antioquia, Popayán, Cartagena, Mompox, Buga, Honda, Pamplona, and Pasto; they had formed libraries where many generations

⁸ P. Borges, *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas, siglos XV-XIX*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1992, p. 85.

⁹ L.C. Mantilla, *La guerra religiosa de Mosquera o la lucha contra el poder temporal de la Iglesia en Colombia, 1861-1878*, Medellín, 2010, p. 300.

acquired education. They taught Christian doctrine in their churches and evangelized different social classes. They excelled in their work in the Chibcha grammar schools of Santafé de Bogotá and in the missions in the Llanos of Casanare and Meta, as well as by their apostolic work among the black people in Cartagena. Through their *haciendas*, exceptionally productive units the economy had been invigorated.¹⁰ These *haciendas* maintained students who could not otherwise afford to study.¹¹ In 1767, the Jesuits were present in the four viceroyalties of Hispanic America –México, Perú, New Granada, and La Plata– and from all these places the priests went into to exile, obeying the royal order and submitting to the viceregal authorities representing Carlos III and to all those in charge of enforcing the Pragmatic Sanction.

The second aim of the thesis is to fill a gap in the historiography of the Colombian Church for 1842-1861; with the help of statistical tables and reports of dioceses, Congress, and the histories of religious orders, Church circumstances will be analyzed at the time of the return of the Jesuit priests. We will analyze the support and close relationships established between the diocesan clergy and the Jesuits who returned in 1844, and also the internal tensions that at some points arose between the Spanish priests and their New Granadan colleagues. These relationships will be analyzed with the help of unpublished documents found in different Jesuit archives, such as those in Alcalá de Henares in Spain, and in Rome; also in San Bartolomé Mayor; the Juan Manuel Pacheco archive at the Universidad Javeriana, the Colombian national library, the Luis Angel Arango library, and the National Archive in Bogotá; the Cauca archives in Popayán; and the Universidad de Antioquia in Medellín. These sources are rich in details and show the special relationship between the Jesuits and Mgr. Manuel Jose

¹⁰ D. Restrepo, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1940, p. 136, and J. Yarza, 'La expulsión de los jesuitas del Nuevo Reino de Granada en 1767', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 188, Bogotá, 1952, pp. 170-83.

¹¹ J. Fajardo. *Función religiosa, social y cultural de las haciendas misionales en la Orinoquia*. Caracas, 2003.

Mosquera, Archbishop of Bogotá; Fernando Cuero y Caicedo, Bishop of Popayán; Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata, Bishop of Antioquia; Mateo Gonzalez Rubio, Bishop of Pasto. They also show the support received from some politicians, including Mariano Ospina Rodríguez and José Eusebio Caro, and, in general from some sectors of the Colombian people. For example, the Cauca archives hold the correspondence of Tomas Cipriano de Mosquera, which shows the support for the Jesuits given by General Tomas Cipriano de Mosquera and his brother the Archbishop between 1844 and 1850.

The third aim is to analyse the reception in New Granada of the pro- and anti-Jesuit literature between 1842 and 1850. My research explores for the first time a number of documents that show the arguments used to defend and discredit the Jesuits who returned to the country, published in the newspapers of that time. Nineteenth-century historians were naturally aware of these sources but did not examine them thoroughly.¹² This part analyzes five themes in favour and against the Jesuits, debated by Colombian politicians in the press and the Congress. The Spanish Jesuits were subjected to criticism and defamation by a minority group of clergymen and by laymen in both the Senate and the House of Representatives between 1844 and 1850. Among the latter José María Samper, Manuel Murillo Toro, Ezequiel Rojas, Salvador Camacho Roldán, Florentino González, and Julio Arboleda stand out, the last being a prominent Conservative politician of Popayán: in 1848, he wrote a text arguing that the presence of the Jesuits was dangerous for the country.¹³ Nevertheless, when the Jesuits were expelled from Popayán in 1850, he defended them and opposed the measure taken by President José Hilario López.

This discussion became particularly vehement in the cities of Bogotá and Medellín. According to the documents analysed, the decrees issued to permit the

¹² J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 1, 1832-1845, Bogotá, 1962, p. 370.

¹³ J. Arboleda, *Los Jesuitas, Advertencia*, Bogotá, 1848, pp. I-VIII.

Jesuits' return made quite clear what function they would perform: they were returning to evangelize the indigenous people and to establish residences for missionaries. That is how Jan Roothaan, the Superior General, and Eladio Urisarri, the envoy in charge of arranging the Jesuits' return to New Granada, understood this matter. The Superior General sent his men to open mission schools that would educate future missionaries. But they were faced with a different task: when the Jesuits arrived in New Granada, they were called to undertake education in the cities of Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán, and Pasto. The opposing political group that had criticised them from their arrival won the elections in 1849 and started to implement policies such as the expulsion decree of 28 May and other measures aimed at separating Church from State. This group of politicians exploited the lack of clarity regarding the role of the priests, and sought inspiration in the contemporary anti-Jesuit literature from France and elsewhere in Europe to spread criticism against the Society's apostolic work, accusing it of supporting the Conservative Party, as was set forth in the expulsion decree of 1850. In 1844 a number of newspapers in Bogotá and Medellín began publishing anti-Jesuit articles from French papers. Members of both the House of Representatives and the Senate conspired against the Jesuits. This 'anti-Jesuit' framework will provide us with elements for understanding the political positions of the Jesuits who returned in 1884 to continue their apostolic work in Colombia. At that time, the so-called Colombian Mission of the Society of Jesus depended on the Province of Castilla, until an autonomous Province was established in 1924. An extended work might cover the history of the Province over the centenary to be celebrated in 2024, but this would have to be a subject for further study.

Timeline

This thesis focuses on the 1842-1861 period. Two expulsions took place in these years, one in 1850 and the other in 1861. The thesis does not deal with the colonial period, but includes a some references to it because the Jesuits played a major role in colonial society, one reason why the government of New Granada chose them as the most suitable order for reviving the missions. References found in articles in the newspaper *El Día* describe the work carried out in Colombia and elsewhere in the Empire during the time of the colony.¹⁴ This thesis is not about the old Society from 1540 to 1773, but the later restored Society of Jesus, faced by an established anti-Jesuit legend that was one of the causes taken into consideration at the time of the suppression. Of course, this legend fed on some facts, and also on the conflicts of the Society of Jesus both with the ecclesiastical hierarchy and with some of the personalities in places where the Society was present. Nevertheless, the extremes of the legend tended to blame the Jesuits for all the calamities in the world. On the priests' arrival in New Granada in 1844, this legend was repeated for the alleged purpose of warning the nation of the danger posed by their presence, and to justify expelling them from the country. This propaganda was spread not only in New Granada but also in other countries such as Argentina. In that country in 1846, the *Gaceta Mercantil*, a pro-government newspaper in favour of Rosas, alleged that the Jesuits were implicated in attacks against the social and political order and that they were exploiting the religious element to create fanaticism and manipulate the consciences of their devotees.¹⁵

¹⁴ *El Día*, Bogotá, 29 de marzo de 1842, no. 103.

¹⁵ R. Di Stefano, *Ovejas Negras. Historia de los anticlericales argentinos*, Buenos Aires, 2010, p. 92.

A Brief Outline of the recent History of the Society of Jesus

The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1764, and from Spain and all the Spanish domains in 1767. Afterwards, the royalist anti-Jesuit governments of Portugal, Spain, Naples, and Parma called for the abolition of the order.¹⁶ These monarchs, their ministers, the Superiors General of the Augustinians, Dominicans, and Carmelites, and some bishops of Rome put pressure on Pope Clement XIII who opposed the suppression of the order and defended them to the end of his days. The next Pope, Clement XIV, a Franciscan opposed to the Jesuits, suppressed the Society with the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, 21 July 1773. Fortunately, this document could be effective only in those places where it was published, and Catherine II Empress of Russia prohibited the divulgation of this brief in her territories. There a group of Jesuits, who were joined by other members who had arrived from different places, continued the Institute's apostolic work.¹⁷ Despite the official suppression, the Society was discreetly re-established in 1782 in the duchy of Parma in Italy, where Pope Pius VI allowed them to open a novitiate. The Society then spread to Sardinia and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The man who led this restoration in Italy was Saint Joseph Pignatelli.¹⁸ Later, the order was officially re-established in Russia by Pope Pius VII, on 7 March 1801, and in the Kingdom of Naples on 30 July 1804. The order was truly restored on 7 August 1814. At the ceremony that took place at the Church of *Il Gesu*, Rome, the former Jesuit church, after the celebration of Mass in the chapel of St. Ignatius, Pope Pius VII went to the chapel that had been arranged for the event. Once the cardinals, priests, some distinguished guests, and more than one hundred old former

¹⁶ T. Egidio López, *Los Jesuitas en España y en el Mundo Hispánico*, Madrid, 2004, pp. 225-78.

¹⁷ M. Inglot, *La Compagnia di Gesù nell'Impero Russo, 1772-1820, e la sua parte nella restaurazione generale della Compagnia*, Roma, 1997.

¹⁸ J.A. Ferrer Benimeli, *José Pignatelli, 1737-1811*, Bilbao, 2011.

Jesuits were assembled, the bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* was read out.¹⁹ This acknowledged that the Society was being re-established because there had been a significant number of petitions from archbishops, bishops, and other notables from all around the Christian world, and it then listed some of the calamities that had happened while the Jesuits had been suppressed. The Bull in its Spanish version reads:

Diariamente nos llegan de casi todo el orbe cristiano, de parte de nuestros venerables hermanos arzobispos y obispos y de toda clase de personas notables, instantes súplicas para que restablezcamos a la Compañía de Jesús...La dispersión misma de las piedras del santuario, a causa de las recientes calamidades, que más vale llorar que recordar; el decaimiento de la disciplina en las órdenes religiosas, que son el esplendor y el sostén de la religión y de la Iglesia Católica, y cuya reparación es el objeto de nuestros pensamientos y cuidados, reclaman el que demos acogida a deseos tan justos y universales. Nos creeríamos reos de gravísimo crimen delante de Dios si, en tantos peligros para la sociedad, omitiéramos el utilizar los saludables remedios que Dios nos depara en su providencia, y si colocados en la nave de Pedro, sacudida por tan continuas tempestades, rechazáramos los expertos y vigorosos remeros que se nos ofrecen, capaces de vencer la marejada que nos amenaza a cada momento con el naufragio y la muerte. Movido nuestro ánimo por motivos tan numerosos y graves, hemos decidido ejecutar lo que desde el comienzo de nuestro pontificado deseábamos ardientemente.²⁰

Situation of the Jesuits in Spain between 1815 and 1835

After the restoration, the Jesuits nonetheless continued to be expelled from various countries. In Spain they were suppressed twice. The first expulsion in 1820 was imposed by the regalist Liberal government during the constitutional three-year period. According to Revuelta, they were suppressed because they had been re-established by an absolute monarch in an absolutist manner, and the Liberals were alarmed at the Society's growth. At the time there were 436 Jesuits in Spain, renowned for their work in education.²¹ The second suppression was imposed in 1835 by the

¹⁹ J.M. Pacheco, 'El sesquicentenario del restablecimiento de la Compañía de Jesús', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 307, 1964, pp. 146-8.

²⁰ Pío VII, *Sollicitudo ómnium ecclesiarum*, Roma, 1814.

²¹ M. Revuelta, *Once Calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, Madrid, 2006, pp. 211-31.

minority that took over after Isabella II. This was the first decree under Maria Christina against a religious order, and was preceded by the ‘Killing of Priests’ in Madrid in 1834.²² There were then 363 Jesuits. Foreseeing these expulsions, houses had been organized in exile for novices and young scholastics. The Spanish Jesuits refused to disappear and created communities in exile of those willing to return at the first opportunity. When Spain closed the door on them, other doors opened in Hispanic America. The exile coincided with the invitations made to the Jesuits by Argentina in 1836 and by New Granada in 1844. In the 1820s and 1830s, the Liberals revived the anti-Jesuit campaign from Carlos III, the unilateral intervention of the civil power in the reform of Church structures.

Sources used for writing the history of the Jesuits

The Society of Jesus must be one of the most studied Catholic religious orders in the world. This is due to the existence of both an enormous bibliography and of archives ranging from the foundation of the Society by Ignatius of Loyola and his partners in 1540 up to the present day. In Part VIII of the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, ‘Helps toward Uniting Dispersed Members with Their Head and among Themselves’, Saint Ignatius requires that Jesuits remain in constant contact and communication with their superiors through correspondence, and that their schools and homes prepare histories of their works for sending each year to Rome.²³ Thanks to the founder’s recommendations and to the Jesuit *postulata* submitted to the General Congregations, it has been possible to write the Society’s history from early in the history of the order in Europe, North America, South America, Asia, Africa, and

²² L. Frías, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en su asistencia moderna de España*, vol. 1, 1815-1835, pp. 592-667.

²³ I. Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary norms. A complete English Translation of the official Latin Texts*, Saint Louis, 1996, pp. 316-29.

Oceania.

In Rome the Jesuits keep a historical archive which preserves the *Cartas Annuales*, letters addressed to the Superior General in Rome written from places where Jesuits are present to inform him of the state and activities of the respective houses. These letters list documents related to the creation of schools, residences, missions, and daily life in the communities throughout the year. Each Province file has a shelf where copies of the correspondence between the Jesuits and their superiors in Rome can be found. The fifth Superior General of the order, Claudio Aquaviva, in around 1581 ordered that the histories of each of the Society's schools or domiciles were to be sent to Rome with the aim of preserving the order's history.²⁴ Aquaviva insisted that such letters should highlight the religious and edifying activities of the members.²⁵

From the late 1950s László Polgár S.J. has published a bibliography of the Society of Jesus.²⁶ This collects high-level historical studies for the countries where Jesuits are present, on those Jesuits who stand out in theology, philosophy, literature, history, mathematics, physics, and other sciences. Since Polgár's death a Dutch Jesuit, Paul Begheyn, has continued with this task.

In the late nineteenth century, Superior General Luis Martín launched one of the most valuable initiatives in the modern Society, the collection and publication of documents, such as the letters of Saint Ignatius, concerning the origin and history of the Society.²⁷ This was the start of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesus*, which began to be published in Madrid in 1894 and later moved to Rome in 1934 with the founding of the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus in 1930 the twenty-sixth Superior

²⁴ J. Padberg, *For matters of greater moment. The first thirty Jesuit general congregations*, St. Louis, 1994, p. 178.

²⁵ For Aquaviva see M. Fois y otros, 'Generales', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, Biográfico Temático*, ed. J. M., Domínguez and Ch. O'Neill, Roma, 2001, vol. 2, pp. 1614-21.

²⁶ L. Polgár, *Bibliographie sur L'Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus 1901-1980*, Roma, 1990 and *Bibliography of the history of the Society of Jesus*, Rome, 1967.

²⁷ M. Revuelta, *Memorias del P. Luis Martín, general de la Compañía de Jesús 1846-1906*, Roma, 1988.

General, Włodimir Ledóchowski, had founded a history-writers school of the Society as part of the curia, and in 1935 this was designated the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus. The purpose of this institute was to continue the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesus*. The MHSI was joined later by the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, a biannual publication started in 1932, and also by the *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I.* in 1940.²⁸ With this project, that gathers sources on the Society's history, the writing of Jesuit history was promoted in several countries. Martin's call had resulted in the publication of the *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, by Antonio Astráin. This historian wrote seven very well-documented volumes that encompass the generalships from Saint Ignatius of Loyola until the suppression of the Society in the Assistancy of Spain by Pope Clement XIV in 1773.²⁹ The prologue of the first volume explained what was understood as an 'Assistancy' (a jurisdictional region of the Society of Jesus).

The first General Congregation of the Society in 1558 followed up Ignatius's provisions in the Constitutions (Part IX chapter five), by appointing four priests called Assistants to help the General in the government of the order and to act as ordinary consultants in matters concerning good governance in the regions that the Society assigned to them. 'Out of those four Assistants, one represented Portugal with all the provinces and missions depending on that kingdom. The second represented Spain, which included provinces and missions that were founded later in Spanish domains. The third was for Italy, and the fourth for the *Septentrion*, a name that then included Germany, Flanders, France, and Poland'.³⁰

The Spanish project was followed by the Jesuits in Germany; Bernhard Duhr

²⁸ M. Colpo, 'Instituto Histórico de la C.J.', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 3, pp. 2048-50.

²⁹ A. Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, 7 vols. Madrid, 1912-25.

³⁰ A. Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, vol. 1, pp. VII-VIII.

attempted to cover all the German-speaking areas where the Jesuits were present from the foundation until the suppression of the Society.³¹ This history ‘contains a large amount of valuable information on the renewal of Catholic life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its strength rests on the objectivity, use, and abundant quotation of the sources’³². The history of the Portuguese Assistancy was written by Francisco Rodriguez and was quite thorough and erudite, though it lacked a study of the role played by the Marques de Pombal in the expulsion of the Society from Portugal and its colonies.³³ The history of the Italian Assistancy was written by Pietro Tacchi Venturi, but his work only covered the history of the period corresponding to the life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola.³⁴ These studies cover the foundation of schools, residences, and missions up to the Jesuit suppression in 1773. This initiative of the Superior General was a response to the anti-Jesuit legends that had been abundantly divulged in Europe and Hispanic America during the second half of the nineteenth century.

This group of historians also included other Jesuits such as Lesmes Frías and Rafael Pérez. The former was assigned to investigate and research the History of the Assistancy of Spain after the restoration, and the latter to write the history of the Society in South America. In 1923, Frías published the first volume of his history covering 1815 to 1835, the year in which the Society was suppressed in Spain. After his death, a second volume was published covering 1835 to 1868.³⁵ These two volumes described only the Spanish and Portuguese regions. Nevertheless, Frías left an unpublished manuscript dealing with the overseas regions and missions which has not been published and is kept in the historical archive in Rome.

³¹ B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, 4 vols. Freiburg, 1907-28.

³² K. Schatz, ‘Bernhard Duhr’, in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 2, pp. 1165-6.

³³ F. Rodriguez, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, 7 vols. Porto, 1931-50.

³⁴ P. Tacchi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, vol. 1, *La Vita religiosa in Italia durante y prima età della Compagnia di Gesù (1534-1585)*, Roma, 1930. vol. 2, *Dalla solenne approvazione dell’ordine alla morte del fondatore (1540-1556)*, Roma, 1950.

³⁵ L. Frías, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en su asistencia moderna de España*, vol. 1, 1815-1835, Madrid, 1923, vol. 2, 1835-1868, Madrid, 1944.

All these publications described the Society's history with the help of the primary sources then available. They had two purposes: first to show and defend the Jesuits' work in their four-century history, and second to reply to the anti-Jesuit propaganda published in Europe both inside and outside the Church. They featured as the official handbooks of Society history. They could be used in houses of formation and for the benefit of those wishing to know the history of such 'controversial' men. One has to remember that after the official restoration in 1814, the Jesuits were the target of attacks from many liberal European thinkers and politicians in France,³⁶ Spain, Germany,³⁷ Switzerland, Portugal, and Italy. In these countries, the Jesuits suffered expulsions throughout the nineteenth century and many brochures, leaflets, and newspapers with anti-Jesuit propaganda were published.

After the restoration by Pope Pius VII, 7 August 1814, one of the most dynamic and important superior generals was Jan Philip Roothaan, who has been called by some historians the second founder of the Society.³⁸ Roothaan invigorated the order's apostolic spirit by translating the *Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio* from Spanish into Latin, updating the *Ratio Studiorum*, and encouraging the order's missionary spirit. These three aims were suggested at the 22nd General Congregation, which elected him Superior General of the Society. Roothaan was the twenty-first Superior General. He was 44 years old when elected on 9 July 1829, and was Superior General until 8 May 1853. He witnessed many Jesuit expulsions from different European and South American countries. While he was the Superior General the number of Jesuits grew substantially, from 2,137 to 5,209, from 727 priests to 2,429, from 777 students to 1,365, from 633 coadjutor brothers to 1,415. Jesuit schools increased from 50 to 100

³⁶ G. Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth. Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France*, Oxford, 1993.

³⁷ R. Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany*, Boston, 2003.

³⁸ C. Lighthart, *The Return of the Jesuits, The life of Jan Philip Roothaan*, London, 1978.

between 1844 and 1854. The Society of Jesus expanded geographically in North and South America, Asia, Africa, and Australia. The number of Jesuits overseas increased significantly, from 119 in 1829 to 1,014 in 1853.³⁹

Administratively, the Jesuits are organized in provinces where they have provincial archives that are usually located in the curia, the government offices of each province. Most of them are kept in good order, allowing researchers to obtain information about the daily life in the communities, the relationships between members of a community and their superiors, the everyday troubles and tensions, the views of the Jesuits about the political, economic, social, religious, and cultural life of the region where the files are located. For our research we have had the assistance of the Archivo Histórico de San Bartolomé in Bogotá and the archive of the Colombian Province.⁴⁰

It is not our intention to examine the general histories of the Jesuit order, some outstanding, both in Spanish and in English, because such a project would be endless.⁴¹ However, in 1997, a group of Jesuits and English-speaking laypeople held an international conference called '*The Jesuits: Culture, Learning, and the Arts, 1540-1773*' in Boston. At this conference, scholars from different disciplines approached the history of the Society of Jesus with new questions and methods. Thirty-five essays studied the old Society from 1540 to 1773. These essays examined the Jesuits' contribution in the fields of music, arts, architecture, devotional writing, mathematics, astronomy, physics, natural history, and education. They also showed the interaction of Jesuits with other cultures than the European. These included examples from North America, South America, China, India, and the Philippines.⁴²

³⁹ M. Chappin, 'Jan Philip Roothaan', in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 2, pp. 1666-71.

⁴⁰ J.M. Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, vol. 1, 1567-1654, Bogotá, 1957, p. 146.

⁴¹ W. Bangert, *A bibliographical essay on the History of the Society of Jesus. Books in English*, St. Louis, 1976.

⁴² J.W. O'Malley, *The Jesuits. Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, Toronto, 1999, p. XIII.

An extensive bibliography was published in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, to which we refer for more specific details. Furthermore, following in their historical tradition, the Jesuits produced in 2001 the *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, a work that contains 6,000 entries and the contributions of 700 authors, mostly Jesuits. This work was intended to synthesise the history of the Society from 1540 to 1990. According to one of the authors, the collective work ‘intends to take distance from the laudatory obituary and presents the different aspects of the Jesuits without excluding the negative aspects, and includes former Jesuits and non-Jesuits who have kept a remarkable (positive or negative) relationship with the Society of Jesus’.⁴³ This collective work was the result of the efforts of many Jesuits around the world.

Since the restoration in 1814, a significant number of historians not belonging to the Society have written general histories of the Jesuits, sometimes to praise and at other times to criticize them. In the nineteenth century outstanding examples are the history written by a renowned advocate of the Jesuits, Crétineau-Joly⁴⁴ in France, and the criticism of the order by Gioberti in Italy.⁴⁵ After the Second Vatican Council, several French publications have appeared translated into Spanish and English, as is the case of Lacouture.⁴⁶ Among English studies, Wright’s recent work is one example.⁴⁷

Historiography of the Jesuits in Hispanic America

General histories of the Jesuits in Hispanic America have been few. There are studies in various countries recounting this history, but there is a lack of general studies

⁴³ J. Domínguez, *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 1, p. XV.

⁴⁴ J. Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 6 vols. Paris, 1844-46.

⁴⁵ V. Gioberti, *Il Gesuita Moderno*, 5 vols. Napoli, 1848.

⁴⁶ J. Lacouture, *Jésuites: Une Multibiographie*, vol.1, *Les Conquérants*, vol. 2, *Les Revenants*, Paris, 1991-92.

⁴⁷ J. Wright, *The Jesuits. Missions, Myths and Histories*, London, 2004.

that would help one to understand in a more global way the work of the order, particularly after independence. A few years ago, two general histories of the Jesuits appeared covering the colonial period: *Why have you come here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America*;⁴⁸ and *Los Jesuitas en América*, which contains a bibliographic essay on the Jesuits during colonial times.⁴⁹ Recently a work on the Jesuits in Latin America was published by Klaiber which covers 450 years. The author's purpose is not to tell the entire history of the Jesuits in Hispanic America, since the sixteenth century up to the present, but rather to show the most essential milestones in this history; he wants to 'highlight the lines of continuity that connect the 16th century Jesuits with those of the 20th century'. For this, he focuses on certain figures, situations, and regions that allow him to illustrate the general picture.⁵⁰ Klaiber's work moves away from the 'institutions' and the manuals of Astráin and Pérez. Instead his work is interpretative underlining three topics that serve as threads from one period to the next, such as 'inculturation', the defense of native peoples and other disadvantaged groups, and the creative ability to adapt to new times.⁵¹

Some Jesuit historians have written historical manuals characterized by the richness of primary and secondary sources but lacking interpretation and working from a providentialist view of the Jesuits' contribution in Latin American. There are some individual modern histories of the Jesuits in Latin America during colonial times and during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, respectively, some of them written by

⁴⁸ N. Cushner, *Why have you come here? The Jesuits and the first Evangelization of Native America*, Oxford, 2006.

⁴⁹ A. Santos, *Los Jesuitas en América*, Madrid, 1992.

⁵⁰ J. Klaiber, *Los Jesuitas en América Latina, 1549-2000, 450 años de Inculturación, Defensa de los Derechos Humanos y Testimonio Profético*, Lima, 2007, p. IX.

⁵¹ The term 'inculturation' began to be used among Jesuits in the nineteen seventies. Today it is current in theology and in the magisterium of the Church: 'It aims to replace words like adaptation and accommodation, which seem too peripheral and external, and that cannot reach the depths of man and society: the culture. Currently, this term is only used for the encounter between the Gospel and the cultures, or the clash between two cultures'. See J. López-Gay, 'Misionología', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 3, pp. 2696-2711.

members of the order and others by laymen. Several works stand out among them: in México, Perú, Central America, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina.⁵² In 1901, Rafael Pérez published a book covering the presence of the Jesuits in Argentina and Chile, Uruguay and Brazil during the nineteenth century.⁵³

Historiographical survey on the Society of Jesus in Colombia from 1604 to 1767

As mentioned previously, although this thesis does not cover the colonial period it seems relevant to mention briefly various studies that show the major role played by Jesuits in the colony, and help us understand why a politician such as Mariano Ospina Rodríguez chose them. The most extensive and erudite work written in the twentieth century about the history of the Society of Jesus in the current territory of Colombia during the colonial period is that by Juan Manuel Pacheco.⁵⁴ This historian used the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome, Madrid, Loyola, Quito, and Bogotá, the Archive of the Indies in Seville in Spain, the National Archive in Bogotá, the Historical Archive in Tunja, the Government Archive in Cauca, and the Historical Archive of

⁵² For México see J. Gutiérrez, *Jesuitas en México durante el siglo XIX*. México, 1972. G. Decorme, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la República Mexicana durante el siglo XIX*. Chihuahua, 1959. G. Decorme, *La obra de los Jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572-1767*, México, 1942. M.I. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en México: cuatro siglos de labor cultural, 1572-1972*, México, 1972. E.M. St. Clair Segurado, *Expulsión y Exilio de la Provincia Jesuita Mexicana, 1767-1820*, Alicante, 2005. For Perú see R. Vargas, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú*, vols. 1-4, Burgos, 1963-5. For Central America see J. Sariago, *Aquellos tenaces misioneros proscritos... Los jesuitas en la Centroamérica Moderna 1842-1896*, Guatemala, 1999. For Dominican Republic see J. Sáez, *Los Jesuitas en la República Dominicana* vol. 1, *Los primeros veinticinco años, 1936-1961*, vol. 2, *Hacia el Medio Siglo, 1962-1986*, Santo Domingo, 1988-90. For Nicaragua see F. Cerutti, *Los Jesuitas en Nicaragua en el siglo XIX*, San José, 1984. For Ecuador see W. Llor, *Los Jesuitas en el Ecuador: su ingreso y expulsión, 1850-1852*, Quito, 1959. Y J. Jouanen, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Republica del Ecuador, 1850-1950*, Quito, 2003. For Brasil see S. Leite, *Suma histórica da Compahnia de Jesus no Brasil. Assistencia de Portugal, 1549-1760*, Lisboa, 1965. For Paraguay see P. Pastells, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia de Paraguay*, Madrid, 1912-33. For Uruguay see J. Fernández, *Jesuitas, Masones y Universidad*, Montevideo, 2007. For Argentina see G. Furlong, *Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Rioplatense*, Buenos Aires, 1946. G. Furlong, *Historia del Colegio del Salvador y de sus irradiaciones culturales y espirituales en la ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1617-1943*, Buenos Aires, 1944.

⁵³ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús restaurada en la República del Argentina y Chile, el Uruguay y el Brasil*, Barcelona, 1901.

⁵⁴ J.M. Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, vol. 1, 1567-1654, Bogotá, 1957, vol. 2, 1654-1696, Bogotá, 1962, vol. 3, 1696-1767, Bogotá, 1989.

Antioquia. He also used the *Historia de la Provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito de la Compañía de Jesús*, by Pedro de Mercado, a Jesuit from Riobamba.⁵⁵ This work, writing in 1689 only appeared in 1957 when the Biblioteca de la Presidencia de Colombia published it for the first time.⁵⁶ The reason was the delay was that censors from the old Province of Toledo judged it should not be published without corrections because, according to them, the style was incorrect and uneven and it did not mention the life of Saint Peter Claver. This persuaded the censors to recommend that the historian José Cassani should write a new history of the Society, correcting and improving Mercado's history. This is the origin of the *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús del Nuevo Reino de Granada* published in 1741.⁵⁷ Cassani summarized Mercado's work but excluded any reference to the Society of Jesus in Quito, because at the time he wrote the provinces of the New Kingdom of Granada and of Quito had already separated.

Pacheco also took into account the work of Juan Rivero,⁵⁸ and of Astráin: this historian had covered in his *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* the provinces of Castile, Aragon, Toledo, and Andalusia, where the Jesuits were distributed at that time, and also the new provinces and missions founded overseas. Starting with the third volume of his work, he analyzes the work carried out in the old provinces of México, Perú, Paraguay, Chile, the New Kingdom of Granada, Quito, and the Philippines. Astráin consulted primary sources, such as letters and other contemporary documents for each province. He noted that he had extensive material available for the study of the origin and suppression of the order, but that this was not the case for the interim period. Astráin starts each volume with a bibliographical

⁵⁵ J.M. Pacheco, 'Pedro de Mercado' in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 3, p. 2632.

⁵⁶ P. Mercado, *Historia de la Provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito de la Compañía de Jesús*. Bogotá, 1957.

⁵⁷ J. Cassani, *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, Madrid, 1741.

⁵⁸ J. Rivero, *Historia de las Misiones de los Llanos de Casanare y los ríos Orinoco y Meta*, Bogotá, 1883.

introduction where he describes all the primary and secondary sources taken into account for the history. In each volume, starting with the fourth, he dedicates a chapter to the former province of the New Kingdom of Granada, and this allows him to give the history of the province using the documents of the Jesuit archives in Rome and Madrid, and of the General Archive of the Indies. His studies are both well documented and innovative with respect to the history of the Society of Jesus in Colombia during colonial times.⁵⁹ However, with respect to New Granada his view tends to be providentialist, as he provides supernatural explanations for some of the experiences of the Jesuits in the missions. He also underlines the failures of members of the order at certain periods and does not take into consideration the political, economic, and social context.

The initial aim of Pacheco was to write the history of the Jesuits in four volumes. The first two volumes were published while he was alive. The third volume appeared after his death and the fourth was never published. The first volume covers the years 1567 to 1654, showing the consolidation of the Jesuit Province of the New Kingdom of Granada, and the foundation of the main schools and the University. He discusses the different works of the Jesuits, such as the courses given in philosophy and theology which were well up to the standard of European teaching. For their evangelical missions the Jesuits went to many towns and cities. The catechizing of black slaves in Cartagena reached a peak with outstanding men such as Alonso de Sandoval and Saint Peter Claver. The teaching of doctrine to the *Muisca*s was a success because the Jesuits established language-learning schools to promote an easier approach and a better understanding. The second volume deals with the years from 1654 to 1696. Pacheco admits that to write this volume he lacked documentation, however, he found

⁵⁹ A. Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en su Asistencia de España*, vols. 4-7, Madrid, 1912-25.

that the majority of the Jesuits were men of profound virtue and only a minority were mediocre. Pacheco underlines that in this period there was a disquieting decadence among some of the priests in the province as a result of their exaggerated nationalisms, a lack of respect and obedience towards superiors, and an absence of the spirit of mortification.⁶⁰ In addition, he presents the difficulties experienced by the Jesuits with religious and secular authorities and the visitations from Rome to put the Province in order owing to a lack of thoroughness and dedication among its members. Finally he shows the evolution of the missions in Los Llanos and the Orinoco.⁶¹ The third volume was published posthumously because Pacheco died on 30 December 1986.⁶² He had wanted to include an account of the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Granada and of their journey up to their arrival at Gubbio, Italy. He was not able to write this part because he had been working full time on the *Historia Eclesiástica en la Nueva Granada*.⁶³

Pacheco's aim was to recount the history of the Jesuits in an objective manner, showing the lights and shadows. He tried to be objective detailing the virtues and defects of the Jesuits who worked in Colombia between 1604 and 1767.⁶⁴ There can be no doubt Pacheco was a great scholar, as shown by his solid bibliographical work. This reflects many years of study in the national archives and libraries investigating and

⁶⁰ J.M. Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, vol. 2, 1654-1696, Bogotá, 1962, p. 484.

⁶¹ For works on the *haciendas* of the Jesuits in the New Kingdom of Granada, see: G. Colmenares, *Haciendas de los Jesuitas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, Siglo XVIII*, Bogotá, 1969. 'Los Jesuitas: Modelo de empresarios coloniales', *Boletín cultural y bibliográfico*, no. 2, Bogotá, 1984, pp. 42-53. J. Rueda, *Relaciones Interétnicas en los Llanos de Casanare y Meta 1767-1830*, Bogotá, 1987 y 'El Complejo económico-administrativo de las antiguas haciendas jesuitas del Casanare', *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico*, no. 20, 1989, pp. 3-15 A. Pérez, *La hacienda Caribabare estructura y relaciones de mercado 1767-1810*, Yopal, 1997.

⁶² Manuel Briceño Jáuregui, Fortunato Herrera, Ignacio Acebedo, and José del Rey Fajardo were entrusted by the then Provincial Gerardo Remolina with the verification of notes, the preparation of indices and the bibliography for the unpublished manuscript by Pacheco. This is the origin of Volume 3 that appeared in 1989. See: J.M. Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, vol. 3, 1696-1767, Bogotá, 1989, pp. 5-10.

⁶³ J.M. Pacheco, *Historia Eclesiástica*, 5 vols. Bogotá, 1971.

⁶⁴ J.M. Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, vol. 1, p. 585.

reviewing sources. Nevertheless, his work lacks reference to the political, social, economic, and cultural context. The history of the Jesuits appears isolated and unrelated to the wider society: Pacheco analyzes what happens inside the order without providing the historical, political and social context of Colombia in colonial times.

Another contemporary authority on this period is José del Rey Fajardo, a meticulous historian of the Society of Jesus in Colombia and Venezuela for the colonial period. This historian has been engaged in studying the history of colonial schools in Bogotá, Antioquia, and Cartagena, and of the *Universidad Javeriana* and its lecturers; also of the schools of Mérida, Coro, and Maracaibo in Venezuela, with their libraries, outstanding Jesuits and their writings, the missions, and the *haciendas* in Los Llanos of Casanare river and the Orinoquia.⁶⁵ This scholar, unlike Pacheco, shows the presence of Jesuits in the colony in the context of the general colonial culture. He elaborates on this notion in one of his writings: ‘By undertaking education in Santafé de Bogotá and other cities, the Jesuits were forced to take part in the dilemmas of civil, social, intellectual, and economic history and at the same time in the religious history in Colombia. The true history of the peoples in New Granada would be mutilated without the voice of the Society of Jesus’.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ For Fajardo’s work see: J. Fajardo, *La enseñanza de la humanidades en los colegios jesuíticos neogranadinos 1604-1767*, Bogotá, 2005. *Jesuitas, libros y política en el Real Colegio Mayor y Seminario de San Bartolomé*, Bogotá, 2004. *Los Jesuitas en Antioquia 1727-1767. Aportes a la historia de la cultura y el arte*, Bogotá, 2008. *Los Jesuitas en Cartagena de Indias 1604-1767*, Bogotá, 2004. *El aporte de la javeriana colonial a la cartografía orinoquense*, Bogotá, 2003. *Catedráticos Jesuitas de la Javeriana Colonial*, Bogotá, 2002. *Los Jesuitas en Venezuela*, Caracas y Bogotá, 2006-2007. *El Colegio San Francisco Javier en la Mérida Colonial germen histórico de la Universidad de los Andes*, Mérida, 2003. *Un sueño educativo frustrado los jesuitas en el Coro Colonial*, Caracas, 2005. *Virtud y letras en el Maracaibo hispánico*, Caracas, 2003. *Biblioteca de escritores jesuitas neogranadinos*, Bogotá, 2004. *Bio-bibliografía de los Jesuitas en la Venezuela Colonial*, Caracas, 1995. *Vida, obra y pensamiento del maestro javeriano Juan Martínez de Ripalda (1641-1707)*, Bogotá, 2007. *Denis Mesland amigo de Descartes y maestro javeriano 1615-1672*, Bogotá, 2002. *Una utopía sofocada, reducciones jesuitas en la Orinoquia*, Caracas, 1998. *Misiones Jesuíticas en la Orinoquia*, San Cristóbal, 1992.

⁶⁶ J. Fajardo, ‘Los jesuitas en las raíces de la colombianidad’, *Revista Javeriana*, no. 709, Bogotá, 2004.

Historiographical survey of the Jesuits in Colombia 1842-1861

There is a significant bibliography for this historical period. Of prime importance is the unpublished work by José Joaquín Cotanilla in the archives of the Castile province, in Alcalá de Henares. Cotanilla was one of the Jesuits who arrived in Colombia in 1846 to strengthen the Colombian Mission, and he was expelled with the rest in 1850. His work consists of 4 volumes, the first comprises 31 chapters and describes the restoration period under Pope Pius VII, the restoration in Spain by King Ferdinand VII, and the experiences of the Society there until 1835, the year in which Spanish Jesuits were called to Argentina, Chile, and the New Granada. The 30-chapter second volume describes the presence of the Jesuits in New Granada until their expulsion in 1850. The third volume describes the routes then followed by them: to Panamá, Ecuador, Jamaica, México, Cuba, and Guatemala. The fourth volume describes the restoration of the Jesuits in Colombia between 1858 and 1861 and the anti-clerical policy of Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera.⁶⁷ These four volumes seem to be unpublished drafts by Cotanilla; there is another 1,029-page manuscript which contains the same information as these four volumes and includes corrections to the initial writing. It looks as if all these were written in Havana between 1864 and 1869 because the four volumes are dated 1864 and the second manuscript is dated 1869 on the first and last pages. There are also four short manuscripts of his diary, collected in a single volume entitled *Diario 1834-1866* and *Viaje a Italia 1883*. We assume that he employed this diary to write the history of the Colombian Mission. He records personal experiences in the diary along with ordinary and extraordinary events relating to both the religious order and to other political and social affairs in the countries he goes through. Cotanilla's work is exceptional in describing chronologically the arrival of the

⁶⁷ Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Castilla de la Compañía de Jesús. (Alcalá de Henares), AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92.

Jesuits in New Granada in 1844. Since the work is dated very close to the events, a sense of unease can be perceived in it with respect to the policy of Mosquera the politician. The author tries to write a history of what he calls the ‘liberals and Masons’ who expelled the Jesuits in 1850 and 1861. One of the chapters seeks to show how the origin of freemasonry is directly associated with the sin of Cain. It is a work that glorifies the order and denigrates the politicians who opposed the presence of the Jesuits in New Granada on those two occasions.

A second work published in 1872 is by José Joaquín Borda, who had been a student of the Jesuits. His work is a defence of the Society of Jesus.⁶⁸ In the first volume, which covers colonial times, he took into account the works by Cassani, Rivero, and Manuel Rodríguez, who wrote *El Marañon y Amazonas*.⁶⁹ For the second volume, covering the nineteenth century, he consulted current newspapers and other publications. The purpose of his work was to expand on that of Cassani, since he had been disappointed when he read it and to offer a thankful gesture towards his teachers for the work they carried out, which had been ignored due to the diatribes, and anti-Jesuit campaigns of Liberal governments. His intention was to give an objective account of the order and its work in Colombia in both the colonial and the republican periods, thus refuting the anti-Jesuit campaigns spread by the enemies of the Society.

A third work was written by Rafael Pérez, a Guatemalan Jesuit who worked in Colombia for a few years during the Regeneration period after 1886. His study covers the history of the Society in Colombia and Central America from the mid-nineteenth century. Pérez was one of the group of historians to whom the Superior General Luis Martín entrusted the study and publication of the histories of the Society in the various

⁶⁸ J. Borda, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, Poissy, 1872, p. VIII.

⁶⁹ M. Rodríguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas, y reducción de naciones, trabajos malogrados de algunos conquistadores, y dichosos de otros, así temporales como espirituales, en las dilatadas montañas, y mayores ríos de la América*, Madrid, 1684.

Assistancies. His study covers forty years, divided into the four decades.⁷⁰

He had two objectives in writing this work, first to edify and second to teach the catholic generation of that time. Pérez wanted to show the apostolic work of the Jesuits and the vicissitudes that they lived through in Colombia and Central America. With this he wanted to arouse the missionary zeal of the Society's members and provide the tools necessary for fighting anti-Jesuit propaganda.⁷¹ His work defends strongly the political parties that took on and supported the return of the Jesuits in the different republics. It purposes to show that all the works carried out by Jesuits were good and prudent while the measures taken by the Liberal governments of the mid-century are to be seen as works of the evil nineteenth-century Liberal spirit. One might say that the work is an attempt to answer all the anti-Jesuit legends that were divulged both in Colombia and throughout Latin America.

Pérez consulted the unpublished work of José Joaquín Cotanilla. Cotanilla had written about his experience of the expulsions of 1850 and 1861, but his work was rather limited when he came to describe the work of the Jesuits in Central America, because he had not lived through those events. Cotanilla as we have seen left a history in manuscript which was more than one thousand-pages long, but it was never published, and probably because of this, his superiors appointed Pérez to prepare a new version. Describing the unpublished manuscript of Cotanilla, Pérez says:

Recién llegados a España, no faltó quien, sabedor de nuestros antiguos designios y aficiones, pusiera en nuestras manos diversos apuntes del laborioso P. Joaquín Cotanilla, bastante ordenados como para formar la historia de la Misión de la Nueva Granada en sus dos primeras épocas: leímos con verdadero placer y entusiasmo aquellos escritos, creímos haber encontrado un tesoro, y lo era en realidad, pero no tan rico como lo

⁷⁰ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro- América. Después de su restauración*, vol. 1, *Desde el llamamiento de los PP. De la Compañía de Jesús a la Nueva Granada en 1842, hasta su expulsión y dispersión en 1850*, Valladolid, 1896. p. VII.

⁷¹ *Ibíd.*, p. VII.

deseábamos. En efecto, desde luego notamos que, como era natural, había deficiencia en los puntos en que no había intervenido sino sólo visto de muy lejos, ú oído referir: que de los veinte años que trabajó la Compañía en Guatemala, sólo tocaba los dos primeros: nada de su traslación a Nicaragua y Costa Rica, ni de su larga permanencia en estas Repúblicas, porque sin duda su plan se restringía a la Nueva Granada. Sin embargo, pues, de que dichos apuntes no satisfacían ni con mucho nuestros deseos, sacamos de su lectura dos grandes utilidades: primera la que proporciona de por sí una colección de datos de indiscutible autoridad, y segunda ampliar nuestras antiguas ideas y animarnos a emprender este trabajo.⁷²

In addition to this unpublished source, Pérez used documents and letters of the period in America and Europe. He visited the Loyola and Castile archives and examined the letters exchanged between the local superiors in South America who reported to the provincial in Spain and to the General's Assistant, both of whom lived in exile. He completed his work in three volumes. Pérez himself was an eye-witness to the difficulties that faced the Jesuits in the Central American Mission after 1857, the year in which he joined the Society of Jesus.⁷³

Typically, historians of the nineteenth century use a number of documents but never revealed their sources. The introductions say that documents and archives were consulted for their enormous works, but they do not give precise sources, partly because nineteenth century archives and libraries were not all well organized and catalogued. Similarly with Pérez, a thorough work in archives is evident, but unfortunately he does not detail it. Comparing his documents with the letters and documents found in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome and in Colombia we found that they corresponded. His diligence and integrity in handling sources is reflected in the bibliography recorded at the end of his writings. For example, Pérez says that in Guatemala he was introduced to the unpublished work of Rafael Cáceres, who wrote the *Historia Latina de la Misión de Guatemala*. The introduction to his three volumes

⁷² *Ibíd.*, p. VI.

⁷³ J.L. Sáez, 'Rafael Pérez', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 3, p. 3092.

shows that Pérez was writing in a context of anticlericalism, and persecution by certain Liberal governments in both Europe and South America. He believed that the ultimate purpose of such governments was ‘...to oppress the Church, restrict its liberties, put all kinds of obstacles to its saving action, deprive the peoples of religion’s comfort’.⁷⁴

The work of the Colombian historian and polemicist José Manuel Groot presents the history of the Church from the colonial period to 1856.⁷⁵ With this study he wanted to show:

...el establecimiento y el desarrollo de la Religión Católica en la Nueva Granada, porque me parecía poco honrado para un país católico y civilizado carecer de la historia de su Iglesia y mayormente cuando su clero ha sido tan injustamente calumniado por algunos escritores nacionales de nuestros tiempos, que lo han presentado a las nuevas generaciones como enemigos de las luces y hostil a la causa de la independencia americana.⁷⁶

The first volume has six chapters covering the establishment of the Jesuits in Bogotá, Cartagena, and Tunja and the second volume has two chapters describing the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Granada in 1767.⁷⁷ This work was a reaction to the discredit suffered by the ecclesiastical institution in the mid-nineteenth century, as well as an attempt to build up a national history.⁷⁸ Similar works appeared in other republics such as Brazil, Chile, and México.⁷⁹

In 1885 an important work on Church-State relations was published by Juan Pablo Restrepo. Several chapters of this deal with the laws that allowed the establishment of the Jesuits in Colombia from 1842 to 1861. Written in the Regeneration period, his work discusses the previous confrontations between Church

⁷⁴ *Ibíd.*, p. XX.

⁷⁵ J.M. Groot, *Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada*, 5 vols., Bogotá, 1889-93.

⁷⁶ *Ibíd.*, vol. 1, Bogotá, 1889, p. XI.

⁷⁷ *Ibíd.*, vol. 2, Bogotá, 1890, pp. 74-136.

⁷⁸ S. Mejía, *El Pasado como Refugio y Esperanza. La Historia eclesiástica y civil de José María Groot, 1800-1878*, Bogotá, 2009.

⁷⁹ J.D. Cortés, ‘Las Relaciones Estado-Iglesia en Colombia a mediados del siglo XIX’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, El Colegio de México, México, 2008), p. 26.

and State. His well documented study also gives information about the Regeneration period, and is a defence of the Church's civilizing work in Colombia. It is still an indispensable reference work. Its purpose is made quite clear at the beginning:

Si hojeamos, aunque sea rápidamente, los códigos de las leyes expedidas en nuestra Patria, desde la época de la independencia hasta ahora, encontraremos frecuentemente disposiciones que afectan, de un modo más o menos directo, los derechos y las prerrogativas de la Iglesia, y que, al menos en los últimos veinte años, constituyen un verdadero estado de persecución permanente, más o menos franca y violenta, contra el catolicismo.⁸⁰

The work has two parts. The first studies the relationship between Church and State during colonial times, and explains how royal patronage, ecclesiastical status, mortmain, tithes, first fruits and other ecclesiastical taxes, churches and cemeteries, religious communities, and public education were understood. The second part analyzes how these matters were treated by the republican governments. A few chapters of the first part analyze the presence of the Jesuits in the missions, the apostolate of Alonso de Sandoval and Peter Claver with the black people in Cartagena, and the expulsion in 1767. The second part describes the hostility towards the Jesuits during their stay between 1844 and 1850.

In 1914, in commemoration of the centenary of the order's restoration, Luis Javier Muñoz, a Guatemalan Jesuit who was one of the pioneers of the Mission from the Castile Province to Colombia wrote a brief text summarizing Rafael Pérez. He does not mention the unpublished work by José Joaquín Cotanilla, so probably he did not consult the archives of the Province of Castile where the manuscript was located. As is the case with most nineteenth century historians, he does not provide any reference to the documents consulted for his summary.⁸¹ Muñoz gives an account of the society's

⁸⁰ J.P. Restrepo, *La Iglesia y el Estado en Colombia*, Londres, 1885, p. vi.

⁸¹ A. Santos, 'Luis Javier Muñoz', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 3, pp. 2768-9.

expectances between 1844 and 1850.⁸²

In 1940, the four hundred-year history of the Society of Jesus was commemorated around the world. Taking advantage of this celebration, Daniel Restrepo wrote a synthesis of the history of the Jesuits in Colombia from the year of its foundation in colonial times up to 1940. His work consists of 40 chapters. The first 14 deal with colonial times from 1589 to 1767. Chapters 15 to 28 describe the restoration of the Society in 1814, the return in 1844, and the expulsions in 1850 and 1861. Restrepo provides a considerable bibliography about the Jesuits in Colombia up to 1940, and acknowledges that works written in previous centuries ‘are very far from complying with the rules imposed by modern historical work’:

...it will be necessary to recast the works mentioned earlier: to combine their contents, build on all that deserves to be known and was omitted in them, then carefully separate whatever is legend, simple panegyric, inaccuracy, unsuitable enlargement, or unnecessary digression; then choose well-judged materials with a sense of proportion, plan again a structure and construct a complete history that is both artistic and scientific.⁸³

Journal articles about the nineteenth century Jesuits

A number of articles have also been published in journals founded by the Jesuits established in Colombia. They were written for special commemorations.

The first of these articles is dated 1944. The author Daniel Restrepo introduces new facts that had been unknown to nineteenth century historians. He shows that there were two initiatives prior to the enactment of the law that allowed the Jesuits to return. In the first place, in 1817, during the Reconquista, in a letter signed by Juan Sámano, the municipal government of Santafé de Bogotá asked King Ferdinand to restore the Society of Jesus in these territories and to send some Jesuits to the New Kingdom of

⁸² L.J. Muñoz, *Notas históricas sobre la Compañía de Jesús restablecida en Colombia y en Centro América*, Oña, 1920.

⁸³ D. Restrepo, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1940, p. 8.

Granada. The letter asks him to ‘send a Mission of Jesuits to this city and to all the New Kingdom of Granada because being regular in the pulpit and confessional, they kept good order, and all this modest and docile New Kingdom was in a rational, willing, and fair subordination, which was later replaced by a crazy and misinterpreted freedom’.⁸⁴ As can be appreciated from this statement, the Jesuits are required to restore harmony and help redirect the subjects in submissiveness and respect towards the King. The second initiative came after independence had been secured on the Battle of Boyacá, in 1820, when the vicar-general of the Santafé archdiocese, Nicolás Cuervo wrote to the Pope Pius VII pressing him to send a mission of Jesuits, preferably not Spanish. He also encouraged Francisco Antonio Zea who was going to Europe as a diplomat, to seek by all means the return of the Jesuits to help strengthen the new Republic.⁸⁵

In an article published by the Academy of Ecclesiastical History Pacheco summarizes the return of the Jesuits in the nineteenth century. A considerable number of sources on the Society of Jesus are quoted in a systematic and diligent way. In this article Pacheco follows the arguments of Cotanilla, Pérez, Borja, and the two historians whose family name was Restrepo, when they allege that the López and Mosquera governments acted in a regalist way towards the Jesuits, i.e., simply as being presidents they assumed power and proceeded in an authoritarian and unilateral way. As a statesman Mosquera wanted to treat the Jesuits as official employees to be disposed of at will, ignoring the constitutions of the order.⁸⁶

All these books and articles, written by members of the order and by some of their lay friends, show that the people of New Granada were divided into two parties with regard to the Jesuits. They refer to the Liberal enemies who reproduced anti-Jesuit

⁸⁴ D. Restrepo, ‘Centenario de la Restauración de los Jesuitas en Colombia, 1844-1944’, *Revista Javeriana*, no. 105, Bogotá, 1944, pp.195-200.

⁸⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 196.

⁸⁶ J.M. Pacheco, ‘Regreso y nueva expulsión de la Compañía de Jesús’, *Revista de la Academia de Historia Eclesiástica*, no. 32, Bogotá, 1974, pp. 81-97.

propaganda of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and the new propaganda recently published in nineteenth century in Europe, particularly in France. The Liberals are also labelled 'voltairian', 'impious', and 'enemies of religion', who have to be stopped so that irreligion, disorder, and licentiousness do not gain control. However, these publications provide little context and do not investigate the reasons why such 'enemies' want to expel them. For their part the 'Liberals' considered the Jesuits to be spreaders of 'doctrines' and 'teachings' that delayed the reform and progress of the country, and they opposed the responsibility for education being in the hands of the Jesuits because they propagated harmful and corrupting doctrines, that would later reappear in the meetings of Conservative associations.⁸⁷ The other party mentioned was made up of the Jesuits' friends in New Granada. They made possible the legal return of the Jesuits, received them, provided them with all sorts of material help, and entrusted them with major works. This was shown by the number of representations made to the government and to the ecclesiastical authorities demanding the presence of Jesuits in the main cities, such as Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán, Pasto, Mompox, and Girón, to undertake the education of young people, because they wanted a solid Christian education for their children. These friends defended them in the newspapers and in the Parliament. A significant number of citizens in these cities sent representations to President López against the expulsion of the Jesuits, arguing that as Catholics they had the right to choose the most suitable persons for educating their children and praising the educational and missionary work of the Jesuits. It is clear that in these accounts only two sides are recognized, the good and the bad. Although these publications contain solid documentary data they fail to reflect the complexity of the political, social, and cultural context of the time.

⁸⁷ *Gaceta Oficial*, Bogotá, 21 de mayo de 1850, no. 1123.

All the Jesuit historians of the nineteenth century and those who wrote before the Second Vatican Council had been trained in an anti-liberal historical context. The encyclical *Quanta Cura* and the *Syllabus* of Pope Pius IX, 8 December 1864, condemn liberalism.⁸⁸ The *Syllabus* formulates 80 anathemas, which end with a condemnation on whoever considers that ‘the Roman Pontiff may and ought to be reconciled with and understand progress, liberalism, and modern civilization’⁸⁹. The anti-modernist position promoted by the Pope was not well received by many Catholic thinkers. However, the Pope insisted on imposing his undisputed power with the definition on infallible teaching promulgated by the First Vatican Council held between 1869 and 1870.⁹⁰

Rafael Pérez wrote his work in the context of the *Syllabus* and First Vatican Council. The same is true of the historians Restrepo and Pacheco. Their anti-liberal posture adopts the attitude of European ecclesiastical institutions of the nineteenth century, which would last until the Second Vatican Council. One has to remember that a significant number of Jesuits were associated with the traditionalist currents that reacted against the French Revolution in Europe. Those members of the Society and the Church who tried to accept progress, liberalism, and the new civilization were condemned. Moreover, in the case of New Granada the members of the Liberal party who criticized, discredited, and denigrated the Jesuits were Catholic and often relatives of the Conservatives, but this did not prevent them from persecuting the Jesuits and expelling them in 1850 and 1861.

However, the aim of this thesis is not to provide an apologia of the role played by the Jesuits in this period. As members of the ecclesiastical institution, they defended Catholic doctrines, the Church’s rights, and the work carried out by their institute. These included catechetical teaching and the spread of the Christian doctrine through schools

⁸⁸ Pío IX, *Encíclica Quanta Cura y Syllabus*, Roma, 1864.

⁸⁹ Pío IX, *Syllabus o Compilación de los errores del mundo moderno*, Roma, 1864.

⁹⁰ A. Bentué y otros, *Historia del Cristianismo*, vol. 4, *El mundo contemporáneo*, Madrid, 2010, p. 220.

and missions working in Caquetá and Putumayo, and in general, among the Catholic congregations which they forged. This apostolate brought conflict and misunderstanding with some members of Colombian society and of the Church.

Other attempts to approach the History of the Society of Jesus in Colombia

Besides the ‘institutional’ histories, as they have been classified by Cortés Guerrero in his doctoral thesis, several lay historians have tried to study this history with new theoretical instruments.

The first is a bachelor’s degree thesis written by Daniel Turriago in 1980.⁹¹ It focused on the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1850. To explain it he analyzed the regalist context of the López government and the liberal party’s wish to separate Church from State. His work contains a good summary of secondary sources, but it contains no primary sources of the period.

Another work was produced for the hundredth anniversary of the presence of the Jesuits in Colombia in 1984. Among a number of articles published then in the *Javeriana* magazine, the article by Fernán González, a member of the Society, stands out. He abandons the traditional system for explaining the history of the Jesuits in the nineteenth century and examines the political and social context of the period and the inflexible attitude of both the Church and the liberal and conservative political parties. To explain the conflict between the Jesuits and some liberal statesmen he relies on the theory of León Poliakov, who studies the motivation behind persecutions by comparing the anti-Jesuit legend with anti-Semitism.⁹² According to González, ‘The conflict with the protestant Reform and the Illustration had created a Jesuit phobia, expressed in a

⁹¹ D. Turriago, ‘La expulsión de los Jesuitas en la Nueva Granada, 1850’(unpublished master’s thesis, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, 1980).

⁹² L. Poliakov, *La causalidad diabólica. Ensayo sobre el origen de las persecuciones*. Barcelona, 1982, p. 49-66.

number of anti-Jesuit fables and novels: one of the best known is entitled *Monita Secreta*, supposed to be a set of secret instructions to strengthen the universal domination of the Society, of which more than 300 editions are known'.⁹³ González analyzes how in the first half of the nineteenth century the Jesuit phobia reached its peak in Paris, where the Jesuits were associated with the restoration of Bourbon absolutism. From that time liberal groups started publishing popular anti-Jesuit legends such as *The Wandering Jew* by Eugène Sue. This novel had a major political impact, because in it progress, as represented by the Jew Samuel, is counteracted by the Jesuit, Rodin, and his colleagues, the symbol of reaction at a global level, since the Jesuits insist on 'annihilating any will, thought, intelligence latent in the communities, to deliver them stupefied and defenceless in the face of the kings' despotism'. The tactic of ridiculing and denigrating the Jesuits spread to other men of letters, such as Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas –the latter even transformed Aramis the musketeer into the Superior General of the Jesuits– not to mention the melodramatic *Ponson du Terrail* and the works of Tolstoi and Dostoievski.⁹⁴ Pro-Jesuit and anti-Jesuit attitudes became so polarized that in 1849 that the first programme of the Colombian liberal party, prepared by Ezequiel Rojas, included the expulsion of the Jesuits.⁹⁵

A third work is the Master's degree thesis by Floriberto Sánchez of 1988. It analyses extensively the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1861.⁹⁶ A focus of this thesis is the attempt to collect the allegations against the Jesuits since the creation of the order.

The Jesuits in the nineteenth century are also present in the two recent histories

⁹³ F. González, 'La otra verdad de una expulsión: el mito anti-jesuitico', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 509, Bogotá, 1984, p. 276.

⁹⁴ *Ibíd.*, p. 277.

⁹⁵ *El Aviso*, Bogotá, 16 de julio de 1848.

⁹⁶ F. Sánchez, 'El problema de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada, con énfasis en la expulsión de 1861' (unpublished master's thesis, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, 1988).

of Colombia by David Bushnell and Frank Safford, and Marco Palacios.⁹⁷ The first shows how the Jesuit question would determine the separation between the Liberal and Conservative political parties. The second work argues that the Jesuits were harassed by generations of young Liberals because they saw that the Jesuits were members of the traditionalist church which they wanted to abolish. In addition, young members of the liberal party were influenced by political and ideological trends from France, which were then opposed by the Society of Jesus. This led to the publication of all the current anti-Jesuit literature in their newspapers. Although these historians mention the Jesuits, their works do not explore in any detail the pro- and anti-Jesuit debate found in the newspapers, brochures, and leaflets of that period.

The work of Professor Francisco Javier Gómez, 2007, a historian from the Universidad Complutense of Madrid, includes a section intended to characterize the activity of the Society of Jesus during the second half of the nineteenth century in New Granada, Ecuador, Central America, and the Antilles. The study illustrates the missionary work of the Jesuits who had returned to South America. The Jesuits 'were aware of their being missionaries before all else, and more than a goal they had a dream of re-establishing the presence of the Society within the limits determined throughout almost two hundred years until the expulsion decreed by Carlos III'.⁹⁸ The novelty of this study is that the author uses primary documentation preserved in three archives: the historical archive in the Castile Province of the Society of Jesus at Alcalá de Henares, the National Historical Archive in Madrid, and the Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus in Rome. Nevertheless, the view of the anti-Jesuit issue is incomplete.

Finally, another work dealing with our topic is the recent doctoral thesis by

⁹⁷ D. Bushnell, *The making of modern Colombia. A nation in Spite of Itself*, California, 1993, pp. 109-13, and F. Safford and M. Palacios, *Colombia: país fragmentado, sociedad dividida*, Bogotá, 2002, pp. 385-6.

⁹⁸ F.J. Gómez, *Resistencia y Misión. La Compañía de Jesús en la América del siglo XIX*, Madrid, 2007, p. 10.

Professor José David Cortés Guerrero in 2008. It offers a new appraisal, backed by extensive reading, of State-Church relationships from the mid-nineteenth century to the year 1877. This work contains extensive use of primary sources and gives a critical analysis of this period. The first part analyses the return of the Jesuits in 1844 and their expulsion in 1850 and 1861. For Cortés the so called ‘persecution’ of the ecclesiastical institution during the nineteenth-century liberal period from 1849 to 1877 ‘should not be understood as such, i.e. as anti-catholic liberals attacking the Church, but such apparent persecution is simply the result of the confrontation between the ideal modernizing liberal State and a traditional world which is characteristic of mid-nineteenth century Colombian society, where the ecclesiastical institution played a core role in socio-political and economic control’.⁹⁹ Cortés shows how the relationship between the State and the Catholic Church was established between 1849 and 1853, the year when the new constitution was written and when the State and the Catholic Church separated officially. He tries to demonstrate how in this period the 7 March 1849 the date of the election of José Hilario López as president, was exalted as the date when a number of reforms started, which would open New Granada to progress. For this purpose, he studies the reforms with their defenders and opponents. Among these reforms he discusses the expulsion of the Jesuits, because he considers that this significant event ‘allows him to see the way the liberals outlined their position with respect to the ecclesiastical institution. For example, they expelled the Jesuits because they were foreign and obeyed the Pope; the aim was to make clear that the inhabitants of New Granada should, first of all, obey the laws and authorities of the country’.¹⁰⁰ He also analyses the subsequent expulsion of the archbishop. This work provides a political and social context without which the reasons why the governments of José Hilario López

⁹⁹ J.D. Cortés, ‘Las Relaciones Estado-Iglesia en Colombia a mediados del siglo XIX’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, Colegio de México, México, 2008), p. 21.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

and Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera expelled the Jesuits cannot be understood.

Chapter I

The Restoration of the Jesuits in the Republic of New Granada from 1842 to their Expulsion in 1850

In this first chapter we outline the steps taken by the government of New Granada to invite the Jesuits to return to the republic. These include a bill presented to the National Congress in 1842 by Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, Minister of the Interior of the Pedro Alcántara Herrán government, and by Senators Joaquín Mosquera, the older brother of Archbishop Mosquera, and Vicente Borrero. This bill gave a depressing account of the mission territories and approved the establishment of mission schools and education centres in the country for the preparation of missionaries to undertake the future evangelization of the native communities. The bill also authorized the executive branch to negotiate with the superiors of the most suitable religious order to undertake this work.

During colonial times, the Jesuits had played a key role through their educational institutions for Spaniards, *criollos* and *mestizos*, as well as with their evangelization and pastoral work among indians and slaves in Bogotá, Santafé de Antioquia, Popayán and Pasto. At the birth of the new republic, a number of civil and religious authorities were convinced that the Jesuits could contribute to the forging of religious values and moral principles, and the law that allowed the return of the Jesuits reinforced this view. As soon as the law was passed *El Día* began to publish stories that illustrated the role played by the Society of Jesus in the shaping of culture in Hispanic America and New Granada, and which showed the capacity for leadership and organization shown by the Jesuits in their universities, schools and parishes. The majority of Congress and the executive branch chose the Society of Jesus to implement

the new law.

In Part II we will describe the apostolic work carried out by members of the Society of Jesus in New Granada between 1844 and 1850. Typical activities included the promulgation of Christian doctrine in parochial and rural missions and the education of the young in seminaries located in Bogotá and Popayán, as well as in the school located in Medellín. These institutions were governed by the so called *Ratio Studiorum*, a 'reputed pedagogical code issued by the Society, which regulated teaching and education in Jesuit schools since it was established in the late sixteenth century until well into the twentieth century'.¹ After the restoration of the Society, the updating of this methodology became one of the top priorities for the Superior General.

Missions were established in Latin America during colonial times using the ecclesiastical system of the *Regio Patronato*. According to this, the Church ensured its presence in certain countries through a pact made with both the Spanish and the Portuguese monarchies, by which they provided for all the needs of the Church while ensuring its continued work. According to Boff, with the fall of the Empire and the birth of the various Republican States, 'the model was adjusted and acquired a new version. This was clearly a view of the sacred in articulation with the civil power'.² In the case of Colombia, the new State continued to exercise the *Regio Patronato* from 1819 until the Constitution of 1853. A high level of conservatism and orthodoxy was characteristic of the Spanish American ecclesiastical system: all the innovations proposed during the XIX century were put in question; dogmatic rigidity and a juridical approach to the Hierarchical Church prevailed. A strong emphasis on obedience, particularly to the Pope, and a clerical structure predominated in this kind of church. The edifice of faith was presented as a perfect, from which nothing could be subtracted,

¹ L. Lukacs, 'Ratio Studiorum', in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 4, pp. 3292-6.

² L. Boff, *Iglesia Carisma y Poder*. Bogotá, 1982, p. 18.

and to which nothing could be added. In this way, the Church emerged ‘primarily as *‘Mater et Magistra’*: all issues had a solution to be drawn from its deposit formed by the Scriptures, tradition, the teachings of the Magisterium and a certain understanding of natural law’.³ The main response given by mid-nineteenth century Catholicism to the liberal ideas that spread throughout Europe was to cling to the old social order. At this time, most church hierarchs were faithful followers of the thought of Pope Pius IX, 1846-1878. Given the political context of this period in Colombia, it was felt necessary to support by all means necessary, the unity, homogeneity and strength of Catholic institutions. Such was the reaction of the Catholic institution to the views of Colombian Liberals and to the spread of new currents of modernity and secularization that began to be manifest in Colombia in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴ The Spanish Jesuits who arrived in the country helped to reinforce this ecclesiastical policy with their apostolic work in the cities of Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán, Pasto and the missions in Putumayo and Caquetá.

The arrival of the Jesuits in Bogotá. Colonial Background

The Jesuits arrived in Cartagena in July 1604.⁵ Then they moved to Santafé de Bogotá and founded a school, located near the Plaza Mayor, where they began to teach on 1 January 1605. In 1608 they began to offer courses in the humanities, such as philosophy and arts. Later still, in 1612, they began a course of theology. Among the students of theology was St Pedro Claver, who had arrived from Europe in 1610. On 18 October 1612, the San Bartolomé Seminary School was founded; this is now the site of

³ *Ibíd.*, p. 19.

⁴ Secularisation is the tendency in a society to remove the influence and power of religion. See: A. Múnera, ‘Secularización y Ética Cívica’, in *Colombia una casa para todos*. Santa fé de Bogotá, 1991, p. 37.

⁵ J.M. Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, vol.1, pp. 89-90.

the San Carlos Palace, near what is today the *Colegio Mayor*, the school of the Society.⁶ As the Jesuits needed a church to help evangelize the city they began to construct the Church of San Ignacio on 1 November 1610, and finally dedicated the completed building on 29 July 1635. The Jesuit Province of the New Kingdom of Granada was funded on 12 April 1611. It included both the territory of Colombia and the areas of what are today Panamá, Venezuela and Ecuador. As Santafé de Bogotá was the seat of the Royal *Audiencia* from 1550 and then the official capital of the Viceroyalty from 1717, this city was where the Jesuits established their major educational institutions such as the San Bartolomé Seminary School and the School of the Society or the *Javeriana* University founded in 1622. It was initially named the *Academia Javeriana* and the first printing press was installed there in 1738.⁷ In addition to these academic activities the Jesuits also sent missionaries from the capital to evangelize nearby towns, using well-trying parochial teaching for the indians communities in Fontibón, Cajicá, Tunjuelito and Tópaga. Later, they moved from Tópaga to the Casanare and Meta regions to evangelize more native communities and also establish the *haciendas* which would support the students of the schools in Bogotá. They remained in the capital until their expulsion in 1767. Santafé de Bogotá was the centre from which the Jesuits expanded to other cities such as Tunja –where they founded the novitiate– Popayán, Pasto, Buga, Mompox and Santafé de Antioquia, where they built schools.

Preliminary Negotiations for the Return of the Jesuits to the Republic of New Granada: 1842-1844

After the War of the Supremos, 1839-1842, President Pedro Alcántara Herrán, the Secretario del Interior Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, the Archbishop of Bogotá,

⁶ *Ibíd.*, pp. 126-7.

⁷ F. Ramírez, 'La filosofía y sus libros en la Javeriana Colonial', in *La biblioteca colonial de la Universidad Javeriana comentada*, ed. by J. Fajardo and M. Marín, Bogotá, 2008, p. 331.

Manuel José Mosquera, and a large majority of members of Congress discussed what would be the best way to avoid the renewal of the disorder and violence that had so damaged New Granada during this war.⁸ According to them, the absence of diocesan clergy and missionary orders implied that people lacked basic education in Christian doctrines and practices. There was a broad consensus among the victors in the late war in New Granada about what was needed both to evangelize and to moralize so as to prevent civil wars in the future.⁹

However, two different views concerning the organization of society defined the political context in which arrangements were being made for the return of the Jesuits. Some politicians supported, from the earliest years of independence, reforms intended to break radically with the colonial order. Others favoured only gradual reforms, which would not destroy those institutions that had played a crucial role in the past, and whose moral influence continued to be deep, particularly the Church. In this second group were those who thought that the disorder and chaos generated by the recent civil war could only be ended if religious values were re-established; they looked with suspicion on the educational reforms implemented in the country since 1826. For them, the syllabus and authors proposed in the Plan of Studies of Santander had to be abolished, and new ones established with the help of a religious order with experience in these matters.¹⁰ This opinion was supported by the journal *El Día* in an article that stressed:

Los objetivos que se proponía el Instituto de los Jesuitas respecto a la educación de la juventud eran formar y perfeccionar en ella la voluntad, la conciencia, las costumbres, los modales, la imaginación y la razón. La sumisión era la primera virtud del ciudadano y la docilidad la primera virtud del niño. Si la educación, no se aplicaba a doblarle la voluntad

⁸ M. Ospina. *Informes y Mensajes. Exposición que el Secretario de Estado, dirige al Congreso Constitucional*, Bogotá, 1842, and G. Arboleda, *Historia Contemporánea de Colombia*. vol. 2, Bogotá, 1919, pp. 74-89.

⁹ F. Zuluaga, 'La Guerra de los Supremos en el Suroccidente de la Nueva Granada', in *Las Guerras Civiles desde 1830 y su proyección en el siglo XX*, ed. by Museo Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, 1998, pp. 17-36.

¹⁰ L.H. López Domínguez, *Obra educativa. La querella benthamista 1748-1832*, Bogotá, 1993.

temprano, se endurecería de manera, que no sufría yugo alguno, y rompería todas las coyunturas. Al modo como se le fajaban los miembros desde la cuna, para darles proporción justa, se le había de fajar, por decirlo así; la voluntad para que conservara el resto de la vida una flexibilidad feliz y saludable.¹¹

Some civil and religious authorities voiced the pressing need to find a missionary religious order that embodied all the attributes of knowledge, virtue and morality that were to be imparted to new generations. Expertise in the evangelization of indian communities was also required: Mariano Ospina presented a project for the establishment of one or more missionary schools in the republic for their evangelization. This project had both opponents and defenders in the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives. Eventually, a majority in both legislative bodies approved it. The executive branch was then instructed to choose the religious order that met the necessary conditions. It chose the Jesuits. The return of the Jesuits was arranged with the help of Manuel María Mosquera, brother of Archbishop Mosquera, who served as New Granada's envoy in London.¹²

Both Ospina and the Archbishop were authors of what would later be considered to be the founding documents of the Conservative Party. The Conservatives defended a corporate vision of the world in which the Church was given great importance. From this perspective, the individual was subordinate to the Church which was the protector of universal morality. According to Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, 'Traditionalists maintained that while morality was an inherent part of the human being, individuals could never rationally comprehend morality in its fullness. Religion did encompass its totality, and the church was to act as the guardian of moral knowledge'.¹³ The politician and the prelate agreed that the Society of Jesus was the religious order that best met all their

¹¹ *El Día*, Bogotá, 26 de junio de 1842, no. 123.

¹² J. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol.1, 1832-1845, Bogotá, 1963, p. 340.

¹³ D. Sowell, *The Early Colombian Labor Movement. Artisans and Politics in Bogotá, 1832-1919*, Philadelphia, 1992, p. 28.

requirements, given that its members received a strong theological and philosophical education that could be used to spread Christian doctrine and to promote the missions in New Granada. Both laid emphasis on the vast experience and knowledge of the country that the Jesuits had accumulated in previous years. They also agreed that the cause of the devastating war was the absence of moral and religious education that had prevailed in the past, as well as the mistaken direction given to secondary education in the Plan of Studies of Francisco de Paula Santander, which had introduced political economy and law books of doubtful religious orthodoxy.¹⁴ An educational reform was imperative to remedy the situation of ‘impiety’ that reigned in the fledgling republic.¹⁵ For Ospina, the education plan designed by Francisco de Paula Santander and based on the doctrines of Bentham, had generated great turmoil in the new republic.¹⁶ There had been opposition to the teaching of Bentham’s doctrines in universities from a significant number of devout politicians and the clergy ever since 1830. Under Francisco de Paula Santander’s government protestant literature and propaganda started to enter New Granada from Europe in 1826. This opened a gateway for other Christian denominations and the activities of the British Bible Society, which promoted the reading of the Bible in Spanish.¹⁷ José María Groot was convinced that the policy of Vice-President Santander was undermining the Catholic principles of the country, and considered such religious liberty catastrophic. Indeed, Groot dated anarchy and chaos in New Granada to 1825, when General Santander ordered by decree 8 November 1825, that in the universities the teaching should follow texts of Bentham. According to Groot

¹⁴ According to Bushnell ‘The most controversial innovation of all, however was the introduction of new textbooks of doubtful religious orthodoxy. This concerned both new courses like political economy and old ones like jurisprudence, and heading the list of controversial authors was the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham, undoubtedly the favourite writer of Santander and his liberal circle’. See: D. Bushnell, *The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia*, Newark, 1954, p. 192.

¹⁵ B.I. García Rojas, ‘La Compañía de Jesús y su influencia en la educación de la Nueva Granada entre 1842 y 1849’. (unpublished master’s thesis, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1980), pp. 43-4.

¹⁶ E. Gómez Barrientos, *Don Mariano Ospina y su época*, vol.1, 1805-1849, Medellín, 1913, pp. 278-91.

¹⁷ J.M. Groot, *Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 5, Bogotá, 1893, pp. 31-45

‘esto era peor que todo; peor que la masonería; peor que la Sociedad Bíblica; peor que la introducción de malos libros, porque en todo eso no se hacía más que regar la cizaña entre el trigo para que creciera y lo ahogara; pero con eso lo que se hacía era arrancar de raíz la buena semilla y sembrar la mala’.¹⁸ But despite these objections, ‘...the teaching of public law according to Bentham continued until 1840, by which time the aristocrats, led by President José Ignacio de Márquez, 1837-1841, were increasing their hold on the state and were ready to shape legal education according to their conservative interests’.¹⁹

Immediately after the end of the civil war, Ospina organized a new plan of public education. This plan consisted of 28 chapters; it regulated academic activities and membership of educational institutions, aiming to promote ‘the best moral, religious, intellectual and political education in all the communities of the republic’.²⁰ Chapter Fourteen stated that one of the first duties of the superiors, professors and university employees was to foster in students ‘love and respect for religion, morality and law; and to let them know, from an early age, the fatal results of impiety, immorality derived from the corruption of morals and insubordination to the law and the magistrate’.²¹ The chapter also prohibited the promulgation of doctrines considered impious, immoral or subversive of the legal order. This new plan had a tendency to rigidity, and its premises were in harmony with the teachings of the Catholic religion. Ospina also emphasized the idea that studies should be useful and practical rather than speculative –the commitment of Ospina to useful education was such that he even demanded knowledge

¹⁸ See A. Echeverry, *Santander y la Instrucción Pública, 1819-1840*, Bogotá, 1989, p. 277, and J.M. Groot, *Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 5, pp. 61-2.

¹⁹ V. M. Uribe-Urán, *Honorable lives, lawyers, family, and Politics in Colombia, 1780-1850*, Pittsburgh, 2000, p. 111.

²⁰ *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá, 4 de diciembre de 1842, no. 588.

²¹ *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá, 11 de diciembre de 1842, no. 589.

of agronomy among the clergy.²² According to one of his liberal contemporaries, José María Samper, Ospina Rodríguez wanted to implement three aims in his Plan of Studies:

Tres ideas cardinales dominaban en aquel plan: la primera, sujetar los alumnos a severa disciplina, así en sus costumbres y moralidad como en sus estudios y adquisición de grados profesionales; la segunda introducir el elemento religioso en la dirección universitaria, complementando la instrucción con la educación; y tercera, reorganizar las enseñanzas de manera que en ellas se introdujesen elementos conservadores (como el estudio del derecho romano, por ejemplo) y algunos de literatura y humanidades que habían sido muy descuidados, y que al mismo tiempo se proscribiesen ciertas enseñanzas calificadas de peligrosas por el Gobierno, tales como las de ciencia de la legislación, ciencia constitucional y administrativa y táctica de las asambleas.²³

Samper writing in later life, echoes Ospina: discipline, religious values and morals were necessary for young people. The University of San Bartolomé now acquired a distinctly clerical character. Priests held the posts of Principal and Inspector and, in addition, when the Jesuits arrived in Bogotá, three of them were to teach Philosophy and Theology.

Ospina emphasized the devastation caused by the civil war. In his report to Congress in 1842, he stated:

No os habéis reunido en esta vez para gozaros en la dicha común, para impulsar complacidos el vuelo de una prosperidad creciente; venís a contemplar los estragos de un campo de batalla, a levantar la República que yace herida y extenuada, cubierta de sangre y de amargura.²⁴

This report also described the deplorable neglect of the missions to the indian population. For their recovery, a missionary religious order was required that would organize the natives in reductions. The statesman urged the creation of mission schools and residences to restore the missions in Casanare, San Martín, Andaquí, Mocoa,

²² G. Arboleda, *Historia Contemporánea de Colombia*, vol. 2, Bogotá, 1919, p. 92.

²³ J. Samper, *Historia de un alma*, Medellín, 1971, p. 122.

²⁴ M. Ospina. *Informes y Mensajes. Exposición que el Secretario de Estado, dirige al Congreso Constitucional*, Bogotá, 1842.

Goagira and Veraguas.²⁵ The report led the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives to enact the Missions Act of 28 April 1842. The Third Section stated: 'Mission schools established by this decree will be designated for the institution that the executive branch considers most adequate among those that profess the Ministry of Missions in Europe, encouraging and helping them to come to New Granada'.²⁶ The Fourth Section outlined ways to finance these schools and missions: 'For the establishment of these schools the following shall apply: 1. The excess of the funds appropriated by the Congress for the service of missions. 2. The assets, rights and shares of convents that, having been mission schools in the past, do not have religious members serving them anymore and are not currently intended for a different purpose'.²⁷ To implement the law the executive branch issued a new decree on 3 May 1842, in which the Society of Jesus was chosen to carry out this missionary work.²⁸

The decree consisted of six points in the Preamble and four Sections. The Preamble stated that (i) the Society of Jesus was the best-suited religious order for this assignment, and also the one that most senators and representatives had chosen; (ii) past experience had shown this order to be the most appropriate for converting savages to Christianity and for conducting them into civilization; what had occurred after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America was irrefutable proof of this, as their expulsion had been followed by a progressive decline of the missions, despite the efforts of other missionaries; (iii) the Preamble suggested that missionaries should have training in natural and exact sciences, a requirement that was already met by members of the Society of Jesus; (iv) regardless of the causes that had led to the expulsion of the Jesuits from various countries in 1767, New Granada should follow the experience and

²⁵ *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá, 8 de mayo de 1842, no. 556.

²⁶ J.P. Restrepo, *La Iglesia y El Estado en Colombia*, Londres, 1885, p. 295.

²⁷ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro-América después de la restauración*, vol.1, Valladolid, 1896, p. 389.

²⁸ *El Día*, Bogotá, 3 de abril de 1842, no. 109.

example of enlightened nations in Europe and America, such as France, England, the United States, Argentina and others, which had opened their doors to this religious order; (v) worth noting were the dynamism with which the Jesuits sent missionaries to Asia and Africa, their missionary zeal, and the religious and social effects that the order was having in other continents; (vi) the Jesuits enjoyed already a reputation in the country as missionaries and the local people were sympathetic to them. For all these reasons the government chose the Society of Jesus as the most suitable order to develop the missionary work.²⁹

Since his appointment in 1835, Archbishop Mosquera had resolved to reform both clerical and lay education. Before his consecration, he wrote a letter to his friend Rufino Cuervo in which he expressed his commitment to fighting against ‘two kinds of demons’ that existed in the clergy: ‘the fanaticism of the twelfth century and masked rationalism. The first was perhaps dead, but the latter could not disappear until the prescribed curriculum was abolished’.³⁰ The prelate oriented his campaign towards removing the curriculum that offered ‘impetuous youth all kinds of knowledge, disregarding whether or not it is related to our religion, our habits and our unique society’.³¹ He wanted to neutralize the Plan of Studies of Santander, in force at the time. Any form of teaching that subverted the proper relationship between the public and private spheres was to be revoked, and measures taken to ensure that family and religion were safeguarded in New Granada.³²

After the law to recall the Society was published, Archbishop Mosquera, Juan de la Cruz Gómez, Bishop of Antioquia, Cayetano Baluffi, the Papal Nuncio, members of the regular and diocesan clergy, the President of New Granada, his ministers, the

²⁹ *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá 8 de mayo de 1842, no. 556.

³⁰ L.A. Cuervo, *Epistolario del Dr. Rufino José Cuervo*, vol.1, 1826-1840, Bogotá, 1919, p. 308.

³¹ J.L. Young, *La Reforma Universitaria de la Nueva Granada, 1820-1850*, Santafé de Bogotá, 1994, p. 43.

³² A. Echeverry, *Santander y la Instrucción pública, 1819-1840*, Bogotá, 1989, p. 297.

members of the Congress, members of the legal body and a large public celebrated a *Te Deum* in the former Jesuit Church of San Carlos.³³ Mosquera preached a sermon that augured blessings for the country thanks to the restoration of the missions.³⁴ Many newspapers reported this event, publishing articles that showed the importance of the return of the Jesuits to the country, in the expectation that their skill in pedagogy would help to restore order and discipline among the young and foster evangelization in remote regions. The journal *El Día* offered its balance of the state of the missions before and after the Wars of Independence:

...Desde 1767 recibieron las misiones y la moral en América un golpe fatal: de allí data la decadencia de aquella y de estas, que yendo en decremento, lento por lo inerte del movimiento social, recibieron en 1810 un nuevo golpe que las empujó y las precipitó a la ruina en la que hoy yacen. Reemplazada la generación de entonces por otras generaciones, que no pudieron ver el floreciente estado de las misiones en aquella época en manos de los celosos e infatigables jesuitas, faltan comparaciones prácticas para juzgar bien; más la experiencia de que somos testigos, y las tradiciones que hemos recibido, bastante se prestan para que cada uno juzgue por lo que sabe que existió, y por las ruinas que ve, si puede haber misiones sin jesuitas.³⁵

Reactions to the Decree and Negotiations in Europe for the Restoration of the Jesuits

Manuel María Mosquera, formally submitted the request to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Jan Philip Roothaan, for the return of the Jesuits to his country. On 17 April 1843 Mosquera wrote to him that ‘the recall of the Jesuits, whose memory has continued to be venerated in our country, has been greeted with enthusiasm, particularly in Bogotá, and is today a matter of great concern to the friends of order, and to the vast majority of religious people’.³⁶ Mosquera highlighted the efforts made by his brother, the Archbishop, to collect funds to cover the expenses needed to move thirty

³³ *Restablecimiento de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada o colección de piezas relativas a la historia de los Jesuitas y a su establecimiento*, Bogotá, 1842, p. V.

³⁴ M.M. ed. Mosquera, *Documentos para la biografía e historia del Ilustrísimo Sr. Don Manuel José Mosquera*, vol. 1, pp. 264-89.

³⁵ *El Día*, Bogotá, 20 marzo 1842, no. 103.

³⁶ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Prov. Colombia. 1001, I, 3. 1843.

Jesuits from Europe to New Granada. Since the publication of the decree, Mosquera had been very busy in London on various matters and this had prevented him from travelling to Rome to address the request personally to the Superior General.³⁷ Three months later Mosquera sent another letter to Fr Roothaan informing the Superior General that the government had appointed Eladio Urisarri to negotiate the restoration of the Jesuits.³⁸ Previously Mosquera had met in Paris with the Provincial Superior of the Spanish Jesuits, Antonio Morey, exiled from Spain having been expelled by the Liberal government in 1835.³⁹ They discussed the decree, as well as the state of the funds that were being gathered in New Granada for the restoration. The project was postponed until the new representative Urisarri took charge.⁴⁰

On 20 November 1843, Roothaan wrote to Urisarri, asking him to specify the terms of the decree. It was important to clarify some points, given that he had witnessed the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain, France and Argentina. The 21st General Congregation, the highest authority of the Jesuits, had elected Roothaan Superior General of the order on 9 July 1829, and he remained in charge until his death, 8 May 1853.⁴¹ He was 44 years old at the time of his election, and this enabled him to rule for 24 years. As Superior General he diligently followed the proposals of the General Congregation that had elected him. He had set himself three objectives: the translation of the Spiritual Exercises from Spanish to Latin; the review of the plan of studies proposed for Jesuit establishments called *Ratio Studiorum*; and the promotion of missions in different parts of the world.⁴²

His letter summarized the arrangements that Manuel María Mosquera had made

³⁷ Mosquera to Roothaan, 17 April 1843, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, II, 4.

³⁸ Mosquera to Roothaan, 25 July 1843, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, II, 7.

³⁹ M. Revuelta, *Once Calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús*. Madrid, 2006, p. 218.

⁴⁰ Mosquera to Roothaan, August 1843, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, II, 8.

⁴¹ J. Padberg, *For Matters of Greater Moment. The first thirty Jesuit General Congregations*, St. Louis, 1994, pp. 437-44.

⁴² C. Lighthart, *The return of the Jesuits, The life of Jan Philip Roothaan*, London, 1978, pp. 90-4.

with the Jesuits, and it acknowledged the laudable wishes of the government. As Superior General, Roothaan wanted to eliminate any ambiguity to avoid future problems. He was cautious: he did not want to see his subjects expelled, as he had witnessed in other countries. He stressed that the religious order was founded in 1540 for 'the defence and propagation of the faith, the support of Christian souls in life and doctrine'.⁴³ This ideal was recorded by St. Ignatius in the founding documents of the order, such as the Formula of the Institute and the Constitutions, and was reflected in the education it imparted in schools and seminars, in preaching, in spiritual retreats, in popular missions, in the formation of secular congregations among the young and adults, and in the celebration of the sacraments and various devotions, such as devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which took place on the first Friday of every month. This model of evangelization was to be implemented in Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán, and Pasto, with incursions into the territories of Putumayo and Caquetá. Roothaan insisted on the fact that any political commitment was alien to the order, and that the Jesuits had the blessing of the Holy See. He went on to comment on the decree, according to which one or more mission schools were to be established. Roothaan noted that the government of New Granada was aiming to establish not only mission schools but also residences for training future missionaries among the native communities. He knew very well that it was necessary to educate and train missionaries in both doctrine and pastoral skills to achieve any success. This work required many years of preparation, as prescribed in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. He emphasised that:

Siendo pues nuestro Instituto y su puntual observancia la pauta única sobre que pueden formarse los misioneros en la Compañía, es sin duda la intención de ambos Poderes Supremos de aquella república admitir allí y reconocer a la Compañía de Jesús como una de las órdenes legalmente establecidas en su territorio, autorizado por lo tanto para vivir en todo conforme a dicho su instituto, abrir su noviciado y algunos colegios, no

⁴³ J.W. O'Malley, *The first Jesuits*, London, 1993, p. 18.

sólo de Misiones, según permite el decreto de 28 de abril, sino para poder proveer a estos también otros de enseñanza pública o privada, según que de acuerdo con ambas autoridades Eclesiástica y Civil se crea útil; y en fin dedicarse a todos los ministerios propios del Instituto, como son el predicar, confesar y demás, guardando en todos la sumisión y acatamiento que con arreglo a los sagrados Cánones de la Iglesia es debido a los Ilustrísimos Diocesanos, y prestando a las autoridades del Estado el obsequio y obediencia que toda razón y el Evangelio prescriben; a uno y a otros cuidando de ayudar y ser útiles en cuanto sea conforme a nuestra profesión y estado, o esté dentro de los límites de nuestro ministerio, todo dirigido a promover el bien de la religión, la salvación de las almas, y las buenas y cristianas costumbres, y ajeno totalmente de negocios o partidos políticos. Bajo esta inteligencia parece estar extendido el segundo decreto, en que se nos designa como aptos para cumplir con el objeto del primero; más no diciéndolo expresamente, yo desearía merecer de V. E. que como bien instruido de las intenciones y modo de pensar de sus comitentes, tuviese la dignación de decirme si es en efecto tal la intención e inteligencia de aquellos supremos poderes...⁴⁴

Roothaan is referring to the long training process of Jesuits. Urisarri replied that, given the content of the letter, and comparing it to the decrees relating to this matter, he could confirm that the Superior General's interpretation was correct and that such was indeed the purpose of the decrees.⁴⁵ It is important to bear in mind that in 1837 Urisarri had written a notorious pamphlet in which he revealed himself as an extreme adversary of the government of General Francisco de Paula Santander.⁴⁶ He was now aiding the return of the Jesuits to his country, and his own intention clearly included changing the general orientation of the type of education being given in New Granada. Here there was an ambiguity that was to have serious political consequences.

Urisarri's reply gave confidence to the Superior General, and he proceeded to appoint the Jesuits for the new mission. He summoned Pablo Torroella and Pablo de Blas to Rome, two Spanish Jesuits who were in exile in Italy teaching theology in

⁴⁴ Roothaan to Urisarri, 20 November 1843, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, II, 17.

⁴⁵ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro-América después de su restauración*, vol.1, p. 36.

⁴⁶ E. Urisarri, *Cartas contra Santander. Replica a las memorias del 'Hombre de las Leyes'*, Bogotá, 2000, pp. 9-22.

Ferentino and Fermo, respectively. Pablo Torroella was chosen as Superior of the Mission to New Granada and de Blas was named as his admonitor.⁴⁷

The Jesuits in Bogotá from 1844 to 1850

Before departing for New Granada, eighteen Spanish Jesuits were reunited by Torroella. These Jesuits were originally from the province of Spain, and because of the expulsion of 1835 living scattered in Italy, France and Belgium. They met at the port of Le Havre Port to take ship for Santa Marta. The Jesuits brought a quantity of books and instruments to set up a laboratory in the new mission.⁴⁸ The correspondence between Pablo Torroella and the Assistant of the Superior General, Ignacio M. Lerdo, describes the journey on board of the ship *Gustavo Eduardo* from 24 January until their arrival in Santa Marta on 26 February 1844.⁴⁹ During the lengthy transit from Santa Marta to Bogotá, the Jesuits carried on apostolic work with preaching, catechesis and parochial and rural missions. Torroella described the deplorable state of neglect in which he found the local church of Santa Marta:

El Obispo no estaba en la ciudad por haber sido nombrado diputado al Congreso por la Provincia de Mompós. Esta ciudad está sin clero, puesto que no tiene más que nueve sacerdotes, y de estos uno es sordo que nada oye y otro ciego. Los demás es una lástima. Aquí no hay más estudios que una miserable escuela de gramática y otra de cánones que tiene un solo discípulo. En la Escuela de Gramática hallamos algunos clérigos, subdiáconos y diáconos, y antes de salir de ella rezan ya de sacerdotes.⁵⁰

The situation of the clergy was lamentable not only due to lack of resources, but also because of the extremely basic education that seminarians received and the type of Christian doctrine that their spiritual leaders promoted. This decadence was reflected in the people; most of them, even if baptized, were seen as ignorant of the fundamental

⁴⁷ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centroamérica*, vol. 1, p. 37.

⁴⁸ Torroella to Lerdo, 15 January 1844, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, III, 2.

⁴⁹ Torroella to Lerdo, 1 March 1844, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, III, 3.

⁵⁰ Torroella to Lerdo, 6 March 1844, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, III, 5.

truths of Christian doctrine. However, the welcome and good will of the people gave the Jesuits optimism: without knowing the truths of the faith, they were eager and willing to receive teaching. Torroella stressed that the harvest would be abundant and receptive among the indigenous peoples:

El campo que se presenta es muy vasto; en las cercanías de Santa Marta hay dos grandes naciones de indios, la de los guairos por la parte del río hacha que consta de 40.000 almas y otra al lado del de la Magdalena, que cuenta más de 20.000: la mayor parte de ellos son bautizados, pero sin ninguna instrucción y sin que tengan un solo sacerdote: todos entienden y hablan la lengua castellana.⁵¹

The Jesuits remained in Santa Marta and its surroundings for approximately fifteen days, organizing retreats and preaching in the Cathedral. People from all social classes took part, eager to hear the Jesuits. After an extended stay in Santa Marta, they moved to Ciénaga and then to Mompox. During Holy Week they preached and counselled the people of Mompox. According to Cotanilla, the Jesuits found this city very decayed. Mompox had been a flourishing colonial city, that had schools and several religious orders. The Jesuits had of course left the town in 1767.⁵²

On their way to the interior they received a welcoming letter from Archbishop Mosquera: he had informed all clerics in his jurisdiction of their arrival, so they would be welcome everywhere. He also gave them special licenses for the celebration of the sacraments, especially Confirmation. This letter expressed the gratitude and joy the Archbishop felt on the arrival of the Jesuits, feelings that stayed with him throughout their residence in New Granada. Despite these expressions of fondness, and the welcome offered by the prelate and by the diocesan clergy and people, not all was easy. The Jesuits suffered from malaria and fevers during their journey to Bogotá, results of the climate, the water and food in the towns where they stayed. They broke their journey in Honda for a spell of recovery. Honda had also been a prosperous port on the

⁵¹ Torroella to Lerdo, 6 March 1844, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, III, 5.

⁵² AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol. 1, p. 202.

Magdalena River; according to the reports sent by the Jesuits, it was now in ruins because of earthquakes and the political turmoil suffered during the civil war.

The trip from Honda to Bogotá was easier, and the cold climates of the region of Cundinamarca helped them regain their health. According to Cotanilla, when they arrived in Bogotá:

Hubo música, voladores y cohetes y mil aclamaciones a la Compañía de Jesús; y al llegar ya cerca de la población el concurso era tan grande que con dificultad podían romper los caballos, en la casa estaba el Excelentísimo Señor Arzobispo, esperándolos llenos de gozo; y esta casa era la de la tercera de San Francisco, y el día de su entrada en ella el 18 de Junio de 1844.⁵³

In 1844 the Conservatives Ignacio Gutiérrez Vergara and his friend Rufino Cuervo described the positive impact and the joy that the presence of the Jesuits was causing in Bogotá: The people of New Granada who used to look at them disdainfully, were now approaching them in a conciliatory way.

Los jesuitas van ganando mucho terreno en la opinión pública, y ya empiezan a recibirse solicitudes de todas las Provincias para que les manden algunos a predicarles y a hacerse cargo de la educación. Ordoñez está muy empeñado en ello para Girón, y Aranzazu, Ospina y el General Gómez para Antioquia. Los estudiantes de la universidad están entusiastas con los padres, y hasta Luis Silvestre y Pepe Santander, acérrimos enemigos, se han reconciliado con ellos y los visitan. El Señor Pombo, el Doctor Márquez, el Doctor Restrepo, miran porque se les entregue un colegio para poner a sus hijos; y yo, en medio de un triunfo tan completo, bendigo a Dios con toda la ternura de mi corazón por la medida más radical y más positiva que se ha tomado para mejorar la suerte de los que nos sucedan. La fiesta de San Ignacio ha sido magnífica. Saavedra predicó en San Carlos un panegírico de hora y media; y el auditorio, compuesto de amigos y enemigos, ha salido muy complacido.⁵⁴

Academic Training and Apostolic Background of the Jesuit Missionaries

Of the eighteen Jesuits who arrived in Santa Marta, only seventeen had reached Bogotá. José Téllez, the Vice-Superior in charge of finances, had died at the port of

⁵³ *Ibíd.*, p. 206.

⁵⁴ L.A. Cuervo, *Epistolario del doctor Rufino Cuervo*, vol. 3, 1843-1853, Bogotá, 1922, p. 128-9.

Honda.⁵⁵

Information about the academic and religious training of the Jesuits who arrived in Bogotá is somewhat limited. Pablo Torroella, the Superior of the group, was professor of Dogmatic Theology at Ferentino when the Superior General appointed him to the new mission. Pablo de Blas Paz was born in Toledo in 1805 and died in 1875. Blas witnessed the various expulsions to which the Jesuits were subject in South America and Spain. Before joining the Jesuits, he studied Civil and Canon Law. After his novitiate, he studied theology in Madrid, but after the *Massacre of Priest*, he went into exile in Reggio, Italy. There he taught Philosophy and Mathematics between 1835 and 1841, and then at the school in Fermo between 1841 and 1843. In Bogotá, he became chaplain to the *Universidad Central*. He was then appointed Master of Novices, a position he held from 1846 to 1849 in Popayán. He left that city to found the new residence in Pasto.⁵⁶ After the expulsion decreed by López on 21 May 1850, he and other colleagues sought refuge in Ecuador. In 1852, a Liberal government came to reached power and expelled them from the territory.⁵⁷ They had to leave Ecuador and move to Guatemala.⁵⁸ Blas was Superior in Guatemala from 1853 to 1861. During his exile there, he always maintained the hope that the situation in New Granada would change so that he could return. His wish was realized when Mariano Ospina was elected President in 1857. Ospina recalled the Jesuits and Blas and other colleagues replied without delay to the invitation and settled in Bogotá, where he was Superior until the expulsion decreed by Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera in 1861. In 1862 Blas returned to Spain, where he was appointed spiritual director of the novices and

⁵⁵ J.J. Borda, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, 1872, p. 183, and J.M. Restrepo, *Diario Político y Militar*, vol.3, 1835-1848, Bogotá, 1954, p. 383.

⁵⁶ J.M. Pacheco, 'Pablo de Blas Paz' *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 1, p. 459.

⁵⁷ W. Loor, *Los Jesuitas en el Ecuador. Su ingreso y su expulsión. 1850 -1852*, Quito, 1959, p. 47.

⁵⁸ J. Sariago, *Aquellos tenaces misioneros proscritos...Los Jesuitas en la Centroamérica moderna 1842-1896*, Guatemala, 1999.

consultant for the Province of Castilla. There, he witnessed the hostility of the Spanish government towards the Jesuits, and in 1868, when the Society of Jesus was expelled again, went to Bayonne. From there he eventually returned to Madrid, where he was Superior between 1871 and 1873. Pedro García, Manuel Fernández, and Luis Amorós were priests and had studied Philosophy and Theology, like most Jesuits during their training period; finally, Luis Serasoles was a coadjutor brother who helped and supported the apostolic work of the priests.⁵⁹

These six men had met in Rome to receive the blessing of Pope Gregory XVI before leaving for Paris, where they met with the other group appointed for the mission to New Granada.⁶⁰

New Requests from the Government of New Granada to the Superior General Roothaan

In 1845 Eladio Urisarri, wrote again to the Superior General, Fr Roothaan,

⁵⁹ The Society of Jesus is made up of priests and lay brothers who all take vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Among the priests there are the so-called 'professed', who take a fourth vow of obedience to the Pope with regard to being sent to the missions. A typical pattern of Jesuit formation consists of a two-year 'novitiate' or introduction to the spiritual life, ending with 'first vows', a life-long commitment to the Order; he then undertakes studies in philosophy, usually a three-year course, 'regency' or full-time apostolic ministry, two or three years, and studies in theology, four years, ending in ordination to the priesthood. However, before 'final vows', he will be expected to exercise a ministry or complete further studies for five or six years, followed by the 'tertianship', an extra year dedicated to spiritual development.

See: M. Ruiz Jurado, in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 2, pp. 1488-91.

⁶⁰ This group included José Téllez, who had been Superior in Nivelles, Belgium, and was in charge of the finances and practical matters during the trip. In addition to his training in Philosophy and Theology, Téllez was an expert in Mathematics and Sciences and had carried out administrative functions on many occasions; Joaquín Freire, who had been Superior in Gibraltar and Genoa; Francisco de San Román, who had taught mathematics at the school in Nivelles; José Segundo Laínez, who was born in Zaragoza in 1812 and died in Putumayo, Colombia, in 1848. Laínez had been educated at the Colegio Imperial de Madrid and was expelled from Spain in 1835. From there he went to Vals, where he studied theology. Later, he taught at the school in Tournai, Belgium and completed his final formal period of training, the Tertianship, in Aire, France. Mariano Cortés, another exceptional missionary, was in Freiburg when he was called to the new mission. Born in Toledo in 1812 and died in Madrid in 1889. Cortés had been educated in exile. In New Granada he worked at the school in Medellín until the expulsion in 1850. From New Granada he travelled to Spain and there he founded the 'Society for Good and Pious Readings' and the 'Royal Association of Sunday Schools'. The latter became one of the most important educational institutions for poor women and their children. This organization expanded throughout Spain and around the world. Felicitas Trapiella, who came from Bordeaux, and Antonio Vicente de Navarra were priests. Finally, there were several Brothers: Francisco García, Miguel Parés, Joaquín Hugalde, Anacleto Ramírez and Rafael Fortún. See: M. Revuelta, 'Mariano Cortés', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 2, p. 969.

communicating the desire of his government to increase the number of Jesuits in the country. He clearly stated the desire of the Colombian government that the Jesuits undertake both the evangelization of the native population and the education of youth in Bogotá and Girón. In Girón there was already an institution with two faculties, Literature and Philosophy, and a primary school next to it with a income of 400 pesos per year, paid for by the tobacco growers of the region. He asked the Superior General to appoint at least three priests to teach in Girón, and a fourth who could be a coadjutor brother to be in charge of the primary school:

El Ministro de la Nueva Granada ante la Santa Sede tiene el honor de dirigirse a V. Rma. Significándole que su Gobierno desea se mande a la Nueva Granada un mayor número del que ha ido de PP. de la Compañía para que se empleen en las misiones y en la educación de la juventud. Expresaré detalladamente los deseos de mi Gobierno para que se sirva favorecerlos, dando las órdenes correspondientes, si lo tuviese a bien, V. Rma. Y si no hubiese para ello algún grave obstáculo. Se necesitan en primer lugar uno o dos botánicos que tengan también algunos otros conocimientos de historia natural, para que con el P. Gomilla, si acaso fuere de Chile, y el P. Amoros, se encarguen de la escuela de ciencias naturales, físicas y matemáticas en la Universidad del primer distrito de Bogotá.⁶¹

The need for missionaries was such that Urisarri urged the Superior General to appoint another ten missionaries to travel directly to the native communities. The government of New Granada had appointed the first missionaries to teach at the Minor Seminary and to establish a Missionary School in Bogotá, as they were considered more suitable for this work. Additionally, Urisarri asked for two or more religious familiar with the teaching methods used in primary schools. Finally, he made a request for an expert in civil and practical architecture to teach at the University of Bogotá. The aims intended by Urisarri for work of the Jesuits to the country were stated plainly, but they do not follow the lines of the original decree. In other words, he amplified the clauses of the decree. Now they were expected not only to take charge of the missions among

⁶¹ Urisarri to Roothaan, 17 February 1845, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, IV, 2. See: R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centroamérica*, vol.1, pp. 73-4.

the indigenous people, but also to undertake educational work in the main cities of the country. Thus the government, as represented by Urisarri, deviated from the original purpose for inviting the Jesuits back, which was to create mission schools and residences for the evangelization of the natives. Roothaan had understood from the decree that the Jesuits would return mainly to carry out the work of evangelization among natives, and only in second place help to educate the young in the main cities, even if he was aware that missionaries had to be instructed before going to the missions among the natives. However, once the Jesuits were established in Bogotá, the Bishops of Antioquia and Popayán asked the government for Jesuits to put them in charge of seminary schools in both cities. The Bishop of Pasto asked the central government to open a mission school in that region to be directed by the Jesuits, but in the city of Medellín, the Governor entrusted them with a wider role in education, assigning to them the *Colegio Académico*.

More Jesuits for the Colombian Mission

On 19 April 1845 two more Jesuits arrived from Chile. Father Ignacio Gomilla, an expert in Physics and Mathematics, and José Saracco, a coadjutor brother. They had received a letter from their respective superiors, Mariano Berdugo and Pablo Torroella, asking them to leave the mission in Chile and travel to New Granada.⁶² General Mosquera, who was Colombian envoy in Chile and Perú at the time, financed the trip.

⁶² In 1836 Mariano Berdugo was appointed by the Superior General, Fr Rootham, to be the Superior of the Argentinean Mission. Disagreements soon emerged between the President of Argentina, Juan Manuel Rosas, and Fr Berdugo because the latter refused to promote the federal system. In 1839, the government of Buenos Aires had passed a law which obliged both diocesan and regular clergy to preach in favour of the Federal party and against the Unitarian party. Berdugo ordered his fellow Jesuits to show obedience and respect to the civil authorities but forbade them to pronounce the word 'Federation'. Pressure from President Rosas forced Berdugo to leave the country in 1841 and go to Montevideo, and later Rosas ordered the dispersion of all Jesuits from Buenos Aires. See: H. Storni, 'Mariano Berdugo', *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 1, p. 413.

Mosquera would run for the presidency of New Granada for the 1845-1849 period.⁶³

On 13 January 1846 a new contingent of eleven Spanish Jesuits arrived from the Le Havre. This group consisted of priests, scholastics, and brothers. Among the priests were Francisco Saurí, Luis Segura, Ignacio Asensi, José Joaquín Cotanilla, Manuel Buján and Tomás Piquer.⁶⁴ Among the scholastics were Buenaventura Feliú, Santiago Cenarruza and Fausto Legarra. The two coadjutor brothers were Gabriel Trobat and Juan de Cenarruza.⁶⁵ The travel expenses of this new group were covered by some citizens of Medellín who, on learning of the return of the Jesuits had asked the Bishop and the Governor to invite them to Antioquia. Such was the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of this region that they had collected funds for the journey from Europe. The new contingent divided into two groups, one destined for Medellín, the other for Bogotá. Those appointed to Medellín were the priests Manuel Buján, José Joaquín Cotanilla, Tomás Piquer, a scholastic, Fausto Legarra, and coadjutor Brothers Gabriel Trobat and Juan de Cenarruza. The priests Francisco Saurí, Luis Segura and Ignacio Asensi, along with the scholastics Buenaventura Feliú and Santiago Cenarruza, composed the group appointed to Bogotá. The last two came to the country to develop their apostolic training with the usual period of teaching.⁶⁶

One of the Jesuits who came with this group later described how the Jesuits devoted themselves to the ministries of the Society: preaching of the Word of God; Spiritual Exercises; hearing confessions; encouraging the practice of good works through individual discussions; teaching Christian doctrine to children; visiting prisons

⁶³ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro-América*, vol. 1, pp. 81-3.

⁶⁴ With regard to this group of Jesuits our only information comes from José Joaquín Cotanilla. He taught grammar and was spiritual director in the School in Medellín. When the Society of Jesus was re-established in Colombia in 1858, he returned to Bogotá and was assigned by his Superior to be the vice-principal of the School of St. Bartholomew until his expulsion in 1861. His diary and unpublished works are a valuable source of information about the history of the Society of Jesus in Colombia, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. See: F.B. Medina, 'José Joaquín Cotanilla', *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 2, pp. 982-3.

⁶⁵ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro-América*, vol.1, p. 112.

⁶⁶ AHPCSJ, *Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús*, C-92, vol. 2, p. 19.

and hospitals; teaching human sciences to the young while educating them in virtue and religious practice. The order had always held that for Jesuits appointed to the first types of ministry, their livelihood should come from alms received from their benefactors or, if necessary, begged for from door to door. But in the case of those appointed to teaching in schools, it was necessary to provide them with permanent resources to carry out the work. Schools were always founded with rents earmarked for this purpose. Hence a central point to be considered when accepting the responsibility for schools was that they should be adequately endowed.⁶⁷

In Bogotá, the Jesuits devoted themselves to preaching in the Church of San Ignacio, the spiritual guidance of some Catholic citizens, and popular missions in surrounding towns. Moreover, the Archbishop, with the legal approval of the government, made them responsible for the Minor Seminary.

Minor Seminary

Archbishop Mosquera entrusted the Minor Seminary to the Jesuits in April 1845. This decision was not without problems, and the Congress of 1845 raised various obstacles. The Archbishop wanted to train new generations of seminarians under the guidance of Rome. Most of the Jesuits, who had arrived from Europe the previous year and lived in the convent of the Franciscans, moved to a bigger house near the archdiocesan seminary. In this new location they accepted some new students as boarders and 90 external students.⁶⁸

The mission school, where the novitiate was installed in the Franciscan convent, continued to function under the direction of Pablo de Blas until his transfer to Popayán

⁶⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 52.

⁶⁸ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro-América*, vol.1, p. 107.

in 1846. The novitiate had been erected by an executive decree of 30 August 1844.⁶⁹ This decree established the need for a mission school of the Society that should include a novitiate for the education of missionaries where they would be taught ecclesiastical sciences, at least one of the languages of the native groups that inhabited the most remote territories, botany, agriculture, geology and hygiene to cope with the climate of the rain forests where the natives lived. The decree allocated 1,700 pesos per year for the general expenses of the mission school.⁷⁰ Once the school had been established, some of the Jesuits departed to explore the areas inhabited by the natives.

Cotanilla describes the teaching begun in 1845, and the gradual increase in the number of students, the progress made each year and some of the reactions to it:

Los Jesuitas comenzaron la enseñanza propia de sus escuelas en la nueva casa y al siguiente año en el gran edificio del Seminario, y aquí en Bogotá, como en casi todas partes, el número de los alumnos y su adelantamiento se vio progresar cada año, con mucho contentamiento de los padres de familia, con lisonjeras esperanzas, y satisfacción entera de todos los buenos; pero al mismo tiempo tan bien con rabiosa ojeriza de los enemigos de los Jesuitas, como de la verdadera y cristiana ilustración. Porque si bien es cierto, que la noble emulación es digna de loa; también lo es que la Compañía de Jesús topó en Bogotá con una caterva de antagonistas suyos en la enseñanza que la hostilizaron sin nobleza alguna; los cuales si no eran meros especuladores de una educación superficial, científicamente hablando, éralo sin duda, y con la notoriedad pública más escandalosa, muy dañinos a la sociedad, a la religión, y a los desgraciados jóvenes, cuyos imprudentes padres ponían en manos maléficas del Doctor Lorenzo María Lleras y compañía.⁷¹

Cotanilla replied to the criticism of those who opposed the Jesuits and through their writings spread the rumour that the Jesuits threatened the advancement of the emerging republic. Among these critics was Lorenzo María Lleras, a prominent educator, journalist and politician, who had founded and directed the school *El Espíritu*

⁶⁹ This decree was signed by President Herrán and his *Ministro del Interior*, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez. See: R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro-América*, vol.1, pp. 399-402.

⁷⁰ J.M. Restrepo, *Diario Político y Militar*, vol. 3, Bogotá, 1954, pp. 394-5.

⁷¹ AHPCSJ, *Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús*, C-92, vol. 2, p. 218.

Santo from 1846 to 1852.⁷² However, many families in Bogotá trusted the Jesuits, and enrolled their children in their schools. This can be seen by the gradual increase of students in the Seminary by 1850, when they reached a total of 150 boarding students and 200 external students. The education provided by the Jesuits was the same as that offered in Madrid, France, Italy, Belgium, Savoy and Switzerland. The Jesuits were clearly increasing the number of students in their schools and more parents were entrusting them with the education of their children. Various provinces were asking for them. Some Liberal politicians began to criticize and even insult them. Cotanilla shows his own hostility towards the members of the government of President José Hilario López. The President's cabinet were adversatives known to be a group with a strong academic background: some had travelled, and were familiar with the most advanced educational theories of Europe and the United States. A conflict was inevitable.

The *Universidad Central* was made up of two institutions when the Jesuits returned: *el Rosario* and *San Bartolomé*. Pablo de Blas was appointed chaplain and lecturer at San Bartolomé, decree of 17 July 1844. However, the students began to sabotage the lecture he gave every Sunday by shutting the chapel. He decided never to return.

As the number of Jesuits rose, either through new vocations or the arrival of more Jesuits, a series of demonstrations against them began in the main cities.

Popular Missions

The Jesuits expanded their work to various regions of the country with their

⁷² Lorenzo María Lleras González was born in Bogotá in 1811. He was educated first in Bogotá and then later in the United States, where he learned English and French. Given his broad formation in literature and journalism he worked in Bogotá at different periods editing newspapers such as *La Gaceta Oficial*, *El Constitucional de Cundinamarca*, *La Bandera Nacional*, *El Neogranadino* (1853), and *La Crónica Mensual del Colegio del Espíritu Santo* (between 1847 and 1850). He was co-publisher of *El Cachaco* and of *Los Principios* and other political and literary magazines. With his wide knowledge and experience of other nations he became an indefatigable Liberal propagandist. See: G. Otero Muñoz, *Semblanzas Colombianas*, vol. 2, Bogotá, 1938, pp. 148-52.

general and parochial missions. Such missionary work had been common under Spanish rule. It consisted of 'pastoral strategies fully articulated for towns and villages, and the subsequent application of these strategies in big cities. The systematic evangelization of peasants was, in fact, a distinctive feature of the Counter-Reformation, acknowledged today for its deep impact on religious practice and sensitivity, as much as on the popular culture'.⁷³ Once the Society of Jesus was restored, the Superior General Fr Roothaan gave missionary work a new vigour and direction. Accordingly, the Jesuits had conducted popular missions as soon as they arrived in New Granada. During their trip from Santa Marta to Bogotá, they had conducted missions, and they continued to do so in the provinces of Antioquia, Popayán, Pasto, Putumayo and Caquetá.

In connection with these activities, a conflict arose in 1847 between the Archbishop of Bogotá and the civil authorities of Vélez. The Archbishop complained that the civil authorities had rejected a group of missionaries sent by him to that city. The mission team was made up of two diocesan priests and three Jesuits. The Archbishop complained that the Governor of the province and the police chief of the city had hampered the evangelical work of the pastor with his congregation. The Governor, Manuel María Zaldúa, replied explaining that the *jefe* of the canton of Vélez had informed him that a number of citizens had visited him and expressed their deep unrest, knowing that the fathers of the Society would come to preach the Spiritual Exercises and hear confessions precisely during election time. The local politicians of Vélez thought that the missionaries would influence their followers and protested to the head of the Canton, asking him to ban the mission, asserting that public order and peace would be jeopardized if the mission were carried out. The Jesuits and the diocesan priests were being directly accused of influencing the consciences of the electors. In a

⁷³ J.W. O'Malley, 'Misiones Populares', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol.3, pp. 2691-6.

rural and illiterate society, such as New Granada at that time, clerics, landowners and mayors certainly exerted a significant influence on the population.⁷⁴ The Governor was not opposed to the evangelizing work of the priests, but he suggested that it should be done at a different time, so that public order would not be disturbed and more time benefit could be obtained:

No es que haya de impedirse absolutamente la venida de los R.R. Padres de la Compañía de Jesús, si se cree que ella pueda contribuir a fomentar la moral pública y a consolidar la fe católica, que tanta y tan poderosa influencias tiene en el orden social; pero necesario es que esto se haga sin el menor mal: acaso podría diferirse para otro tiempo menos peligroso que el presente; se irían preparando los ánimos, los hombres todos tendrían oportunidad de penetrarse del invento de tal misión, y se persuadirían de que ella es puramente espiritual, y en nada afectan a los intereses que agitan a los individuos en el mundo. Espero y con fundamento que V. S. R no despreciará estas indicaciones y que obrará en conciencia de ellas. Dios que a V. S.R. Manuel María Zaldúa.⁷⁵

The Archbishop took a different view. He could not understand why the *jefe* of the Vélez Canton and its inhabitants would want to prevent the exercise of a pastoral ministry that he personally had sent to the city. He regretted racing obstacles to this evangelical work using the argument of a possible disturbance to public order; he had sent missionaries in previous years with the sole intention of promoting good and achieving the saving of souls; these missions had borne abundant fruit, such as the celebration and reconciliation of many marriages, which had benefitted public morality. Likewise, the Archbishop claimed that, as Shepherd of the Flock, he did not need to consult anyone or ask for permission to teach and reprimand his congregation; they, as Christians, were obliged to listen to their pastor and to those that represented his authority, in this particular case, the missionaries. As representative and minister of God, he assumed the consequences of preaching the gospel to the citizens of New

⁷⁴ M. Deas, 'The role of the Church, the army and the police in Colombia elections, c. 1850-1930', in *Elections before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America*, ed., by E. Posada-Carbó, London, 1996, p. 165.

⁷⁵ Zaldúa to Monsignor Mosquera, 29 Jun 1847. Archivo General de Nación. (AGN) República. Fondo Curas y Obispos, Tomo VI, folio 86.

Granada. If the preaching were received with a good heart, Jesus himself was being heard, but if not, Jesus himself was being despised. He recalled that in the history of the first Christians, persecution and slander had arisen after the message of hope and love from Jesus to the people had been delivered. In his opinion, Catholic bishops in Protestant countries had more freedom than he had in New Granada:

Lamento, señor gobernador, y no puedo dejar de lamentar que sean más libres los obispos católicos en medio del protestantismo en Inglaterra, los EE.UU. y en otros países, donde envían frecuentemente misiones, sin que a aquellos católicos haya ocurrido el pensamiento de que esas misiones no fueron pedidas por los feligreses, y sin que su anuncio causara disgustos y alarmas. En esto han desconocido a su Pastor los que tal cosa han hecho; y yo los cito y emplazo para el tribunal de Dios, donde el celo con que he tratado de llenar mi ministerio pastoral será un terrible acusador de ellos.⁷⁶

Some members of the Catholic Church, both priests and lay men, were criticized of the close relationship of the Archbishop with the Jesuits. Moreover, politicians who opposed the Society began to gather information that would serve to accuse the Jesuits of promoting division in New Granada.

Apostolate with the Working Class: the Popular Society

The Jesuits founded associations among the working population of Bogotá to teach them Christian doctrine. According to a group of ladies of the city, the object of these congregations for artisans and their children was to make virtuous sons and citizens to the Church. The Jesuits taught Christian doctrine, and also the duties to God, to society, to one's family and oneself.

Les enseñaban a amar a Dios, a rendirle el culto debido, a practicar santas obras de piedad y a cumplir los preceptos de la Iglesia: les enseñaban a reprimir sus pasiones por medio del más grande y poderoso freno para ellas, la confesión; de la cual ha dicho el mismo Voltaire, que es una cosa excelente, un freno al crimen, una costumbre que él y sus

⁷⁶ Monsignor Mosquera to Zaldúa, 6 July 1847, AGN. República. Fondo Curas y Obispos, Tomo VI, folios 87-8.

partidarios santifican y reconocen como el mejor medio para excitar al perdón a los corazones ulcerados por el odio.⁷⁷

One initiative that attracted the working class were the celebrations in honour of the Holy Virgin and Saint Joseph. More than 600 people took part in them. The ladies of Bogotá argued that to claim, as detractors of the Jesuits did, that subversive doctrines were being taught at these celebrations, was quite erroneous. Only the Christian doctrine of the Catholic Church was being promulgated, and this doctrine helped form good citizens and good men for the republic.

According to Juan Francisco Ortiz, the *Sociedad Popular* had 800 active members who used to meet publicly at the coliseum. The Society was divided into four neighborhoods units: La Catedral, presided over by none other than Mariano Ospina Rodríguez; Las Nieves, directed by Dr Vicente C. Bernal; San Victorino, led by Juan Francisco Ortiz; and Santa Marta Bárbara, guided by General Manuel Arjona.⁷⁸ One night in January 1850, some members of the Democratic Society, led by Liberal politicians, assaulted the seat of the society in Santa Bárbara. During the attack one member of the Society was shot dead and damage was done to the office of Ortiz. Nicolás Tanco Armero, a member of the unit who was at the coliseum that night was imprisoned because he asserted that he ‘could see in the Republic only a mockery of a government’. These incidents gave occasion for members of the Democratic Society to organize a demonstration in the Plaza Mayor asking President López to dismiss the Conservative members of his cabinet, and to expel the Jesuits for inciting members of the Popular Society against the government.

⁷⁷ J. Gómez, *Lágrimas y Recuerdos de las damas bogotanas o Justificación del dolor de las bogotanas por la expulsión de los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús*, Bogotá, 1850, p. 47.

⁷⁸ J.F. Ortiz, *Reminiscencias de D. Juan Francisco Ortíz, 1808-1861*, Bogotá, 1914, p. 283.

The Jesuits in Antioquia. Colonial Background: 1720-1767

The presence of the Jesuits in what is today the Department of Antioquia can be traced back to the year 1608, when some Jesuits first visited the region.⁷⁹ Throughout the XVII century some members of the *Colegio de Cartagena* and the *Colegio Máximo de Bogotá*, ventured into the territory with popular missions. The Jesuits Juan de Rivera, José de Herrera, Rodrigo de Celada, Miguel Herrera and Pedro de Molina evangelized in Antioquia, and in 1646, the Governor and the Chapter of the Cathedral of Antioquia asked the priests to undertake the education of the young. This request was postponed, because, among other reasons, of the geographical conditions and the vastness of the region. In 1716, the Bishop of Popayán, Juan Gómez de Frías made a pastoral visit to the province of Antioquia, which was then divided between the dioceses of Popayán, and Cartagena, under the Archdiocese of Bogotá. Santafé de Antioquia did not become a bishopric until 1804. Clerics were scarce in this wild mountainous region, and most of its inhabitants divided their time between shifting agriculture and artisanal gold mining. The Bishop found that, despite the wealth of the people and the good dispositions of the young there were no educational establishments in the region, and determined to found a school in Santafé de Antioquia that would be directed by the Jesuits. This proposal was well received by the diocesan and regular clergy and by local society in general. The foundation was made possible thanks to José Blanco, a native of Galicia, who donated 40,000 pesos for this purpose, recorded in a public deed of 21 October 1720. One condition was that Blanco could ask for a refund if the Royal Decree for the foundation of the school had not been obtained ten years after that date.⁸⁰

Blanco was not the only individual who contributed; other benefactors, lay and

⁷⁹ E. Gómez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Antioquia y el Colegio de San Ignacio, 1885-1910*, Medellín, 1910, p. 1.

⁸⁰ J.M. Groot, *Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, Bogotá, 1890, pp. 23-4.

clerical, donated funds so that the Jesuits could have a permanent presence in the region, while educating and preaching in the Church of Santa Bárbara. This temple was entrusted to them, and some repairs were carried out for this purpose. King Phillip V approved the foundation on 5 September 1722 and the Jesuits moved to this city to establish a house there and begin their educational work.⁸¹

When the Jesuits were expelled in 1767, the church was still under construction but the school was well funded. The *Colegio Académico* had begun to function in 1727.⁸² From that period, the contribution of a number of citizens who became members of the Society of Jesus was significant. According to Fajardo,

When making a balance of the contributions of Antioquia to the spiritual, intellectual, cultural and social action, we find that twelve citizens from this region were active in the history of Colombian colonial thinking and worked as lecturers at the *Universidad Javeriana*; twelve were teachers of Humanities in different schools; eight were coadjutors; six worked in the lands of Casanare with native communities; and some of them managed the treasury of the educational institutions of the Society.⁸³

The history of the Jesuits during colonial times remained in the memory of the people of Antioquia. The historian Patricia Londoño notes that when the Jesuits were established once more in Santafé de Antioquia, the local people supported their work: ‘...the first Jesuit influence planted the seeds of the deep religiosity that would blossom in the region from the mid-nineteenth century’.⁸⁴

The Return of the Jesuits to the Province of Antioquia in 1844

Following the return of the Jesuits to Bogotá in 1844, several persons including Juan José Mora Berrío, a very pious man, began to raise money to bring Jesuits to the new capital of the Province of Antioquia, Medellín. Since the Wars of Independence,

⁸¹ J.M. Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, vol. 3, 1696-1767, Bogotá, 1989, pp. 33-44.

⁸² E. Gómez Barrientos, *La Compañía de Jesús en Antioquia y el Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola*, p. 2.

⁸³ J. Fajardo, *El colegio de los Jesuitas en Antioquia*, Bogotá, 2007, pp. 23-4.

⁸⁴ P. Londoño, *Religión, Cultura y Sociedad en Colombia*, Bogotá, 2004, p. 33.

the number of diocesan and regular clergy in Antioquia had dramatically decreased, but the inhabitants kept alive the memory of the order. Arrangements were soon made for them to return to the region. For this mission, the Superior Fr Torroella appointed Joaquín Freire, José Segundo Laínez, and Luis Amorós, along with a diocesan priest, Genaro Rojas, from Espino, who had been assigned by Archbishop Mosquera to assist the Jesuits.⁸⁵ The group departed for Medellín on 10 November 1844.⁸⁶

The Jesuits received a warm welcome from the people, the clergy and the local Bishop, Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata.⁸⁷ The province now had an episcopal seat erected in 1804, located in Santafé de Antioquia. This seat had however remained vacant until 1828, when the first Bishop, the Dominican friar Mariano García Dorjuela, took office. García died in 1833, leaving the seat empty until 1836, when his successor, Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata, took charge. He was Bishop until his death in 1850.⁸⁸ Gómez Plata, ‘quién a causa de sus antecedentes políticos ‘pro-liberales’, sospechaba le creyeran poco favorable a los jesuitas, quiso desvanecer tal preocupación, no sólo autorizando los ejercicios de la Misión con su presencia y la de todo su clero, sino tratándoles con la mayor intimidad y confianza’.⁸⁹ Conservative sectors of the population of Antioquia were not fond of the Bishop, because he had been a personal friend of General Francisco de Paula Santander.⁹⁰

The Bishop and the Jesuit, Fr Joaquín Freire, exchanged many letters. The Bishop frequently urged the Jesuit to take responsibility for the Seminary, pointing out

⁸⁵ AHPCSJ, *Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús*, C-92, vol.1, p. 210.

⁸⁶ On April 1826 Santafé de Antioquia was replaced by Medellín like the new capital of the province of Antioquia. See J.O. Melo, *Historia de Antioquia*, Medellín, 1988, p. 46.

⁸⁷ E. Castro. ‘La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia’, *Juventud Ignaciana*, no. 44, Medellín, 1944, pp. 89-97.

⁸⁸ I.D. Toro, *La diócesis de Medellín 1868-1902. Actuación y Formación del Clero*, Medellín, 2004, p. 162. The diocese of Antioquia was suppressed on 14 February 1868 and then translated to Medellín. From this date Medellín and Santafé de Antioquia were amalgamated into one only diocese. See: U. Ramírez, *Historia de la Diócesis de Medellín*, vol. 1, 1868-1886, Medellín, 1922, p. 1.

⁸⁹ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Nueva Granada y Centro América*, p. 69.

⁹⁰ AHPCSJ, *Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús*, C-92, vol.1, p. 220.

that by doing so, the Jesuits would achieve great results as they would help to educate the future priests of the diocese. He also warned of the inconveniences that could arise if they took charge of the *Colegio Académico*, as this was not his responsibility, but that of the government. Other points raised in the correspondence include clarifying misunderstandings that had arisen regarding the keys of the Chapel of the *Colegio Académico*, and the proposal that Freire made to the bishop to divide the Seminary into two sections. There is a certain ambiguity in the letters; at times, the Bishop appears to have complete trust in the Jesuits, and at others he is dealing with the criticisms made against them by a local club, *El Amigo del País*. On the expulsion of the Jesuits, the journal *El Neo-granadino* published a letter that he had allegedly sent to General José María Mantilla, in which he expressed his frustration at the ignorance and lack of education of the Jesuits who had been sent to his diocese. He writes sincerely to his military friend explaining that he had expected more cultured men:

Los había oído predicar en Medellín y aunque hicieron muchas conquistas, y algunas saludables, no obstante no me gustaron como esperaba, según se me ofreció desde Bogotá por hombres ilustrados. No hay elocuencia, no hay ideas, no hay lógica en la mayor parte de los que vinieron. Sus discursos tendían a deprimir y envilecer la autoridad episcopal y ensalzar la pontificia y la que ellos tienen: se llamaron independientes y libres para opinar sin sujeción a autoridad ninguna eclesiástica en este país. A los obispos los calificaron como meros vicarios de la Silla Apostólica sin autoridad ninguna de Dios, o dimanante de Dios.⁹¹

At the end of this letter, the bishop suggested that the General should keep it secret to prevent friends of the Jesuits, a majority in the region, being offended with him. He also explained that his benevolent treatment of the Jesuits was a strategy to diminish the rumours against him, because he had been told that they were prejudiced against him. Ospina Rodríguez did not consider the letter to be authentic. In the editorial office of his own newspaper there were documents where the Bishop praised

⁹¹ *El Neo-granadino*, Bogotá, 2 de mayo de 1851, no. 154, p. 146.

the work of the Jesuits. Ospina argued that in many letters the Bishop had manifested his desire for the Jesuits to take charge of the Seminary of the Antioquia diocese. He emphasized:

Si aquel prelado juzgaba a los Jesuitas ignorantes, si reputaba sus doctrinas y tendencias malas, instar a esos sacerdotes para que se encargasen de la instrucción de los ministros de la religión en su Diócesis, era trabajar para que esas doctrinas y esas tendencias se propagasen en el Clero y en el pueblo; esto era poner los medios más eficaces para la difusión del error; y sólo un hombre sin conciencia es capaz de semejante cosa.⁹²

The Apostolic Work of the Jesuits in Medellín

The work of the Jesuits in Medellín had considerable success. The inhabitants of the city, according to the local press, came *en masse* to listen to them, so much so that it was necessary to ask the diocesan clergy to help the Jesuits to hear confessions. From Medellín they travelled to the city of Santafé de Antioquia, where they had been active from 1722 to 1767. They also visited Rionegro, a municipality where, according to Pérez and Cotanilla, they won the affection of citizens who were at first biased against the Jesuits through the influence of anti-Jesuit propaganda. The warm welcome prepared by the inhabitants for the missionaries when they arrived was of almost epic proportions, according to the local journal: ‘Más de doscientas personas a caballo cubrían el camino desde Medellín hasta Rionegro. Los campos, las calles, los balcones, todo, todo estaba cubierto de gente entusiasta. Los guantereños se han distinguido y muy particularmente el Chimbo que sin escarmentar iba gritando por las calles, ¡Vivan los Jesuitas!’⁹³

From 1844 to 1850 the Jesuits fixed their permanent residence in Medellín. There they received strong support from both the civil and religious authorities.

⁹² *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 8 de mayo de 1851, no. 89.

⁹³ *El Telégrafo*, Bogotá, 26 de marzo de 1846.

However, a small group, an association called *El Amigo del País*, opposed them in its newspaper, of the same name. The opposition began when the Governor of the Province, Juan María Gómez, recommended in a report submitted on September 1844 to the provincial chamber that the Jesuits should take charge of the *Colegio Académico*. He was convinced that they could enforce better discipline among the students, and thus parents could rest assured that their children were receiving a thorough moral and religious education. For him it was important that the city should have ‘sacerdotes ilustrados, de moralidad severa, constantes en el desempeño de su misión apostólica, remeros infatigables en la barca de San Pedro, como los ha llamado el Pontífice (Pío VII) que restableció la Orden...’⁹⁴ Gómez asked the Minister of the Interior, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, to entrust the *Colegio Académico* to the Jesuits. The Jesuits accepted this proposal with some hesitation, because this establishment depended on the executive branch of the civil government: the university held responsibility for electing teachers and the curriculum was regulated by the subdirection of studies of the Province. Moreover, the Chamber of the Province, which met each year, controlled the finances of the institution. Freire explained this situation in detail to his Provincial Superior, Antonio Morey.⁹⁵ Faced by all this bureaucracy, and the fact that they would be considered public employees, in addition to the opposition fomented by *El Amigo del País*, the Jesuits decided to relinquish the direction of the *Colegio Académico* and to erect a new school in a different place. Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, who took office 1 June 1845, succeeded Gómez as Governor of Antioquia. He insisted that the Jesuits continue directing the *Colegio Académico* and proposed a ten-year contract by which the order would be formally committed to taking charge of the institution. However, his pleas were of no use; the Superior of the mission had firmly decided to abandon that

⁹⁴ *El Día*, Bogotá, 13 de octubre de 1844, no. 247.

⁹⁵ Freire to Morey, 24 November 1845, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, IV, 24.

particular project. After all this, Bishop Juan Gómez Plata insisted once again with Fr Freire that the Jesuits accept the distinct responsibility for the Seminary, promising that in exchange he would give them a building with its rents for the Society to use as they considered best while directing the Seminary according to the guidelines of their institute; the only condition was that six scholarships should be offered for poor children.⁹⁶ The Jesuits did not accept the proposal of the Bishop either.⁹⁷ Previously he had warned them of the problems that would come with the direction of the *Colegio Académico*:

Era más propio a sus reverencias enseñar en un Seminario que en un colegio provincial sujeto al capricho y voluntad de las Cámaras de Provincia y de los diferentes presidentes y secretarios, que cada cuatro años cambian al personal y las opiniones, fuera de que la enseñanza en estos establecimientos es más civil que religiosa, más política que eclesiástica, más profana y mundana que moral y arreglada a las máximas de la revelación. Es también conveniente tener a la vista que en esos colegios están más expuestos sus reverencias a la enojosa censura de los malquerientes de la Compañía y al ruido y estrepito de sus legisladores mundanos y de sus calumniadores desvergonzados, que en una casa religiosa que tiene más bien el carácter de privada que de pública como es mi Seminario.⁹⁸

Despite the Bishop's warnings of local complications, the Jesuits decided to settle permanently in Medellín for various reasons: it was the capital of the province, it was the second most important city of the Republic, it had a good climate suitable for studying, and they were appreciated by the inhabitants, despite the opposition of *Los Amigos del País* group. Fr Freire proposed to the Bishop a division of the Seminary

⁹⁶ AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol. 2, p. 13.

⁹⁷ The Bishop and the community had originally written to the government and the Archbishop of Bogotá asking for the Jesuits to come to the province of Antioquia, saying that they had enough resources to finance four missionaries. See: Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Castilla de la Compañía de Jesús, (AHPCSJ), Correspondencia del Obispo Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata, Estante II, caja 68, Carta no. 27. Once the priests were installed in the city of Medellín, the prelate and the Municipal Council of the city of Antioquia asked the Central Government to speed up the arrangements required for the Jesuits to take charge of the education of the clergy and the young in the Seminary of this diocese. In their opinion, the presence of these religious was urgent since it was believed that Jesuit preaching would improve habits and preserve the dogmas and precepts of holy religion. See: AGN. República. Fondo Curas y Obispos, T. XXII, Folios 401-3.

⁹⁸ Monsignor Gómez Plata to Freire, 31 August 1845, AHPCSJ. Estante 2, carpeta 70. Carta no. 44.

into two sections: the Major Seminary would continue in Santafé de Antioquia for higher studies in Theology and Canon Law, and the Minor Seminary would be re-established in Medellín, where the Jesuits would teach Philosophy and Literature. When the proposal was known, tensions arose with both the Bishop and the Jesuits.⁹⁹

The Jesuits devoted themselves to three main works: education in schools, preaching in the church assigned then to them, then called San Francisco and renamed today San Ignacio, and establishing congregations, lay associations, through the Spiritual Exercises and popular missions.

The Jesuits in Charge of the Colegio Provincial or Colegio Académico of Medellín and the Controversy with the Group Amigos del País

Governor Gómez, with the approval of the Central Government, had entrusted the *Colegio Académico* to the Jesuits, hoping that they would abolish the secular teaching that, according to him, was being imparted since 1830. Ospina Rodríguez, a fervent and convinced Catholic as well as a forceful politician supported this resolution. He wanted to make sure both that Christian doctrine would be taught and that these religious would bring the scientific and technical knowledge required in the region. His support triggered an adverse reaction from the group *El Amigo del País* whose journal set about discrediting the Jesuits from December 1845 to September 1847. The paper asserted that in those countries in which the Society was solidly established it had exerted a despotic dominion over people, clergy and government. The newspaper denied popular rumours according to which members of *El Amigo del País* were anti-Catholic, impious, heretics and murderers:

⁹⁹ Monsignor Monsignor Gómez Plata to Freire, 15 February 1846, AHPCSJ. Estante 2, carpeta 70. Carta no. 55.

A ninguna cuestión puramente personal se le dará lugar en *el Amigo del País*, ni tampoco se admitirán artículos que ataquen la religión cristiana; sin embargo, los extravíos de los ministros del altar, no serán perdonados: las pretensiones exageradas de aquellos que quieran hacernos retrogradar muchos años atrás, serán combatidas por cuantos medios legales estén a nuestro alcance, porque nosotros no confundimos la religión con sus ministros.¹⁰⁰

The group included Gregorio Gutiérrez González, Juan de Dios Restrepo, who under the pseudonym Emiro Kastos published a significant number of articles in the Bogotá journal *El Neo-granadino*, Camilo Antonio Echeverri, José María Facio Lince, Nicolás Florencio Villa, Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, and the brothers Tomás and Elías Uribe Santamaría. It also had the support of two Englishmen: Tyrell Moore and William Jervis.¹⁰¹ The group thus included some of the most prominent Antioqueño Liberals of the era, and with Gutiérrez González, Restrepo and Echeverri were of the most famous literati. These men were not atheists, nor anti-Christian, but were opposed to the Conservative policies of the Governor Mariano Ospina Rodríguez and to the education of the young people of Medellín being put into the hands of ‘foreign ultramontane’ religious.¹⁰²

The group reproduced the articles of the British and French Encyclopaedias about the Jesuits, caricatures of the history of the Society and versions that had circulated in Europe since the origins of the order. Another broadside from a member of *El Amigo del País* mocked the superstitious way in which the Jesuits preached about the devil and hell.¹⁰³ Most members of this group had studied in Bogotá, were familiar

¹⁰⁰ *El Amigo del País*, Medellín, 15 de diciembre de 1845, no. 1.

¹⁰¹ Tyrell Moore was an English businessman (born in London in 1803, died in Bogotá in 1881). He arrived in Colombia in 1828 when the English Mining Company contracted him to work with them. He also worked at the Santa Rosa, Anorí and Amalfí mines. During the fifties he and other businessmen became interested in the construction industry in Medellín. Tyrell was a great business promoter and his work aimed at obtaining benefits from undeveloped sectors, such as mines, roads and export agriculture. See: L.F. Molina, *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 10, Bogotá, 1994, pp. 391-2.

¹⁰² P. Londoño, *Religión, Cultura y Sociedad en Colombia*, p. 36.

¹⁰³ Archivo de la Universidad de Antioquia, (AUA) Hoja Sueltas, Documento 122, 1845.

with the Spanish and Latin classics and much English and French literature. In the *Colegio San Bartolomé* they had been taught history, political economy, law, ethics, psychology and logic. This education helped forge their sharp and critical thinking about what was happening in the country's politics, society and religion.¹⁰⁴

The Jesuits had taken on the direction of the *Colegio Académico* in 1845 solely to please Governors Gómez and Mariano Ospina Rodríguez. Once it was returned to the government, a trust was organized to collect funds to buy another building where a new school would function. On 12 August 1847, Bishop Gómez Plata laid the foundation stone of the chapel, and in the decree of erection it was stated that 'the Church would be given to the Society for perpetual and irrevocable use, as long as the Society remained in the Diocese, and that it would bear, as did the school of the Society, the name of Saint Joseph'.¹⁰⁵ When the Jesuits were expelled in 1850, the church had been roofed and the construction was well advanced.

Difficulties for the Jesuits did not end when the *Colegio Académico* was relinquished. Further and more complex problems came from the management of the church that belonged to this school. The Bishop had made the Jesuits responsible for the care of the church and for the celebration of services in it, but some students of the *Colegio*, those boarding there, also used the building for services and catechism lessons. The problem concerned the management of the keys of the door that communicated the temple with the school; this exasperatingly petty dispute leads Cotanilla to discuss it for 26 pages, and also generated a large number of letters between Bishop Gómez Plata and Father Joaquín Freire. The Governor and the Principal of the school, José María Facio

¹⁰⁴ J.de Dios, Restrepo. *Emiro Kastos. Artículos Escogidos*, Londres, 1885, pp. IX-XXVII.

¹⁰⁵ E. Gómez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Antioquia y el Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1885-1910*, Medellín, 1910, p. 20.

Lince, were also involved in this dispute.¹⁰⁶

The new school of San José began to function on 16 June 1846. There were 54 boarding and 36 external students. The daily schedule for the boarders was based on a discipline and order of a military kind. There were set times for sleep, lessons, personal study, meals, prayer and devotional practices, and leisure. Boarders were allowed to visit their families once a month. At first they also had family visits at the school, but these were soon abolished since there was not space to receive the families. Gradually, the facilities of the school became suitable for the students to take full advantage from the education being given. The Jesuits watched and controlled the students all the time in order to avoid possible alterations of the order. They were impressed by the ability of the children to adjust to such a severe discipline, taking into account the fact that these students were used to absolute freedom, not only in their homes, but in the streets of the city as well.

En fin en todo el tiempo que duró el colegio, y que se denominó de San José, se puede decir que no hubo disgusto notable, ni falta de respeto, aunque algunas veces se notó en los alumnos aburrimiento, y deseos de dejar el estudio, que no hay mucha afición a ellos en la provincia, e irse a sus casas. El carácter que se observó en los niños fue por lo general una cierta reserva o cortedad de genio que apenas mostraban confianza: no

¹⁰⁶ In a letter sent to Fr Freire, the Principal José María Facio Lince reminded the priest that on 12 October 1843 the Provincial Chamber of Medellín had entrusted the church of the *Colegio Académico* to Bishop Gómez. Facio Lince knew that in 1845 the Bishop had commended the church to the Jesuits and there was a door between the school and the church that gave students access. However, since the Society was no longer in charge of the establishment, the principal requested leave to allow the entrance of students and teachers. After returning the school, the Jesuits had locked the entrance that connected the school with the church, arguing that some repairs had been made to the church and that they could not trust the new managers of the school to take care of the church. Access by the boarders was obstructed. The Principal asked Father Freire to return the keys of the church to the new chaplain of the school as soon as possible. It was irritating for him and the new chaplain to have to ask the Jesuits daily for permission to celebrate mass. Fr Freire replied that he had received the keys of the church from the hands of commission formed by Bishop Gómez, among others to carry out repairs to the church, which was in ruins. He said that the alms of the congregation had served for this purpose, and enabled them to give a better service to the community. Once they had fulfilled this task, they completed an inventory of the belongings and valuables of the church and he had returned the keys to the members of the board. He invited the Principal to write to the Bishop or the commission directly from whom he had received the commission that he had so zealously executed. See: AHPCSJ, *Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús*, C-92, vol. 2, pp. 26-8, and *El Amigo del País*, Medellín, 15 de febrero de 1847. no. 28.

faltaron entre ellos buenos entendimientos.¹⁰⁷

El Amigo del País continued to publish articles against the Jesuits. In one of its issues, mention was made of a proposed bill that had been sent to the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives: the Jesuits were to be asked to leave Medellín and undertake solely the evangelization of the native communities in the national territories. A group of politicians argued that, although the work the Jesuits did in the school of San José was very good, they were not complying with the decree that had allowed their return to the country. The group also spread rumours that the Society was not subject to the usual ecclesiastical authorities, and that the government had had to forbid the Jesuits from acquiring real estate because they were accumulating significant capital in this city.¹⁰⁸

Following the example of their colleagues in *La Noche* of Bogotá, *El Amigo del País* mocked those who supported and defended the Jesuits.¹⁰⁹ Similarly they offered interpretations of the Constitutions of the Society and spoke of alleged secret plans among the Jesuits to approach widows to obtain inheritances, or to influence the political powers in places where the Society was present.¹¹⁰ They accused the Jesuits of perverting the moral purpose of education, claiming they had expelled a student from the school both because he had attended a ball without their permission and because his father had not contributed economically to the construction of the school and had not signed the letter that some pro-Jesuit notables sent to the Chamber of Representatives.¹¹¹ In general, they accused the Jesuits of promoting division among the population of Antioquia.

¹⁰⁷ AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol. 2, p. 60.

¹⁰⁸ *El Amigo del País*, Medellín, 1 de octubre de 1846, no. 20.

¹⁰⁹ *El Amigo del País*, Medellín, 15 de marzo de 1847, no. 30.

¹¹⁰ *El Amigo del País*, Medellín, 1 de marzo de 1847, no. 29.

¹¹¹ *El Amigo del País*, Medellín, 1 de agosto de 1847, no. 32.

Popular Missions

Like the Jesuits in Bogotá, those in Medellín travelled during the vacations through the towns around Medellín every year. This work involved preaching sermons and teaching the doctrines of the Church with catechisms. For example, they visited the Municipality of Copacabana; there they received the unconditional support of the parish priest, Indalecio Mejía, who donated the substantial sum of ten thousand pesos and a house for the foundation of a school to be administered by them.¹¹²

In January 1850, only months before General López issued the decree of expulsion, the Jesuits journeyed to evangelize the indian *pueblo* of Cañasgordas during vacation time. The parish priest there headed a committee of his congregation to welcome the missionaries. As a token of affection, the inhabitants organized a fireworks display some distance out from the town. The mission started with the participation of a significant number of the inhabitants most of whom had been a long time without religious ceremonies. The schedule of the mission was the following:

Por la mañana el P. Eguiluz explicaba la doctrina cristiana a los niños y mayores y en lo restante del día oíamos confesiones hasta el ejercicio de la tarde. Comenzaba este con una lectura seguida del rosario y la plática doctrinal, cantábanse las letanías de Nuestra Señora después de las cuales se hacía el sermón concluyendo todo con la salve cantada o algunos versitos propios de la misión.¹¹³

The Jesuits convinced the cacique of the tribe to attend the talks. The cacique spoke Spanish well, and he explained that his people had retreated to the forests and lived scattered due to the abuses they had received from the whites. He denounced the whites who had taken the lands where the natives lived. The missionaries were intrigued: ‘el exterior de este indio es respetable por la gravedad de sus facciones, como por su ancianidad, pasa ya de noventa años y no obstante está fuerte y robusto’.¹¹⁴ He

¹¹² AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol. 2, p.15.

¹¹³ Cotanilla to Lerdo, 13 February 1850, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, IX, 7.

¹¹⁴ *Ibíd.*, p. 2.

carried a silver-headed cane and imparted justice among his people; when he had to punish one of them, he did so with severity. The mayors and people from the surrounding towns asked the Jesuits to visit, but lacking time and being aware of the great number of people who demanded their presence, the Jesuits rushed back to the city to open the Literature course that started at the beginning of February.¹¹⁵

Pious associations ('congregaciones') in Medellín

Following a long tradition in the order, in Medellín the Jesuits organized associations –the so-called ‘congregaciones’. The teaching of Catholic doctrine expanded through them as they served as multipliers of catechesis. In their short stay in Medellín, the Jesuits planted the seeds of three *congregaciones*. One was formed of young students from the *Colegio* and from other schools, its title was *De la Anunciación y de San Luis Gonzaga*. The second was made up of working men and called *De la Asunción y de San José*; this *congregación* was founded in 1846 at the Church of San Francisco, known today as San Ignacio, and came to number 600 members. Its strength and stability were put to the test when the Jesuits were expelled from Medellín in 1850. At the end of the XIX century, when the Jesuits returned in 1884, they found that it was still active, thanks to the efforts of members who had remained loyal from the time of its foundation.¹¹⁶ The third *congregación* was for women, both old and young, of all social classes; it was named *Corte de María* and venerated the Immaculate Conception. This group was the most numerous, and its attendance at the church of San Ignacio was massive.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y en Centroamérica después de su restauración*, vol. 1, p. 119.

¹¹⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 119.

The Presence of the Jesuits in Popayán. Colonial Background: 1640-1767

Popayán in the south of Colombia, was founded in December 1536 by Sebastián de Belalcázar.¹¹⁸ Ten years later, the Diocese was erected with a bull dated 1 September 1546, its first bishop was Juan del Valle. By 1589 Popayán had 'a Cathedral Chapter with seven prebendaries, a parish priest and a very poor Franciscan convent, with four religious and seven teachers of Christian doctrine in the country towns twenty miles around'.¹¹⁹ Pope Paul V erected the Seminary of the Diocese of Popayán with a bull dated 17 November 1608.¹²⁰ On 2 April 1631, the Secular Chapter proposed to the Provincial Superior of Perú, Luis de Santillán, and the Jesuit Visitor, Rodrigo de Figueroa, the foundation of a Jesuit school in Popayán. The Jesuits knew the region and the need for missionaries to evangelize various groups of natives: Paeces, Guanacos, Charuallas, Coyaimas and Natagaimas.¹²¹ A Royal Decree of 12 March 1633 granted permission for the construction of two schools or houses, with another in Quito, to serve as residencies and mission centres. The decree also declared that the estates and goods obtained for the support of the students would pay their respective tithes.¹²² A group of Jesuits arrived in Popayán in 1640.¹²³

The Jesuits were eventually entrusted with the education of seminarians and of the young in general.¹²⁴

The children of the most prestigious families in this particularly aristocratic city were educated in the Jesuit schools, including the 'Sánchez, Zeas, Caldas, Torres,

¹¹⁸ P. Vargas, *Historia del Seminario Real de Popayán*, Popayán, 1945, p. 419.

¹¹⁹ *Ibíd.*, p. 229.

¹²⁰ P. Borges, *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas*, vol. 1, and A. Santos, *Los Jesuitas en América*, Madrid, 1992, p. 17.

¹²¹ J. Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, vol.1, 1567-1654, Bogotá, 1959, p. 200-218. J. Juanen, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la antigua provincia de Quito*.

¹²² M. Bueno y Quijano, *Historia de la Diócesis de Popayán*, Bogotá, 1945, p. 34.

¹²³ J. Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, vol.1, p. 210.

¹²⁴ For the presence of the Jesuits in Popayán see: P. Vargas, *Historia del Real Seminario de Popayán*, pp. 436-447. J. Juanen, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Antigua Provincia de Quito* vol.1, 1570-1774, J. Pacheco, 'Fundación de la Compañía de Jesús en Popayán', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 219, Bogotá, 1955, pp. 148-54, and J. Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, vol. 3, p. 366.

Mosqueras, Arboledas, Quijanos, Ulloas, Carvajales, Castros, Rodríguez, Gruesos, Tenorios, Arroyos and Valencias', families which monopolized the ecclesiastical and civil positions during colonial times. This work was as elsewhere cut short on 10 August 1767, when the Jesuits had to depart to comply with the Royal Decree.

The Jesuits in Popayán: 1845-1850

Popayán, unlike Bogotá and Medellín, provided the Jesuits with a uniform atmosphere of peace and respect. The local population welcomed them. This can be seen from the letters supporting and defending them written by one of the most prominent citizen, Antonio Olano.¹²⁵

When General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera became President of New Granada, 1 April 1845, he asked the Jesuits to move the mission school opened in Bogotá to his birthplace.

The work of the Jesuits focused on two tasks: the first was the construction of the novitiate and the promotion of vocations needed for the development of missions among the native peoples; the second was to assist Bishop Fernando Cuero y Caicedo with the education of seminarians for the Popayán diocese.

In line with the request of President Mosquera, and with permission from the Superior General, the Jesuits moved the novitiate, established in Bogotá on their arrival in 1844, to Popayán. The Popayán novitiate was founded by the decree of 7 May 1845, which stated that a school was to be established for the Jesuits to train missionaries to evangelize the natives of the region. It began to function in the old Franciscan convent and was maintained by both its own rents and funding from the government. It was subject to outside supervision by the authorities of the Republic, and an annual salary

¹²⁵ A. Olano, *Opúsculo sobre la expulsión de los Jesuitas*, Popayán, 1850.

was assigned to each of the missionaries.¹²⁶ Urging the Jesuits to get to work as soon as possible, Mosquera drew attention to the fact that the main purpose of their return to New Granada was the foundation of mission schools for the evangelization of indians. The President was responding to pressure from congressmen. These politicians wanted the government to enforce the provisions of the decree of 1842.

On 23 July 1845 the Jesuits of the novitiate left Bogotá for Popayán to open the new institution. Pablo de Blas was appointed Master of Novices and Superior; Francisco de San Román socius (or helper) of the Master of Novices along with two Brothers, Francisco García and Joaquín Hugalde. There were two priests among the novices, Eladio Orbegoza and Francisco Barragán. The others were Ambrosio Fonseca, Rafael Forero, José Telésforo Paul, Jesús Azuola, Gaspar Rodríguez, Eugenio Navarro, Miguel Ruiz and Anastasio Silva. They arrived in Popayán on 27 August.¹²⁷

Like the Archbishop of Bogotá, the Bishop of Popayán, had arranged with the national government the transfer of responsibility for the Seminary to the Jesuits. He asked for financial support from the government to rebuild this establishment. A great service would be provided to the local Church in this way, both for the education of a new generation of clergy, and also for the general evangelization of the inhabitants of the region.

...Grave e importante es el asunto con que a él me dirijo, y demasiado lo conoce S.E. sabiendo, que mientras no haya un establecimiento en donde pueda formarse un clero digno de su alta misión, no puede haber buenos ministros de la religión, que la sostengamos con su palabra y más que todo con su ejemplo; no puede haber en los pueblos párrocos celosos e inteligentes, que predicando y enseñando los principios de la santa moral, inculquen en ellos la sumisión y la obediencia al gobierno y a las autoridades constituidas; no habiendo, por consiguiente garantías ningunas a favor del orden social y de la tranquilidad pública.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá, 25 de mayo de 1845, no. 742.

¹²⁷ AHPCSJ, *Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús*, C-92, vol. 2, p. 234.

¹²⁸ Monsignor Cuero y Caicedo to New Granada Government, 14 September 1847, AGN. República. Fondo Curas y Obispos, T. XIX, folios 592-96.

On 2 February 1848 the Jesuits officially took charge of the *Seminario Real*.¹²⁹ Father Francisco de San Román became first Principal of the institution.

In 1848, a number of the citizens of Popayán, headed by Bishop Fernando Cuero y Caicedo and Governor Vicente Cárdenas, wrote to Congress outlining the benefits the city had received from the return of the Jesuits. The letter was an attempt to dissuade congressmen from supporting a bill new for their expulsion.

A section of the Constitution of 1843, Title 12, Section 164, stated that the citizens of New Granada had the right to submit letters and petitions to Congress and to the executive branch whenever they considered it in the public interest.¹³⁰ The people of Popayán, led by their Bishop, now sent this letter in which they stated that Cuero y Caicedo had entrusted the Seminary School to the Jesuits with the approval of the Governor.¹³¹ This had been done because the city lacked a good secondary school. In the absence of public funds, the people of Popayán had collected resources to pay the travel cost of some religious to teach there and for repairs to the building of the Seminary, furniture and books. The school now had 60 boarders and a number of applications for places came from other towns in the southern provinces. Many families wanted to give their offspring a good education, and trusted the Jesuits. The letter praised the Jesuits for their running of the Seminary; despite scarce funding the school maintained a number of competent professors and employees. The students were receiving the same education that the order provided in England and in the United States; legislation in those countries permitted the Jesuits to educate young people according to Catholic principles. The letter emphasised that the Jesuits treated with respect the forms of government and political constitutions of all the countries where they were active. It ended with a petition to the congressmen to reject all prejudice

¹²⁹ AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol. 2, p. 125.

¹³⁰ *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá, 11 de mayo de 1843, no. 619.

¹³¹ Letter from Cuero y Caicedo, 11 August 1846, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, V, 14.

against them:

Sin embargo Señores, sabemos que hay algunos que pretenden que se nos quite la libertad de encomendar la educación de nuestros hijos a los Padres Jesuitas, que es lo mismo que pretender despojarnos del derecho perfecto que tenemos los granadinos para elegir los maestros que deban educar a nuestros hijos. En conclusión os pedimos que rechacéis de un modo digno del siglo en que vivimos semejantes solicitudes de intolerancia, que si fueran acogidos harían el baldón y afrenta de la Nueva Granada, colocándola más debajo de la Turquía y la China en la escala de Civilización.¹³²

On 7 June 1850, Antonio Olano, a supporter of the Society, published a pamphlet in which he analysed the reasons for the expulsion. On the day he had organized protection of the novices in the face of any mistreatment by the Governor and General José María Obando, who was in command of the soldiers who carried out the expulsion decree.¹³³ Olano claimed that President López had specifically appointed Obando General Commander of the Province of Popayán in case there were riots at the moment of the expulsion.¹³⁴

¹³² Letter from Congressmen, 11 August 1846, ARSI. Prov. Colombiana. 1001, VII, 5. 1848.

¹³³ AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol. 2, pp. 238-9.

¹³⁴ A. Olano, *Opúsculo sobre la expulsión de los Jesuitas*, Popayán, 1850, p. 1.

The Jesuits in Pasto and the Missions in Putumayo and Caquetá. Colonial background: 1712-1767

In 1636 some citizens asked the Jesuits to found a house in the city. In 1641 Juan de Camacho arrived to preach in Pasto, but met great resistance from the convents of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Mercedarians, who claimed that the city had enough religious orders, both masculine and feminine, and that the arrival of the Jesuits would be a disaster for the economy of their convents.¹³⁵ The Jesuits returned to Pasto in 1712.¹³⁶ They remained in this city until their expulsion in 1767.

The Start of the short-lived Missions in Putumayo and Caquetá

On the return of the Jesuits to New Granada, the auxiliary Bishop of Popayán with seat in Pasto, Mateo González Rubio, and some of his clergy petitioned the *Secretario del Interior* asking that the Jesuits be sent to Pasto. They asked for the establishment of a mission school in Pasto with Jesuit missionaries to direct it: The project would bring moral and religious benefit to some eighty thousand citizens, among the native indians inhabiting the mountains of Mocoa:

El carácter de aquellos indios, su docilidad y buenas disposiciones prometen grandiosos resultados y si al apoyo del Gobierno se agrega el impulso que darían a la empresa los Padres Jesuitas, no hay más que provechos en nuestro Corazón y solicitar su pronta venida para que con su celo apostólico, experiencias y luces den principio a una obra regeneradora que dará abundantes frutos en la viña del Señor. No se necesitan grandes sumas de dinero, armas ni municiones, sino empeño, resolución y constancia.¹³⁷

According to the prelate, these native communities were asking for priests. The tribes of this vast region could be organized into reductions. With such settlements and reductions, New Granada would gain ‘brazos para el comercio y la industria! Y cuantos

¹³⁵ Pacheco, J.M, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, vol. 1, p. 220.

¹³⁶ *Ibíd.*, p. 32

¹³⁷ González Rubio to *Secretario del Interior*, 7 October 1844, AGN. República. Fondo Curas y Obispos, T. V, folios 303.

dejando esa vida errante se congregarían al gremio de los granadinos para buscar una suerte común y gozar de los bienes que proporciona un gobierno paternal y la felicidad que ofrece el Evangelio a los pueblos que lo profesan y respetan'.¹³⁸

Torroella, the Superior of the Jesuits, took longer than expected to send missionaries in compliance with the decree of May 1845. President Mosquera wrote to him on 30 January 1846, ordering that the missionaries should set off as soon as possible.

Dispone el poder ejecutivo que a la mayor brevedad se pongan en camino con destino del territorio del Caquetá dos o tres misioneros de la Compañía, para que emprendan la obra de reducción de los salvajes empezando por el lado del Mocoa y continuando después de allí en adelante con los del interior del país. Lo digo a su reverencia para su cumplimiento.¹³⁹

In the correspondence of 1845, certain tensions with the civil authorities can be seen in the form in which the Superior exercised authority over his Jesuit colleagues.¹⁴⁰ Whether through lack of experience or failure of diplomacy in dealing with President Mosquera, Torroella took over a year before sending the first three missionaries to Putumayo and Caquetá.¹⁴¹ The hostility of some politicians in the Chamber of Representatives made this more serious. Some insisted that the government should enforce the decree of 1842, and others started to spread the rumour that the Jesuits were in the country illegally. The Superior General, Fr Roothaan, decided to send an official Visitor with full powers to deal with these problems. On 17 January 1847, the Visitor Fr. Manuel Gil arrived in Santa Marta, along with two more Jesuits: Benito Moral and Brother Juan B. Desnosg.¹⁴²

Fr Manuel Gil became the new Superior on 17 May 1847 when Torroella died

¹³⁸ González Rubio to *Secretario del Interior*, 7 October 1844, AGN, República. Fondo Curas y Obispos. T. V, folio 307.

¹³⁹ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia*, vol. 1, p. 122.

¹⁴⁰ ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1000, IV, 1-25, 1845.

¹⁴¹ AHPCSJ, *Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús*, C-92, vol., 2, p. 110.

¹⁴² D. Restrepo. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*. P. 178.

after a long series of illnesses. Cotanilla left this description of Torroella:

Su estatura por ser aunque algo encorvada, y su silencio y seriedad engañaban a primera vista, pues parecía que debía ser de un genio adusto, y de un carácter duro, y sin embargo a poco que se le trataba se le encontraba muy jovial, condescendiente y afable, y dotado de mucha sensibilidad. Sus modales, aunque carecían de la finura verdaderamente cortesana, no eran groseros; eran simples y sin ficción, acompañados de la conveniente reserva, y por lo mismo le debió ser muy penoso el tener que tratar a veces con gentes llenas de disimulación, y que ni se sabía lo que querían.¹⁴³

On 22 June 1846, three Jesuit missionaries departed from Medellín for Putumayo and Caquetá. Frs José Segundo Laínez and Tomás Piquer, and Brother Mariano Plata.

The Correspondence of José Segundo Laínez and his Companions: Missionary Work in Putumayo and Caquetá

Information about the work of the Jesuits in what are today the departments of Putumayo and Caquetá comes in the long and detailed letters of José Segundo Laínez and Tomás Piquer. Laínez describes his first trip from Medellín to Mocoa in three letters, the first two dated 1 January 1847 and the third 19 February.¹⁴⁴

During the trip they received offers of funds from the inhabitants of Cartago, Buga and Pasto, and were asked to found schools in those places. The Jesuits had to refuse these offers, as their destination was the missions in Putumayo and Caquetá.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol.2, p. 110.

¹⁴⁴ These Letters written by Laínez from Putumayo and Caquetá have survived. In them he gives a unique description of the geography, the various ethnic groups, the social customs, the climate, the vegetation and the fauna, and an eloquent description of the richness of the country. There are copies of these letters at the Jesuit Archive in Rome and Bogotá, and also in the Cauca Archive. In 2007 they were published again by Luis Carlos Mantilla. He wrote an introduction, but was unaware of that these letters were published for the first time in the journal *El Día*, and that the historian Rafael Pérez also published them in 1896 in his history. See: *El Día*, Bogotá, 29 de abril de 1847, no. 422 and *El Día*, Bogotá, 2 de mayo de 1847, no. 423, and R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro-América*, vol.1, pp. 127-63. Although according to Mantilla, Laínez lacked some literary skill, he can be ranked with other European explorers for the importance of his observations. See: L. Mantilla, *Crónicas de viaje del jesuita español José Segundo Laínez al Caquetá y al Putumayo en 1847*, *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, no. 837, Bogotá, 2007, p. 326.

¹⁴⁵ Laínez to his Superior, 1 January 1847, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, VI, 1.

From his years as a schoolboy, Laínez had dreamed of the missions in South America, his religious ideal. When he reached Mocoa, his intention was to travel through the vast territory to the Marañón River, Cotanilla writes:

Desde Pasto se dispuso pues el P. Laínez a seguir hasta Mocoa, lugarejo en las montañas donde comenzaba su misión extendiéndose hasta el mismo Marañón. Pensaba fundar un pueblo entre los ríos “Caquetá” y el “Putumayo” el cual podría recibir víveres del “Brasil”; y para esta fundación llevaba dos herreros, dos carpinteros, albañil, sastre, y toda suerte de herramientas. Los indios salvajes los calculaban en unos 80.000. Del pueblecito de Mocoa el P. Laínez escribió al P. Freire con fecha del 17 de febrero de 1847, de vuelta de una expedición de 37 días, y visita que hizo con mil trabajos a catorce tribus de indios.¹⁴⁶

The Jesuit reflects on some aspects of the missions and on the features of the native populations that he had found.¹⁴⁷ First, he welcomes the freedom given by the civil power to the missionaries, referring to the history of the colonial mission entrusted to the order by the Governors of Quito. They were unable to subdue the native tribe of the Cofanes, so:

...hicieron lo que siempre y en casos desesperados solían hacer: pedir misioneros que fueran a atraerlos suavemente a la religión para que después se sometiesen a las competentes autoridades. Una larga experiencia les había enseñado, que un misionero solo con el crucifijo al pecho, sin más armas que su celo y presencia, hacía entre los indios más conquistas, que todos los batallones del Rey juntos.¹⁴⁸

He mentions all the hard work and sacrifices that a missionary had to undergo to obtain good results in the mission. Laínez was aware that their economic resources were scant and that they barely had enough for their own survival, but he was willing to sacrifice his health, his strength and his life for the greater glory of God, for the salvation of the natives and for the happiness of New Granada: ‘I don’t understand how there can be anyone who wishes to come to these countries, if it is not for a noble and sound end, such as gaining souls’. He refers to the methods to be followed for the

¹⁴⁶ AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol.2, p. 63.

¹⁴⁷ F.J. Gómez, ‘Las Misiones del P. José Segundo Laínez, SJ., en el Putumayo (1846-1848)’, in *Mar Oceana*, no. 3, Madrid, 1999, pp. 47-64.

¹⁴⁸ Laínez to his Superior, 1 January 1847, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, VI, 1, 1847, p. 14.

conversion of the native tribes. He turns to the experience accumulated by the early Jesuit missionary Rafael Ferrer, who in the seventeenth century had recommended three principles for the evangelization of the Cofanes:

La primera, nunca hablar de religión a los bárbaros, hasta haberse asegurado de su modo de pensar sobre el particular, y ganándoles las voluntades. La segunda, hacer todo lo posible para que los principales cabecillas o Curacas entre ellos fuesen respetados. Y la tercera, catequizar primero a estos mismos Curacas, porque después ellos fuesen los intérpretes del Padre, y el mejor apoyo de la religión. Con su buen ejemplo, con la exacta observancia de estas tres máximas no menos que con su amable trato y conducta ejemplar consiguió de los Cofanes cuanto quiso.¹⁴⁹

Finally, Laínez refers to the physical and spiritual conditions that a Jesuit had to have in order to work in the missions. Laínez is aware that not every Jesuit is fit to be a missionary among the indians. ‘First, the physical health and strength needed to live in a generally morbid climate, to undertake long journeys by rivers and through humid mountains, lacking even what is necessary to live, is not for everyone: not just by becoming a Jesuit does a young man acquire the hardness of bronze’.¹⁵⁰ Second, the missions require great spiritual strength.

When the first mission in the wilds of Putumayo and Caquetá had been completed in March 1847, Laínez returned to Popayán and then to Bogotá, to give an account of his work to the government and to request a new budget that would ensure the continuity to the missions. To attract the attention of the people and of the civil and religious authorities, he took with him seven natives. In Popayán, ‘...the city received them with great joy, the father was dressed as the great cacique, and so were the illustrious prelate and his brothers, the Jesuits’.¹⁵¹ (See Picture) Mosquera personally invited Laínez to report on his missionary activities. The priest decided not to take the natives to Bogotá; the journey was long and they would be exposed to unaccustomed

¹⁴⁹ *Ibíd.*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 17.

¹⁵¹ AHPCSJ, *Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús*, C-92, vol. 2, p. 63.

diseases.

While Laínez was away in Bogotá his companion Tomás Piquer wrote a detailed description of the apostolic work among the indigenous populations of Mocoa and its surroundings. According to him, the presence of the Jesuits had led to the gradual disappearance of vices that were common among men and women, such as drunkenness. To prevent excesses, the missionaries kept an eye on all the activities of the natives, and the drums that were beaten to summon them for their feasts did not sound without the Jesuits' permission. At first, it had been difficult to assemble the population to listen to explanations of the doctrine, but by the end of the mission, almost every native had attended lessons, and those who did not attend because of illness or any other reason had to ask for permission to be absent. Piquer learnt the language of the natives. He would explain the catechism for 45 minutes, followed by mass, to which all those who had listened to the explanation of the doctrine were expected to come. On Thursdays, they organized processions to pray the rosary in the streets; on Saturdays, they recited a 'Hail Mary' before the mass, and on Sundays, after the doctrinal lessons, came a sermon and a reading with its explanation. The Jesuits also used Sunday to visit the sick and to inspect public works: Part of his letter reads:

Hago esta explicación de doctrina para todos, los jueves y domingos, y los demás días a los niños, de los cuales algunos pasan ya de 18 años. 158 adultos y 60 niños han aprendido no solo lo necesario para salvarse, sino también todo lo que se necesita para recibir con buenas disposiciones los Santos Sacramentos. En efecto ya los voy confesando y disponiendo para la comunión: ayer comulgaron 15 indias y un indio, para el domingo próximo tengo ya preparados otros 19. Así sucesivamente los iré confesando todos, pues ya puedo hacerlo en Inca, y remito a V.R. adjunto un formulario que he compuesto en esta lengua, que podrá servir a los que vinieren aquí de nuevo. Antes se quedaban sin oír misa, no teniendo cuidado de traer a bautizar los niños; y la confesión les repugnaba mucho por la indigna conducta de algunos misioneros traficantes; ahora me basta una indicación, y vienen a confesarse con el mayor gusto; traen los niños recién nacidos a recibir el Santo Bautismo y ninguno se excusa de venir a la Iglesia los días festivos para oír la Santa Misa y asistir a los oficios divinos. Nuestros indios e indias han dejado

las chaquiras y solo se les ve al cuello rosarios apostados.¹⁵²

The letter ends with a description of the Holy Week celebrations for that year. Piquer mentions the help he received in decorating the chapel for the celebrations, and the choruses he organized for the processions with the image of the *Ecce Homo*: he was impressed by the participation of the indians during Holy Week, and he expected continued success as long as more missionaries were sent. The territory was vast and its population spread across the region. Piquer was confident that Laínez would return with more Jesuits, and he built three new rooms in bamboo for them.¹⁵³

Laínez reported to Mosquera on the missions, and was back in Popayán by 22 June 1847, ready to start again for Mocoa. In Popayán he was officially appointed parish priest of the tribes he discovered. A new law was passed which committed the government to paying a salary to the missionaries. From Mocoa, on 21 September he sent reports to his Superior, and then journeyed further in search of other native groups that could be evangelized. He reached the Marañón River and some communities in Brazil from whom he obtained supplies. His health however suffered, and he acknowledged that he had been left ‘disabled forever’.¹⁵⁴ He died in the jungle of Putumayo on 27 June 1848. His missionary companions, in Popayán did not hear of his death until August.

Failure of the Missions in Putumayo and Caquetá

There were two fundamental reasons for the subsequent failure of the missions. The first is to be found in the debates that took place in Congress in 1848 about the possible illegality of the Jesuit presence, and their residence in the main cities of the

¹⁵² Piquer to his Superior, 9 August 1847, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. Col 1001, IV, 42.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁴ AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol. 2, p. 128.

country.¹⁵⁵ The debate ended with a vote in favour of national missionaries, excluding all foreigners. This was a deadly blow for the Spanish Jesuits.¹⁵⁶

The second reason for the failure was the premature death of the missionary José Segundo Laínez. During his second expedition to Putumayo he had travelled for 93 days through new territories, and when his provisions run low, he suffered great hardship and fell fatally ill with dropsy. From his year-long experience in the jungles of Putumayo, he wrote a detailed report to Manuel Gil. He described the extent of the mission, the character of the tribes, the difficulties and obstacles that missionaries would find and their possible solutions and, finally, the climate. The extent of the mission covered eight settlements already Christianized on the banks of the Putumayo River, from its confluence with the San Juan and its juncture with the Marañón.¹⁵⁷ The report included a project for extending the missions along the banks of the Caquetá. On the character of the natives, he concluded that ‘those conquered, as much as the those still left to conquer, are, generally speaking, peaceful and of a good nature’. The activities of the natives he list as hunting, fishing and colleting beeswax, which they sold.

Laínez encountered many difficulties. The first was the lack of roads. The trips had to be made in small canoes that easily overturned in the strong currents of the rivers. Secondly, there was the lack of resources for their sustenance.

Debemos vivir de la caza y de la pesca, y esto según que los indios quieren auxiliarnos con sus regalitos; porque nosotros poco o nada podemos dedicarnos a esas cosas, ocupados en instruir a los indios. Por el decreto del 10 de junio de 1847, se nos permite que podamos cultivar

¹⁵⁵ In 1849, President Tomas Cipriano de Mosquera argued in his final report to Congress that he had stopped supporting the Missions because of the lack of public funds. He emphasized that: ‘El Poder Ejecutivo durante el periodo constitucional ha cumplido las disposiciones legales sobre misiones, y el resultado de las de Mocoa era lisonjero hasta la muerte del misionero principal que había sido destinado a aquellas comarcas. Por falta de recursos no ha podido el Gobierno dar una más decidida protección a aquella empresa. El interés que tienen los cristianos en la propagación de la moral evangélica, unido al que tiene la Nación de civilizar aquellos vastos y ricos territorios, es grande para que el Congreso acuerde una ley sobre las bases que dejo indicadas, y los resultados serán de la mayor importancia’. See: T.C. de Mosquera, *Mensaje del Presidente al Congreso de 1849*, Bogotá, 1849, p. 6.

¹⁵⁶ J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol.2, 1845-1854, Bogotá, 1963, p. 62.

¹⁵⁷ Laínez to Gil, 20 October 1847, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, VI, 52.

algún pedazo de terreno para aprovecharnos del usufructo; pero no quiere que adquiramos propiedad alguna como cosa nuestra¹⁵⁸

In third place, there was the difficulty of communication among the missionaries, and between them and their superiors. Laínez recommended that missions only be undertaken by ‘padres y hermanos de mucha virtud, amantes de la soledad, bien instruidos en la vía de la santidad y en las cosas espirituales, pero de un modo que puedan ellos animarse por sí mismos en las penas, resolverse las dudas, vencer las dificultades a su costa, etc’. The fourth difficulty came from the language: although he spoke the Inga language, no grammars or text for its study had yet been written. In fifth place, the missionaries were too few for such a vast region. Sixth, the Jesuits lacked sufficient autonomy and authority in the region. There was a Prefecture in Mocoa responsible for the missions, and a *corregidor* acted as mayor on each great river. All these officially and their decrees hindered the work of the missionaries.

Laínez foresaw that sooner or later the missions would fail because, despite the government decrees that protected them: the laws were not clearly enforced, and hostility against the Jesuits from some members of Congress was growing. For Laínez:

El único objetivo que se proponía el gobierno con las misiones no era la salvación de las almas sino el que le abramos caminos, le ganemos indios, le formemos poblaciones, le descubramos las riquezas que encierran estos países, etc. Mil razones tengo para decir esto. Difícilmente, pues, podremos echar raíces en las Misiones ni hacer cosa de provecho, no pudiendo obrar con libertad ni con seguridad. Faltos de protección y rodeados de decretos hostiles, sin contar con los que irán saliendo, y con los vaivenes de la Compañía en toda la República.¹⁵⁹

He politely requested the Superior to make the missions known among his Spanish compatriots scattered around Italy and Belgium so that they would be encouraged to come and help. He likewise hoped for missionary vocations among the young men in the seminary schools in Bogotá and Popayán, and in the San José school

¹⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

in Medellín.

On 2 February 1850 the mortal remains of Laínez arrived in Pasto. The appreciation and admiration for this missionary was such that, in a gesture of gratitude, the bells of all the churches sounded; the religious communities, the vicar, the clergy, the Governor and many inhabitants paid tribute to the dead Jesuit. A procession with candles and hymns was organized to bid a last farewell to him in the city's main church.¹⁶⁰

The Residence in Pasto

After the death of Laínez the Superior Fr Gil asked his two companions to move to Pasto to found a residence there. This functioned from 1848 until 8 June 1850, when the Jesuits were forced to leave.

Grief and anger followed the government's decree of expulsion. One citizen wrote that on the day of the expulsion between 800 and 1000 women gathered around the Jesuit residence with weeping and mourning that saddened the whole city. Some leading citizens went to calm and disperse the weeping women, others went to the prison to subdue the rebellious prisoners, and others to the barracks to support the authorities. On 7 June, in the afternoon, Father Blas preached a sermon, disapproving of any rebellion and calling for obedience, and respect for the expulsion decree. Despite this, the decree was denounced as despotic and scandalous. Many were willing to defend the Jesuits, but they were persuaded by the leaders of the manifestation to maintain order. They were promised that legal resources to counter such a measure would be used. The province finally remained calm. According to letter written by Vicente Cárdenas in 1850:

¹⁶⁰ Blass to Gil, 5 February 1850, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, IX, 7.

Los jesuitas eran aquí universalmente respetados y queridos; todos lloran su ausencia, y ya puede usted imaginarse cuanta será la indignación de los pastusos en esta vez; sin embargo han reprimido su despecho, esperando que los granadinos se unirán en masa para restituir a la ley su perdido imperio.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹J.E. Caro, *Epistolario*, Bogotá, 1953, pp. 418-20.



Photograph of Portrait of José Segundo Láinez, J. P. Missionary of the Society of Jesus in Caquetá. Museum Juan Lorenzo Lucero. Pasto-Colombia.

Chapter II

The Jesuits and their Relations with the Secular Clergy and the Regular Clergy

Twenty years after the Independence of Colombia, the Church clearly needed new members. However Colombian historiography lacks systematic studies of the situation in which the secular and regular clergy found themselves before, during and after Independence. Some investigations show the part played by bishops and secular clerics in the process of Independence, but analyses of the role of the regular clergy are almost non-existent. Moreover, the few that do exist are dedicated to the study of particular cases –the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Augustinians, the Augustinian Recollects and the order of San Juan de Dios– and omit any general analysis of the situation.¹ This deficiency has generated a gap in ecclesiastical history and prevented a thorough understanding of the positions adopted by the hierarchy, and by the secular and regular clergy, in relation to the new republic. In the following section, we will first examine the situation to the Jesuits in the general context of the state the Church. The second section will study

¹ For the Dominicans see: A. Ariza, *Los Dominicos en Colombia*, 2 vols. Bogotá, 1993; A. Mesanza, *Apuntes y Documentos sobre la Orden Dominicana en Colombia, 1680-1930*, Caracas, 1936. B. García Saavedra, *El hijo de la Providencia*, Bogotá, 1973. For the Franciscans see: L.C. Mantilla, *Los Franciscanos en la Independencia de Colombia*, Bogotá, 1995; *Cali y su Convento de San Francisco documentos inéditos: Homenaje de los Franciscanos de Colombia a Cali en sus 450 años*, Bogotá, 1986. *Los Franciscanos en Colombia*, 3 vols., Bogotá, 1984. Gobernación de Cundinamarca, *La Conmemoración del Cuarto Centenario de los Franciscanos en Colombia, 1550-1950*, Bogotá, 1953. For the Augustinians see: J. Pérez Gómez, *Provincia Agustiniense de Nuestra Señora de Gracia en Colombia: Ocaso y Restauración*, 3 vols., Bogotá, 1993. For the Augustinians Recoletos: S. Matute, *Los Padres Candelarios en Colombia o Apuntes para la Historia*, Bogotá, 1900. M. Ganuza, *Monografía de las Misiones Vivas de Agustinos Recoletos (Candelarios) en Colombia Siglo XVII-XX*, 3 vols., Bogotá, 1921; R. Buitrago Trujillo, *Memorias Biográficas de la Provincia de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de la Orden de Recoletos de San Agustín 1663-1963*, Bogotá, 1965; E. Ayape de San Agustín, *Fundaciones y Noticias de la Provincia de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*, Bogotá, 1950. For the Brothers of San Juan de Dios, see: B. Agudelo, *Los Hijos de San Juan de Dios en Nueva Granada*, 5 vols., Bogotá, 1983. C. López Vargas, *Cuatrocientos años de hospitalidad. La Orden hospitalaria en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1997.

the relations between the Jesuits and the Archbishop, and also with the Bishops of Santafé de Antioquia and Popayán.

The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy after Independence

The Church suffered in the wars of Independence. Many priests had been forced to abandon their ministry during the war or after it, and in some places the sees remained vacant for several years.² During the wars a significant number of bishops had favoured the monarchy.³ With the exception of Quito and Caracas, they did not favour Independence.⁴ According to Tisnés, ‘most of the bishops three quarter of them being Spaniards in 1810 opposed almost by necessity the libertarian movements, and when the circumstances were adverse and the republicans triumphed, many chose to quit or to emigrate, where they were not forced to do so by the patriotic governments’.⁵ In general, it was the capitular clerics and those working in parishes, as well as those who held small dignities, who played a significant role in the process of Independence.⁶ These intervened in various ways with ‘their writings, manifestos, sermons, public prayers, journals and very abundant newsletters’.⁷

In the case of Colombia, the ecclesiastical institution consisted of an archbishopric and three bishoprics. Juan Bautista de Sacristán had been appointed to the archbishopric of Santafé. He arrived in the city in 1810, but he did not recognize the new republican government and was forced to leave. He managed to assume office in

² R. Vargas, *El Episcopado en los tiempos de la emancipación sudamericana*, Buenos Aires, 1945.

³ P. Leturia, *Relaciones entre la Santa Sede e Hispanoamérica*, vol. 2, *Época de Bolívar*, Roma, 1959, pp. 4-14.

⁴ R.M. Martínez de Codes, *La Iglesia Católica en la América Independiente. Siglo XIX*, Madrid, 1992, pp.59-148, and G. Figuera, *La Iglesia y su doctrina en la Independencia de América*, Caracas, 1960, pp. 23-52.

⁵ R. M. Tisnés, *Historia Extensa de Colombia*, vol., 4. *El Clero y la Independencia en Santafé 1810-1815*, Bogotá, 1971, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁷ J.I. Saranyana, *Teología en América Latina. De las guerras de Independencia hasta finales del siglo XIX, 1810-1899*, Madrid, 2008, p. 230.

1816, but died in February of the following year. The see remained vacant until 19 July 1827, when Bishop Fernando Caicedo y Flórez took office; he lived until 17 February 1832. Caicedo y Flórez became known as the *prócer* Archbishop, as he fervently supported Independence. He was the first republican Archbishop.⁸

In Cartagena, Fray Custodio Díaz Merino occupied the see from 1809 until 1812, when he was expelled for being a royalist. Another royalist eventually succeeded him, Fray Gregorio José Rodríguez Basiliano, from 1816 to 1820. The see was then vacant for twelve years, until Juan Fernández de Sotomayor Picón took office in 1832. Known as the ‘Priest of Mompox’, he took an active part in the independence process that took place in the Atlantic coastal region and was Bishop until his death in 1849.⁹

Fray Miguel Sánchez Cerrudo occupied the bishopric of Santa Marta until 1810. He was replaced by Fray Manuel Redondo y Gómez, bishop from 1811 to 1817.¹⁰ Antonio Gómez Polanco took charge until 1820. This bishop acknowledged national Independence after the Battle of Boyacá.¹¹

In the Bishopric of Popayán, Salvador Jiménez de Enciso Cobos y Padilla took over the episcopal see on 6 August 1818.¹² When the patriots defeated the Spanish at Boyacá, he excommunicated the victors and those who sympathized with the ideals of the revolution. He took refuge in Pasto, with the small number of Spanish troops who resisted, considering the independence movement merely an insurgency that would pass with time.¹³ However, Simón Bolívar won him over, and his conversion was sealed with a solemn oath made by the Bishop to the new republic on 23 September 1823. After this change of attitude towards the republican government, he remained Bishop until 12

⁸ P.P. Camargo de la Torre, *El Capítulo Metropolitano de Santafé y el Grito de Independencia*, Bogotá, 1959, pp. 155-60.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

¹⁰ L. García Benítez, *Reseña histórica de los obispos que han regentado la diócesis de Santa Marta*. Bogotá, 1953, pp. 302-31.

¹¹ A. Stella, *Episcopologios de las actuales Arquidiócesis y Diócesis Colombianas*, Bogotá, 2002, p. 451.

¹² J. Buenaventura Ortiz, *Historia de la Diócesis de Popayán*, Bogotá, 1945, pp. 369-410.

¹³ G. Cavelier, *Las relaciones entre la Santa Sede y Colombia*, Bogotá, 1989, p.84.

February 1841.¹⁴

Once Independence was accomplished, the new government passed new laws to concerning its relations with the Holy See. In 1824 the first article of its law of 18 July stated that ‘the Republic of Colombia should continue to exercise the right of *Patronato* that the Kings of Spain held in metropolitan churches, cathedrals and parishes in this part of America’. The second article instructed the executive to negotiate a concordat with the Holy See to assure ‘forever and irrevocably this prerogative of the Republic and to prevent future complaints and claims’.¹⁵ When Mgr Cayetano Baluffi arrived in New Granada, his main objective was to find a solution to the problem of the *Patronato* between the Holy See and the Colombian government. However, he relinquished his post in 1840 without having resolved the issue of the *Patronato* and without having established a concordat. The Holy See never acknowledged publicly the prerogatives of the *Patronato* for the new republic. However, it functioned implicitly from 1824 to 1853. In that year, separation between Church and State was established by the new Constitution.¹⁶

After the Wars of Independence, the lack of secular and regular clergy was a constant problem throughout Hispanic America during the first half of the nineteenth century, and New Granada was no exception. As soon as he was appointed Archbishop, Mosquera and the bishops of the two established diocese began to complain about the lack of clergy.

When the War of the *Supremos* ended in 1842, the government was eager, as we have seen to import European missionary priests. The scarcity of secular clergy, the lack of vocations to the religious communities and the poor education of the few clerics

¹⁴ M.A. Bueno y Quijano, *Historia de la Diócesis de Popayán*, Bogotá, 1945, pp. 164-7.

¹⁵ J.P. Restrepo, *La Iglesia y El Estado en Colombia*, Londres, 1885, p. 148.

¹⁶ V. Prieto, ‘El Concordato de 1973 y la evolución del derecho Eclesiástico colombiano. Situación actual y perspectivas de futuro’. *Revista General de Derecho Canónico y Derecho Eclesiástico del Estado*. no. 22, Bogotá, 2010, p. 3.

that remained in New Granada were all too apparent.

Against this general background, the aim of this chapter of my thesis is to examine two aspects: the first concerns relations between the Holy See and the Colombian Government and the situation of the regular and secular clergy between 1835 and 1861; the second involves explaining further the reasons that led Colombian prelates and an important number of laymen to invite the Jesuits to collaborate in the education of the young in four of the main cities of New Granada, Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán and Pasto.

The Relations between the Holy See and the Colombian Government from 1835 to 1861

Both Bolívar and Santander maintained a policy of close friendship between Church and State. This was intended to gain the support of the clergy for the new republican governments. Both statesmen managed to obtain the collaboration of the bishops and the clergy in the establishment of the Republic. Congress from 1831 expected the executive branch to establish regular relations with the Holy See through a concordat. This, however, was not possible because of the legalistic policy of Popes Pius VII, Leo XII and Pius VIII, and the hesitation of the Roman Curia in recognizing the new nations. Congress wanted to keep the *Patronato* by which Congress would appoint the bishops, who would then received subsequent approval of the Holy See.¹⁷

Pope Gregory XVI recognized the Republic of New Granada on 16 November 1835, and named the first apostolic delegate, Mgr Cayetano Baluffi, for the republics of Spanish America and New Granada.¹⁸ This progress was made possible thanks to Ignacio Sánchez de Tejada, sent by Bolívar in 1823 to negotiate the recognition by

¹⁷ G. Cavelier, *Las relaciones entre la Santa Sede y Colombia*, Bogotá, 1989, p. 197.

¹⁸ A. López, *Gregorio XVI y la reorganización de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica*, pp. 353-4.

Rome of the new States.¹⁹ Sánchez de Tejada was born in Socorro, in 1764 and had been a student at the *Colegio Mayor del Rosario* in Bogotá. Although a layman, his training included Theology, Latin and Canon Law, as was also the case for the previous representatives of *Gran Colombia* before the Vatican, Peñalver y Vergara, Zea, Echeverría, and Gutiérrez Moreno.²⁰

Elected in 1833, Pope Gregory XVI wanted to recognize the new republics but he feared the young states lacked ‘sufficient political and religious stability’. From his appointment in 1823, Sánchez de Tejada showed great tenacity and patience; fourteen years passed before the Holy See officially recognized the Republic of New Granada.²¹ The Vatican acted with extreme caution in recognizing the new Republic of Colombia, as this step would mean recognizing all the new republics and formulating a general policy towards them. The Holy See now set up apostolic delegations and nunciatures throughout the continent.²² At the same time, the Church had to attempt to remedy the deplorable lack of bishops, the decline of the religious orders and the abandonment of the missions.²³ According to reports received by the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Holy See,

Out of the 39 dioceses and archdioceses (and an apostolic vicariate) that covered that immense territory, only 9 had their own bishops, out of which one was in a severe state of dementia (the Bishop of Asunción, Paraguay), 21 dioceses were vacant (three of these were served by apostolic vicars: the dioceses of Buenos Aires, Córdoba and Santiago de Chile) and the other 9 did not have their pastors present because they were in exile.²⁴

¹⁹ *Ibíd.*, pp. 353-4.

²⁰ P. Leturia, *Relaciones entre la Santa Sede e Hispanoamérica*, vol. 3, *Apéndices, Documentos, Índices*, Caracas, 1959, p. 302, and Y. G. Cavelier, *Las relaciones entre la Santa Sede y Colombia*, Bogotá, 1989, pp. 118-61.

²¹ *Ibíd.*, pp. 302-3.

²² *Ibíd.*, p. 305.

²³ A. López, *Gregorio XVI y la reorganización de la Iglesia hispanoamericana. El paso del régimen de patronato a la misión como responsabilidad directa de la Santa Sede*, Roma, 2004, p. 309.

²⁴ A. López, *Gregorio XVI*, p. 310, and R. Vargas, *El episcopado en tiempos de la emancipación*, Buenos Aires, 1945.

Mgr. Baluffi arrived in Bogotá on 18 March 1837. His appointment to the capital of the country was intended to make this city the centre from which papal instructions would be delivered, and diplomatic and pastoral relations coordinated with the other Hispanic American nations.²⁵ However, these arrangements soon failed, in part from the lack of means of communication between Bogotá and the other capital cities. Baluffi stayed until June 1842. President Herrán praised Pope Gregory for his recognition of the independence of New Granada, and also for sending an Apostolic Delegate who was a worthy representative of the Holy See.²⁶

The beginning of Baluffi's stay was marked by profound disagreements with Archbishop Mosquera, which originated with the foundation of the *Sociedad Católica* by Ignacio Morales and various other laymen. The *Sociedad* was noted for fundamentalist religious convictions, and it had the backing of the Apostolic Delegate and the Dominican friars. Morales's motives for founding the society were not clear to the Archbishop, and it did not receive his support.²⁷ According to Restrepo Posada, the goals of the society 'were merely political and electoral, and the Archbishop, the only person entitled to direct Catholics in this area, not only did not approve of it, but strongly disapproved'.²⁸ The followers of Santander asked the government to abolish the Catholic Society, but when they failed to get their way decided to found their own *Sociedad Democrática*. The disputes between these two associations complicated the life of the Archbishop, and he was the object of attacks from the pulpit and the popular paper *El Tempanador*.²⁹ The aim of the society was to promote candidates in the

²⁵ A.M. Pinilla Cote, *Del Vaticano a la Nueva Granada, La Internunciatura de Monseñor Cayetano Baluffi en Bogotá, 1837- 1842. Primera en Hispanoamérica*, Bogotá, 1998. pp. 95-111.

²⁶ *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá, 25 de junio de 1842.

²⁷ L.C. Mantilla, *Mitra y Sable: Correspondencia del arzobispo Manuel José Mosquera con su hermano el general Tomás Cipriano, 1817-1853*, Bogotá, 2004, p. 242.

²⁸ J. Restrepo Posada, *Arquidiócesis de Bogotá. Datos biográficos de sus preladados, 1823-1868*, vol. 2, Bogotá, 1963, p.112.

²⁹ J. M. Pacheco, 'Monseñor Manuel José Mosquera', *Revista Javeriana*, Bogotá, mayo de 1946, no. 124, p. 220.

elections to Congress.³⁰ Baluffi took the side of the Católica and criticised Mosquera in his correspondence with the Pope: in one of his pastoral letters dealing with canonical studies, the Archbishop had failed to reject regalist authors, and other works condemned by the Church.³¹ Later, Baluffi was to change his opinion of the Archbishop Mosquera, converted by the firmness with which he defended the rights of the Church against the regalist policies of President López.³²

Mgr Lorenzo Barili, the Apostolic Delegate who succeed Baluffi, arrived in the country in September 1851. His arrival took place in an atmosphere of tension between President López and the Archbishop. The government had expelled the Jesuits a year earlier, and it had also expropriated the Seminary, incorporating it with all its income and assets with the *Colegio Nacional de San Bartolomé*. The Provincial Chamber had abolished tithes and stole rights, and Governor, Francisco Useche of Mariquita had gone so far as to regulate primary and secondary education in his province prohibiting the use in schools of the *Catechism* of the Jesuit Father Astete.³³ Finally, another hostile project, the law of 14 May 1851, abolished all ecclesiastical privileges and claimed control of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This law was aimed directly against the Archbishop and the bishops. It subjected clerics to the Supreme Court in cases involving poor exercise of their functions, or common felonies that involved punishment by laws of the Republic. Furthermore, the government rejected the papal brief of Pope Gregory XVI, *Cum in sublimi* of 19 May 1835, that gave the Archbishop rights of visitation and reform over the convents and establishments of the religious

³⁰ J. Restrepo, *Arquidiócesis de Bogotá. Datos biográficos de sus prelados*, vol. 2, p. 112.

³¹ M. Arboleda Llorente. *Vida del Ilustrísimo Señor Manuel José Mosquera*, vol. 1, Bogotá, 1956, p. 128.

³² M.M. Mosquera, ed. *Documentos para la biografía del Ilustrísimo Señor D. Manuel José Mosquera*, vol. 3, Paris, 1858, pp. 581-2.

³³ M.M. Mosquera, ed. *Documentos para la biografía del Ilustrísimo Señor D. Manuel José Mosquera*, vol. 2, Paris, 1858, pp. 339-94. Y J.M. Arboleda Llorente. *Vida del Ilustrísimo Señor Manuel José Mosquera*, vol. 1, p. 224.

orders that existed in the country.³⁴ Faced with these regalist interventions by the López administration, the Archbishop protested to the executive and to Congress that the only persons entitled to make such changes in ecclesiastical affairs was the Pope himself or his representatives, the bishops. No attention was paid to his arguments, which led to the radicalization of positions on both sides, and eventually ended in the Archbishop's trial and expulsion from the country.

Mgr Miecislao Ledochowski succeeded Lorenzo Barili at the end of January of 1857. He came as a 'representative' of the Pope, as the Constitution of 1853 had by then separated the Church from the State. He remained in the country until his expulsion was decreed by Mosquera on 18 July 1861.³⁵

Situation of the Secular and Regular Clergy between 1810 and 1861

The return of the Jesuits should be seen in the light of the situation of the secular and regular clergy in New Granada, and an overview is needed of the New Granada Church from the beginning of Independence. In 1810 the secular clergy in Columbia was distributed administratively between an Archbishopric in Bogotá with 535 secular priests and 532 regulars, and three bishoprics, where the clergy were distributed as follows: the Bishopric of Cartagena had 184 secular priests and 45 regulars; the Bishopric of Santa Marta had 79 secular priests and 2 regulars; and the Bishopric of Popayán had 290 secular priests and 64 regulars. In total, there were 1088 members of the secular clergy and 603 regulars.³⁶ (See Chart No. 1).

³⁴ A. Toro, *Gregorio XVI y la reorganización de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica*, p. 336.

³⁵ L. C. Mantilla, *La guerra Religiosa de Mosquera o la Lucha contra el poder temporal de la Iglesia en Colombia*, p. 169.

³⁶ R. M. Tisnés, *Historia Extensa de Colombia. El Clero y la Independencia en Santafé 1810-1815*, vol. 4, Bogotá, 1971, p. 63.

Situation of the Secular and the Regular Clergy in Colombia during the First Years of the Revolution.

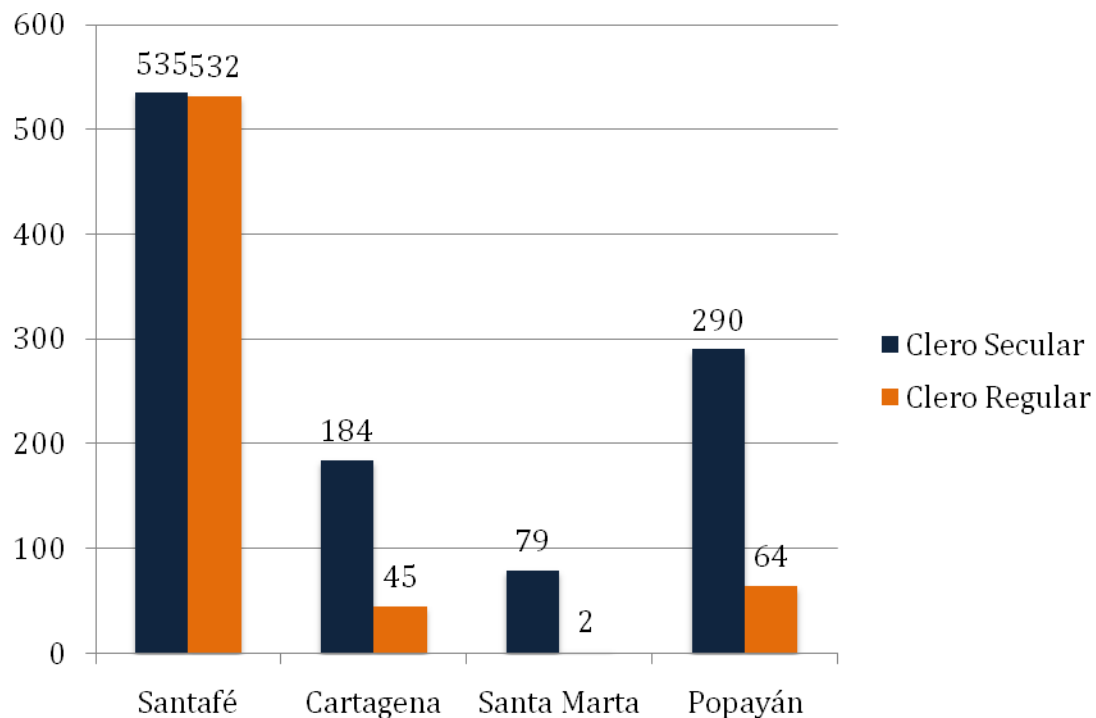


Chart No. 1. Source: R. M. Tisnés, *Historia Extensa de Colombia T. IV. El clero y la independencia en Santafé 1810-1815*, Bogotá, 1971, p. 63.

According to the first population census organized in the new republic in 1825, these 1.691 priests, who included the secular priests as well as those who were members of religious orders, served a population of 1,229,259 inhabitants.³⁷ Thus for every Catholic priest, there were approximately 726 inhabitants.

In 1848 the diocesan clergy in New Granada was distributed as follows: in the Archbishopric in Bogotá, 682 secular priests and 261 regulars; in the Bishopric of Cartagena, 55 secular priests and 1 regular; in that of Santa Marta, 101 secular priests; while the Bishopric of Popayán had 312 secular priests and 82 regulars. Between 1810

³⁷ M. Urrutia y M. Arrubla, *Compendio de Estadísticas históricas de Colombia*, Bogotá, 1970, p. 14.

and 1848, two new bishoprics were erected.

The Bishopric of Antioquia was founded in 1804 by Pope Pius VII, with the cathedral see in Santafé de Antioquia; it had 143 secular priests and 8 regulars. The Dominican friar, Mariano Garnica y Dorjuela, was chosen as its first bishop, but he was only able to take office twenty-five years later, in 1829. Fray Mariano's work focused on the establishment and regulation of the cathedral chapter and the appointment of the first Canons and dignitaries.³⁸ He died in 1833, and the see was then occupied by Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata, and it was he who urged the Jesuits to accept responsibility for the Seminary in Santafé de Antioquia.

The other new diocese was that of Pamplona, which had 90 secular priests. It was set up at the request made of Congress to the Holy See in 1834:

As an expression of the benignity with which the Holy See begins to look at the new government of New Granada, Pope Gregory XVI receives benignly the petition from the government of Colombia and erects the diocese with the bull *Coelestem Agricolam* of 25 September 1835.³⁹

According to the Congress archive there were in total 1,393 members of the secular clergy and 352 regulars in 1848.⁴⁰ Most of these were located in Bogotá, followed by Popayán and Antioquia.

In the dioceses of Santa Marta and Pamplona there were no members of religious orders. One can see a significant drop in the number of regular clergy in New Granada when compared to the year 1810 (See Chart No. 2).

³⁸ U. Ramírez, *Historia de la Diócesis de Medellín, Primera parte 1868-1886*, Medellín, 1922, p. 4.

³⁹ H. Rico, 'La Gran diócesis de Pamplona, 172 años', <http://www.arquipamplona.org/contenidos/historia.htm> [accessed 16 March 2011] (para. 5 of 13).

⁴⁰ Archivo del Congreso. (AHC) República de Colombia. Memorias de los Secretarios al Congreso, 1849, T. 510-II. Folio 53.

Situation of the Secular and Regular Clergy in New Granada in 1848

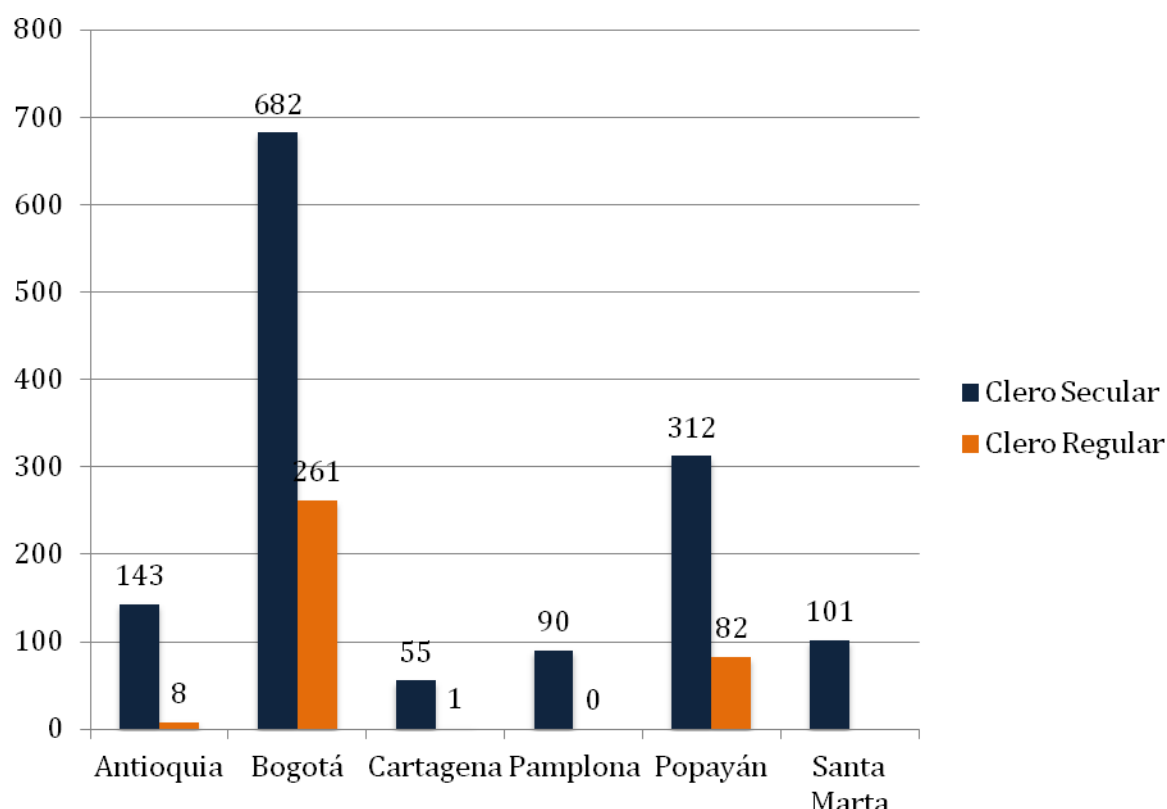


Chart No. 2. Source: Archives of the Congress of the Republic of Colombia. Memoranda of the Secretaries of Congress, 1849, T. 510-II. Folio 53.

According to the fourth population census, carried out between January and March of 1851, there were a total of 2,243,730 inhabitants in New Granada. The number of secular and regular clerics came to 1,745 in 1848. Thus for every Catholic priest, there were approximately 1,285 inhabitants in contrast with the 726 estimated for 1825.⁴¹ According to Ortiz, this census was incomplete, as were all government measures undertaken at the time. The population was scattered over 186,250 sq. kilometers, and most of it was rural.⁴²

According to the historian Mantilla, a small proportion the population of the

⁴¹ M. Urrutia y M. Arrubla, *Compendio de Estadísticas históricas de Colombia*, p. 15.

⁴² J.F. Ortiz, *Reminiscencias de don Juan Francisco Ortiz*, Bogotá, 1914, pp. 398-9.

country might be considered educated Liberal and Conservative laymen. This elite had received some academic education, as can be seen in the polemical publications around the Catholic religion. They were well informed about publications in Europe, which they cited in the many journals of the time. The large majority of the population was illiterate and was thought to be easily influenced by its pastors.⁴³ Camacho Roldán describes New Granada a rural and illiterate country, where the majority of the people were easily swayed by the civil and religious authorities.⁴⁴ The historian José Manuel Restrepo, a moderate Catholic, confirms this in his description of ‘Gran Colombia’:

El clero secular y regular tenía mucho influjo sobre los habitantes, a quienes dominaba por medio de sus conciencias: este influjo era grande en la capitanía general de Venezuela, mayor en Santafé, y en las provincias de la Nueva Granada propiamente dicha, y excesivo en las que componían la presidencia de Quito. Parece que se aumentaba cuanto eran menores las comunicaciones de los pueblos con los extranjeros.⁴⁵

Situation of the Religious Orders in New Granada from 1810 to 1861

During this period, the male religious orders resident in the territory of New Granada were friars: the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Augustinians, the Augustinians Recollect, and the order of the brothers of San Juan de Dios –last named left in the 1835 and did not return until 1911, but it seems that some members remained in the country, since five priests and seven lay brothers of the order of San Juan de Dios are mentioned by the Archbishop in 1846. There were also five female religious orders: Santa Clara, De la Concepción, Santa Inés, del Carmen and de la Enseñanza. These nuns led an enclosed life of prayer in their convents, and had little communication with the outside world. Their total numbers were 207 professed nuns, 12 novices and 14 lay

⁴³ L.C. Mantilla, *La guerra religiosa de Mosquera*, Bogotá, 2010, p.42.

⁴⁴ S. Camacho, *Memorias*, vol. 2, Bogotá, 1946, pp. 125-130.

⁴⁵ J. M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Revolución de la República de Colombia*, vol. 1, Medellín, 1969, p. 42. The religious habits of the majority of citizens of New Granada were merely a series of habitual devotional practices. ‘Confesar y comulgar anualmente, oír misa y rezar el rosario todos los días, hacer novenas y peregrinaciones a visitar las imágenes que se veneraban en algunos santuarios célebres; he aquí las obras del culto externo que los pueblos creían más agradable al Ser Supremo’.

women.⁴⁶

The Dominicans under the colony exerted much influence through the Colegio del Rosario and the Universidad de Santo Tomás in Bogotá. In 1810 they numbered in all 160, including priests, choristers, novices, laymen and tertiaries. A significant number of them adhered to the royalist cause, and from 1816 to 1819 many Dominicans supported the restored Viceroy, Juan Sámano. After 1820, they least nominally accepted independence.⁴⁷ In 1815, the Dominicans had donated jewels from the Sanctuary of the Virgin of Chiquinquirá to support the patriotic cause:

Our Lady of the Rosario de Chiquinquirá is prompt to strip off the jewels that decorate her venerable image, provided the Government destines the profit from them to maintain the independence of New Granada and the freedom of its people, thanks to whose piety these ornaments were donated.⁴⁸

In 1842 Dominicans presence was limited to two convents, in Bogotá and Tunja, and two parishes, in Chiquinquirá and Chocontá. There were then 68 priests, a chorister, 6 aspirants and 7 lay brothers, a total of 82 friars.⁴⁹ Three years later, in 1845, the number of Dominicans had dropped to 70 friars.⁵⁰

On 2 July 1851, various Dominican friars, headed by their Provincial Superior Joaquín Gálvez, protested against the laws enacted by the López administration, saying that they undermined the interests of the Catholic Church.⁵¹

Later, under Mosquera's persecution 6 Dominicans acceded to his demands the new law.⁵² The other Dominicans retreated to the Llanos de San Martín, rather than

⁴⁶ AGN. República, Curas y Obispos. T. XXI, 1845, folio 847.

⁴⁷ A. Mesanza, *Apuntes y documentos sobre la Orden Dominicana en Colombia. De 1680 a 1930*. Caracas, 1936, p. 94-5.

⁴⁸ A. Ariza, *Los Dominicos en Colombia*, vol. 2, p. 996.

⁴⁹ *Ibíd.*, p. 1262.

⁵⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 1263.

⁵¹ *Ibíd.*, p. 1266.

⁵² *El Católico*, Bogotá, 28 de junio de 1864, no. 56.

openly submit to his regalist policies.⁵³ This group of Dominicans was composed of 54 fathers, 15 students, 3 brothers and 2 novices.⁵⁴ The situation of the friars changed in 1870, when Archbishop Vicente Arbeláez appointed Buenaventura García as Vicar of the Dominicans. García invited the scattered and exiled friars to return to normal convent life.⁵⁵

The historian of the Order of the Franciscans in Colombia, Luis Carlos Mantilla, has shown in his work the tenacity and idealism with which the Franciscans supported Independence, while at the same time, he emphasized that this historical event marked the beginning of the downfall of this religious order. After Independence, the number of members decreased significantly. However, even before the Independence Movement of 1810, the Franciscan order had few members, and superiors had complained about the increasing number of old and sick friars. The closure of minor convents and the new legislation, that fixed 25 as the minimum age required to enter the novitiate, added to their difficulties. These factors ‘attacked directly the vitality and expansion of the provincial organization and were an immediate cause for the start of the cycle of agony in the province’.⁵⁶

The Augustinians Recollect Friars began work in Colombia in 1604, and from then on increased its apostolic work without major obstacles. However, the Wars of Independence and the laws of the new Republic, deprived the order of its assets, and scattered its members, and took it to the verge of extinction. The order decreased dramatically: 114 friars in 1795, 90 friars in 1822, 40 friars in 1850, and 13 friars in

⁵³ B. García Saavedra, *El Hijo de la Providencia. Autobiografía de Fr. Buenaventura García Saavedra, 1826-1915*, pp. 59-163.

⁵⁴ A. Ariza, *Los Dominicos en Colombia*, vol. 2, p. 1274.

⁵⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 1285

⁵⁶ L.C. Mantilla, *Los Franciscanos en Colombia, 1700-1830*, vol. 3, Bogotá, 2000, pp. 641-2.

1882. This was due in part to the solitary and isolated lifestyle of the friars.⁵⁷

According to Buitrago, a historian of the order, it suffered a steady decrease in vocations from 1810 until 1861. In 1810, communications with Spain and the General Curia were cut off. In 1821 the new Republican government passed a law that minor convents with less than eight priests were to be closed. The order was reduced to the school in Bogotá and the convent in the desert of La Candelaria. According to Buitrago, 'in 1822 the Province had 64 priests, 7 choristers and 19 brothers'.⁵⁸ Eight priests of the order were in charge of the missions that had previously belonged to the Jesuits. These missions were frequently visited.

In 1861, the situation of the order was worsened by the expropriation decrees and the *Ley de Tuición* of Mosquera. The friars of the order were expelled from their convents and their assets confiscated by the State. Those who did not take the oath required by the new laws were forced to leave the country. With this, the Augustinian order was close to disappearing and only a small group kept its spirit alive, thanks to the leadership of Friar Victorino Rocha de San Luis Gonzaga, who guided the order for 28 years.⁵⁹ Between 1810 and 1860, Provincial Chapters were celebrated every four years, until 1860.⁶⁰

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Augustinian friars were organized in the province of *Nuestra Señora de la Gracia*, made up of 120 priests, 26 choristers and 30 brothers.⁶¹ However, the order shrank during and after the Wars of Independence, due to the laws on convents of 1821 and 1826. Various convents closed, including

⁵⁷ Orden Agustinos Recoletos, Provincia de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, <<http://www.agustinosrecoletos.com/estaticos/view/49/104>>, [accessed 16 March 2011] (para. 11 of 32).

⁵⁸ R. Buitrago, *Memorias Biográficas de la Provincia de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de la Orden de Recoletos de San Agustín, Años 1663-1963*, Bogotá, 1965, p. 48.

⁵⁹ *Ibíd.*, p. 18.

⁶⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 33.

⁶¹ Archivo del Convento de San Agustín de Bogotá, Vol. 16, folio 30r, citado in J. Pérez y otros, *Provincia Agustiniana de Nuestra Señora de Gracia en Colombia*, vol. 2, Santafé de Bogotá, 1993, p. 417.

those in Pamplona, Cartagena, Leiva, Mompox, Ocaña and Río de Oro.⁶² The convent in Tunja was returned to the Augustinian friars thanks to an 1828 law promulgated by *Libertador* Bolívar. Some Agustínians supported Independence.

In 1862 the order had been reduced to 35 –25 priests and five choristers, plus two brothers and three fathers.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Hospitaller brothers were organized in the ‘Province of San Bernardo’, that encompassed the territories of what are today Colombia and Panamá. The order administered 15 hospitals and had a total of 100 men. In Spain, the Brothers were persecuted and expropriated in 1835. When Independence was declared in New Granada, the friars also had asserted their independence from the Spanish Superior General, but their hospitals were closing because of the lack of vocations. This led to the extinction of the order in Colombia in 1835.⁶³

The female religious orders in New Granada were contemplatives who did not undertake apostolic work in society. According to the Congress records of 1849, the nuns were distributed in 16 convents that housed a total of 779 persons. This included professed nuns, novices, laywomen, servants and pupils who were interns in these cloisters.⁶⁴ The highest number of nuns were to be found in Bogotá, followed by Popayán and Antioquia.⁶⁵

The lack and decadence of the secular and regular clergy between 1810 and 1861 made possible the return of the Jesuits to the New Granada in 1844 and then later in 1857. The Archbishop and other bishops needed them to instruct and evangelize the

⁶² *Ibíd.*, p. 584.

⁶³ C. López Vargas, *Cuatrocientos años de hospitalidad. La orden hospitalaria en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1997, p. 127-8.

⁶⁴ It is interesting to note that 328 servants and 12 male servants served a population of 313 professed nuns, 21 novices, 22 lay women and 103 girls (a total of 459).

⁶⁵ AHC. República de Colombia. *Memorias de los Secretarios al Congreso*, 1849, T.510-II. Folio 53.

people. Archbishop Mosquera, the historian Restrepo, the delegate apostolic, Mgr Ledochowski, English travelers and contemporary Jesuits all agree in their personal letters and reports that the secular and regular clergy needed to be reformed. In his private correspondence with his brother, Tomás Cipriano, Archbishop Mosquera, in 1835, expressed doubts about the intellectual, ecclesiastical and moral education received by clerics before 1835 and wrote of the need for reform:

Voy ya conociendo a Bogotá y encuentro mucho menos de lo que yo me prometía en cuanto al valor del clero y en otras cosas. Los conventos de frailes son desiertos morales, porque no se halla nada prominente: hasta ahora lo mejor que he visto es el Provincial de Santo Domingo porque siquiera sabe algo de artes y dicen que tampoco está escaso de conocimientos eclesiásticos. Mi cabildo anda casi por el mismo camino, porque aunque sus miembros no son ignorantes, conocen poco el siglo, y son el egoísmo personificado. Francisco Javier Guerra me parece un insigne badulaque, y procuro alejármelo porque es algo más franco de lo que debe ser. El Deán, moribundo como lo hallé, me pareció superior a todo el coro, y que él sólo valía más que todos juntos. Donde encuentro más gente que me agrada, es entre las señoras, pues aunque todavía no he tratado muchas, veo que la finura y aun la decencia es más propia de ellas que de los hombres.⁶⁶

The English travellers, William M. Blackford and Williams Will, wrote on similar lines. In one of his letters in 1843, Blackford, a visitor to the country, described the friars who lived in Bogotá as follows:

...Without exception, the most depraved, licentious and beastly class of society. They do nothing and have nothing to do. Their income is large and they abandon themselves to luxury and all manner of excesses...⁶⁷

In 1860, in one of his letters Williams Wills congratulated General Mosquera because he closed the convents full of useless friars. According to Wills these places

⁶⁶L.C. Mantilla, *Mitra y Sable, Correspondencia del Arzobispo Manuel José Mosquera con su hermano el General Tomás Cipriano, 1817-1853*, Bogotá, 2004, pp. 216-7.

⁶⁷ W.M. Blackford, *Blackford to May B. Blackford, Diary Letter*, Bogotá, July 30/August 4, 1843, Box 2, Blackford Papers, SHC. See J. León Helguera, *The first Mosquera Administration in New Granada, 1845-1849*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, North Caroline, 1958), p. 196. García Moreno, a devout catholic and supporter of the Church and the Jesuits in Ecuador, had the same opinion about the decadence of the clergy in his country. He underlined: '...no estoy porque se aumente el número de de frailes ignorantes, útiles sólo para escándalos y vicios'. See W. Loor, *Cartas de Gabriel García Moreno, 1846-1854*, Quito, 1956, p. 189.

could be transformed into places to entertain the population of Bogotá:

I have just seen your famous decree of 5th of November (Guy Fawkes day) regarding the suppression of convents. I hope you will turn one of their famous 'solares' into a *plaza de toros* because that is almost the only popular amusement, and serves to divert people's minds from politics. You also want a better theatre in Bogotá, Assembly Rooms and a Town Hall.⁶⁸

Even allowing for Protestant prejudice, clearly the Colombian clergy left much to be desired. The same situation was to be found not only in Colombia, but in other countries, such as Ecuador, politicians and religious authorities complained about the clergy, both secular and regular.⁶⁹

In 1858 Mgr Ledochowski wrote to Cardenal Antonelli, Secretary of State in the Vatican, celebrating the return of the Jesuits to Colombia, because according to him the regular clergy in the city of Bogotá were decadent:

Agradable será ciertamente para el Santo Padre y para vuestra Eminencia esta noticia pues siempre es saludable la influencia del clero regular en la sociedad católica y aquí desgraciadamente esta no se hacía sentir hasta ahora a causa de la dolorosa decadencia de todas las otras órdenes religiosas existentes en la República.⁷⁰

The Jesuit, Fr Cotanilla, who arrived in New Granada in 1846 quoted Fr. Joaquín Freire, a fellow Jesuit thought to be more objective in reflecting on the situation of the clergy.

En el clero pocos hijos de familias blancas entran ya; y una gran parte de los otros entran solo por tomar un oficio que les parece más cómodo. No sabe que es vocación ni tienen ejercicios, ni se guardan muchas veces intersticios; es una desolación. Algunos viudos, y aún no pocos, se admiten para que haya quien sirva los curatos. A estos tales les basta un

⁶⁸ M. Deas, *Vida y opiniones de Mr. Williams Wills*, vol. 1, Bogotá, 1996, p. 199.

⁶⁹ For the lack of clergy and their decadence see: 'El Concordato y la Reforma Religiosa' in *Gabriel García Moreno y el Ecuador de su tiempo*, by R. Pattee, México, 1962, pp. 161-98. Upon the reform of the Church in Ecuador Moreno wrote to Mgr. Ignacio Ordóñez Lazo in 1862: 'La reforma es urgentísima, pues ha llegado a su colmo la escandalosa disolución y la bárbara ignorancia del clero ecuatoriano. Yo he tenido que expulsar a un clérigo que en poco tiempo ha seducido a tres muchachas de familias honradas y llevaba como camino de imitar al don Juan de Byron. Las seducciones, *intra confessionem* son muy repetidas y no hay justicia, no hay freno para los disolutos. El clero se envilece y la sociedad se pierde', p. 167.

⁷⁰ Archivo Secreto del Vaticano, (ASV), Segretario Stato, Ep. Moderna, anno 1859, rubrica 251, fasc. 2, fol. 101r-v., in L.C. Mantilla, *La Guerra Religiosa de Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera*, p. 204.

poco de Concilio y de Sárraga para subir al sacerdocio en el cual piensan mantener su familia. El Estado regular está de tal suerte que sería un bien se extinguiese, sino se ha de reformar. Ignorancia crasa en la mayor parte; conducta escandalosa como pocos, y amor al dinero: he aquí los males de que adolece el clero regular y secular. Poco o nada de predicación, poco o nada de asiduidad al confesionario, en donde se cometen no pocos disparates, y por adición un culto malo, indigno o ridículamente servido. Las ciencias se conocen por su nomenclatura, que hace en los planes de estudios para no aprenderse jamás. Sin embargo hay una leve tintura de ellas en los Colegios y Seminarios, tintura que se disipa con la facilidad con que se adquirió. Quedan solo algunos sujetos raros, de instrucción sólida.⁷¹

Given this outline of the situation of the clergy in Colombia between 1810 and 1861 it is easy to understand the expressions of affection, trust and support for the Jesuits from the Archbishop of Bogotá, and the Bishops of Antioquia and Popayán. However, it will be opportune to describe their relationship in detail.

Mgr Manuel José Mosquera, Archbishop of Bogotá and the Jesuits

Manuel José Mosquera was born in Popayán on 1 April 1800.⁷² He began his studies in Popayán but because of the political instability in the south of Colombia, his parents sent him to the Seminary of San Luis de Quito, where he obtained the degree of Doctor in Philosophy. In 1823 he returned to his home city where he was ordained.⁷³ There, he was Vice-Principal and later Principal of the *Universidad del Cauca*. In 1832, Pope Gregory XVI appointed him a domestic prelate assistant to the Papacy. On 27 April 1834, the Congress of the Republic of New Granada, exercising the *Patronato*, asked the Holy See to appoint him Archbishop of Bogotá. In 1835 he was consecrated Archbishop of Santafé de Bogotá, and was to hold office from 1835 to 1853.⁷⁴

When Mosquera arrived at the Archdiocese, he found two problems. The first

⁷¹ AHPCSJ. Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-96, pp. 867-8.

⁷² He died in exile in Marseilles, on 10 December 1853.

⁷³ A.J. Dueñas, *El Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo Señor Doctor Manuel José Mosquera dignísimo Arzobispo de la Arquidiócesis de Santafé de Bogotá, 1800-1853*, Bogotá, 2004, pp. 9-33.

⁷⁴ J. M. Arboleda Llorente, *Vida del Illmo. Sr. Manuel José Mosquera*, Bogotá, 1956, pp. 17-45.

concerned the situation of the clergy. Hence, in the first pastoral letter written to his clergy and to the Catholics in general and outlining his program of government, the Archbishop affirmed that his first goal would be the cultivation of piety and learning among the clergy and the second would be the Christian education of children –those ‘most loved by Jesus, the Church and the Republic’. With this policy the Archbishop hoped to begin to repair the disasters suffered by his country.⁷⁵ To fulfill this plan he developed ‘a program for a more systematic education, for peaceful solutions for national problems, and for the reinforcement of harmonious relations between State and Church’.⁷⁶ In this letter, the prelate presented his view of the situation of the clergy. The Church was not in a good condition, and its future looked even worse, given that the ecclesiastical authorities did not have adequate means to promote the education of young seminarians. The state in which he found the clergy in his archdiocese was daunting. Later on, this clergy was the source of many problems for the prelate. In his private correspondence with his brother, Tomás Cipriano, he complains that the clergy of his archdiocese had no esteem for him and were deaf to his exhortations. The opposition press, and in particular that inspired by José María Obando, claimed that his appointment as Archbishop was the result of intrigues by Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera and his family, thus qualifying the prelate as a tool of his brother.⁷⁷ In one of many letters addressed to one of his closest friends, the Archbishop commented on the life of young people and seminarians:

En San Bartolomé, lejos de formarse clérigos se crían enemigos del clero, imbuidos en los principios de Bentham; y aunque ese colegio es seminario, el arzobispo no tiene influencia para nada; el menos se

⁷⁵ M.M. Mosquera, *Documentos para la biografía*, vol. 1, pp. 33-41.

⁷⁶ T. Horgan, *El arzobispo Manuel José Mosquera. Reformista y Pragmático*, Bogotá, 1977, p.29.

⁷⁷ Manuel Fernández Saavedra published a pamphlet where he argued that Mgr. Mosquera had been appointed as Archbishop though the influence of his brother Tomás Cipriano. He underlined: ‘las intrigas de que se valió el señor Tomás C. Mosquera, que ocupaba el año de 34 un asiento en las Cámaras, para que no el benemérito señor Estéves Obispo de Santamarta, sino su hermano Manuel José, fuese electo, son hoy ya bien sabidas; y que el mismo señor Mosquera contra la ley y la decencia votó por su hermano’. See: M. Fernández Saavedra, *El arzobispo ante la Nación*, Bogotá, 1852, p. 5.

considera dependiente del gobierno, que es quien manda en jefe. ¿Qué podré yo hacer? Sufrir y esperar que Dios disponga otra cosa.⁷⁸

To remedy this situation, Mosquera saw that the only solution was to educate his clerics in a completely new seminary, and on 4 October 1840 after a solemn inauguration, the Seminary of San José was established in a private house. Here the Archbishop intended to educate his clergy strictly according to the teachings of the Church. The seminary 'was to be ruled by the prudent and meticulous statutes that Mgr Mosquera had given it. The prelate intended his seminarians to be cultivated, pious and fully devoted to their education'. The plan of studies that he designed was a complete one: it included Latin, French and English lessons. He structured the plan to include three years of philosophy and complementary studies in mathematics, physics, and general notions of agriculture, cosmography and architecture. Theological studies embraced Dogmatic and Moral Theology, Canon Law, Holy Scripture, Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology. Lectures in the major faculties were given in Latin. The first Principal of this seminary was Doctor Carlos Calvo.⁷⁹

The second problem that Mosquera encountered was the deplorable situation of his flock in general. He expressed his pessimistic vision of the community: 'our society, let's say it with honesty, is sick, and it is so precisely because of the bad education, the lack of Christian education, the subversive doctrines that overcome it like a gangrene'.⁸⁰ The Archbishop was in charge of an immense archdiocese whose territory encompassed the old provinces of Bogotá, Tunja, Socorro, Pamplona, Mariquita and Neiva. The population was calculated to be about one million inhabitants, and they had received the last visit from an Archbishop, Baltasar Jaime

⁷⁸ M. Mosquera, Carta a Rufino Cuervo. *Epistolario*, vol. 1, marzo 13 de 1836, p. 329. See: J.M. Pacheco, 'Monseñor Manuel José Mosquera', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 122, Bogotá, 1946, p. 91.

⁷⁹ *Ibíd.*, p. 94.

⁸⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 96.

Martínez de Compañón, some forty years earlier.⁸¹ To transform this situation, the prelate needed enlightened and virtuous helpers, and with this in mind he had promoted the return of the Jesuits.

According to one of his biographers, it was Mosquera himself who drafted the bill that made possible the return of the Society of Jesus.⁸² The Archbishop published an article in the journal *El Día* in which he showed how the missionary work of the Society had developed, and how the missions among the native populations fell apart as soon as the Jesuits were forced to leave in obedience to the royal decree.⁸³ However, the Archbishop was not alone in wanting to reform education based on Catholic moral teaching. A group of moderate Catholics supported him, among whom was Ignacio Gutiérrez Vergara. He wrote in a letter to Rufino Cuervo:

...y tengo la firme intención aunque pase por retrógrado y ultramontano de hacer cuanto pueda en el Congreso para volver a traer a la Nueva Granada los jesuitas misioneros. Si lo lograre, me parece que Pantaleón podrá vivir en una atmósfera menos contagiosa, aunque no ilustrada como la que respiramos. Yo estoy por lo real y positivo, y por esto entiendo la educación religiosa, única que puede hacer nuestra felicidad aquí, y más allá de aquí. Todo lo demás son dibujos y majaderías que no se echan a la olla. Creo que usted pensará lo mismo con respecto a sus hijos.⁸⁴

Archbishop Mosquera wrote to Cuervo on 11 May 1842 expressing his feelings of joy, and announcing a great celebration of the Jesuits' return that was to be held in Bogotá. He was convinced that with their academic contribution the condition of the clergy would improve substantially, and complained that there were no counterparts among his colleagues with whom he could reform the scanty clergy of New Granada. His optimism is reflected in these words: '...y vamos a ver si en el año entrante tenemos aquí a los jesuitas. ¿No cree usted esto un sueño? Así me parece, y yo he dicho mil

⁸¹ J. M. Arboleda Llorente, *Vida del Illmo. Sr. Manuel Mosquera*, vol. 1, p. 56.

⁸² *Ibíd.*, p. 178.

⁸³ *El Día*, Bogotá, domingo 20 de marzo de 1842, no. 103.

⁸⁴ L.A. Cuervo, *Epistolario del Doctor Rufino Cuervo*, vol. 2, 1841-1842, Bogotá, 1920, pp. 227-8.

veces: *a Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris*. Si los Jesuitas vienen, Dios ha alzado ya su azote'.⁸⁵

As soon as the government of New Granada had decreed the creation of mission schools and residences and chosen the Jesuits for this purpose, Mgr Mosquera had written to the government praising the project. He also wrote a pastoral letter to the faithful, inviting them to contribute alms that would make possible the return of the Jesuits. In his letter to the government, the Archbishop expressed his appreciation for the legislators and for the law that would lead to the evangelization of the natives, and he praised the righteous choice of the Jesuits for this purpose. According to the Archbishop, the Jesuits met all the requirements –zeal, wisdom and Christian virtues– needed to undertake great works for the Colombian people: ‘this is the judgment that the most distinguished men in Europe and America have of them, and experience confirms it day by day’.⁸⁶ This letter was published in preparation for the return, in a collection of articles quoting the opinions of various historians and showing the view of Pope Clement XIII on the Society of Jesus.⁸⁷

With the arrival of the Jesuits in Santa Marta in 1844, Mgr Mosquera was kept informed step by step of their return, and he made all the necessary arrangements to make them feel welcome in every town on their way. He had such confidence in the Jesuits that he gave them at once full ordinary and extraordinary powers to exercise the ministry without any restriction within his Episcopal jurisdiction. He also promised them a solemn procession to their old church of San Ignacio with his congregation, where they would pray for the success of their apostolic work. Mgr Mosquera writes on 22 March 1844:

⁸⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 270-1.

⁸⁶ M.J. Mosquera, *Comunicación del M. R. Arzobispo al Secretario del Despacho del Interior y Relaciones Exteriores*, Bogotá, 1842.

⁸⁷ *Restablecimiento de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada o Colección de piezas relativas a la historia de los Jesuitas y a su restablecimiento*, Bogotá, 1842.

Con indecible placer he recibido la estimada de V. R. de 28 de febrero, que me ha traído la deseada noticia del feliz arribo de los hijos del Grande Ignacio a la Nueva Granada. Sean bienvenidos en el nombre de Jesús, bajo cuya enseña pelean los combates del Señor, y doy a su Majestad mil humildes gracias, porque en medio de tantas tribulaciones como nos rodean se digna consolarnos enviándonos un apostolado. Yo tengo mucha fe en todo lo que dejó escrito Sta. Teresa de Jesús, y ella nos dice, como recibido de Dios, que la Compañía hará grandes cosas en los últimos tiempos. El Rmo. P. General me escribió en el año próximo pasado que enviaría gente escogida, y no dudo que Nuestro Señor ha de haber alumbrado a su Rma., en la elección de los sujetos con que ha formado la Misión de la Nueva Granada.⁸⁸

The Jesuits enjoyed good relations with him from the moment of their arrival until their expulsion from Bogotá. In the correspondence with his brother Manuel María in 1847 and 1850, the Archbishop narrated the trials and tribulations that he and the Jesuits faced due to a proposition of the Chambers in Antioquia and Vélez that aimed to forbid them from teaching the young, and asking for their expulsion from the country. The Archbishop laments ‘the silent war that they are declaring against me, personally, against the Jesuits, against the two Seminaries and against the propagation of the faith. It is a continuous war and it causes me great damage’.⁸⁹ In 1848, he shows his grief for the emergence of new political forces that were increasing in power and that were opposing him and the Society of Jesus. The Archbishop confessed to his brother that he was unpopular with the priests of his archdiocese and that the Vatican representative, Mgr Nicola Savo, had presented poor reports about him to the Pope.⁹⁰ Mosquera asked his brother to keep his letters a secret, particularly those in which he expressed his sadness in the face of a secular and regular clergy that was increasingly politicized and disobedient: given the influence of this clergy over the people, the faithful did not follow his guidelines. He expressed his frustration: ‘I am useless now,

⁸⁸ Monsignor Mosquera to the Jesuits, 22 March 1844, see: R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Nueva Granada y Centro América*, vol. 1, pp. 44-5.

⁸⁹ J.M. Arboleda Llorente, *Vida del Illmo. Señor Manuel José Mosquera*, vol. 2, p. 235.

⁹⁰ Nicola Savo was a nuncio of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. His see was Río de Janeiro. See: A. López, *Gregorio XVI y la reorganización de la Iglesia Hispanoamericana. El paso del régimen de patronato a la misión como responsabilidad directa de la Santa Sede*, p. 355.

and I cannot hope for anything but vicissitudes’.⁹¹

On the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Archbishop urged his congregation to keep calm and accept the decision of the López administration with faith and patience.⁹² However, he suffered much over what he considered an arbitrary expulsion, as he made clear to Father Blas, the former Superior of Pasto who had sought refuge in Ecuador. The welcome offered by the government of the neighbouring country to the Jesuits gave the Archbishop some consolation, but he then wrote: ‘My health has been broken, and although I went to the countryside to recover, gaining some relief, the aches and pains of my heart, that is already materially lacerated, reappeared as soon as I returned. It seems that suffering is what God wants for me’.⁹³

Despite the lack of manpower and the difficulties he had to face, the archdiocese grew significantly under his management. A report sent to Congress on 6 December 1846, shows that the archdiocese had 328 parochial churches, 24 vice parochial churches, 79 private chapels and 30 hermitages. There were 246 parish priests serving these churches. The number of seminarians was significant; 95 were studying Theology and 174 taking the Philosophy courses.⁹⁴

Mgr Fernando Cuero y Caicedo, Bishop of Popayán and the Jesuits

Fernando Cuero y Caicedo, bishop of Popayán, was born in Cali in 1780 and died in Popayán in 1851. He entered the Franciscan convent in 1795 and received his Theology degree from the *Universidad Santo Tomás* in Bogotá. He was recommended by Congress for the Bishopric of Popayán in 1841, and consecrated bishop in Bogotá on 28 September 1842 by Archbishop Mosquera. He served until his death in 1851. He

⁹¹ J.M. Arboleda Llorente, *Vida del Illmo. Señor Manuel José Mosquera*, vol. 2, p. 240.

⁹² M.J. Mosquera, *Documentos para la biografía*, vol. 1, Paris, 1858, pp.199-200.

⁹³ Monsignor Mosquera to Blas, 14 August 1850, AHPCSJ, Estante 2, Caja 68 folio: 137.

⁹⁴ AGN. República. Fondo Curas y Obispos, T. XIX. 1846. Folios 536-9.

and a number of the Franciscan had supported the patriot cause at the time of Independence.⁹⁵ He took part in the battle of Palacé, and afterwards lived a wandering life in hiding from the Spaniards. He was a member of the Constituent Congress of 1815. Bolívar granted him the title of ‘Priest of the Mother Church’ in Cali. He was five times Superior of the Franciscan convent there from 1814 to 1841. Mgr Cuero y Caicedo was known among the people for his humility and his industry in visiting his vast diocese.⁹⁶ The result of this apostolic labour is reflected in his report of 1846. This showed that the secular clergy consisted of 266 priests. The Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Jesuits and Philippians formed the regular clergy: in total, 32 priests, 16 novices and 7 lay brothers. The female religious orders were made up of 58 professed nuns, 2 novices, and 6 laywomen who lived in the monasteries of El Carmen, La Encarnación and La Concepción.⁹⁷

His support for the Jesuits was constant, and manifested on several occasions. The first occurred early on when he was making arrangements with President Mosquera for support of the Seminary. In the past it had educated the most outstanding citizens of Popayán, but it had fallen into decay. With the Jesuits about to establish their mission school in Popayán, he recommended the government to allow them also to undertake responsibility for the Seminary.⁹⁸ When they arrived in Popayán, the Bishop was away from the city on a pastoral visitation. He wrote to express his joy to the Jesuit Superior: ‘If, beloved Father, divine Providence has blessed me with your arrival and that of your worthy companions –in whose virtue and apostolic zeal I place my hopes– the ills of my diocese will be remedied, as I cannot do it alone, although my desire has been

⁹⁵ L.C. Mantilla, *Los franciscanos en la Independencia de Colombia*, Bogotá, 1995.

⁹⁶ G. Arboleda, *Diccionario biográfico y genealógico del antiguo departamento del Cauca*, Bogotá, 1962, pp. 132-33.

⁹⁷ Situation of the Regular Clergy in Popayán, 28 September 1846, AGN. República. Fondo Curas y Obispos, T. V. folio 874.

⁹⁸ AGN. República. Fondo Curas y Obispos. T. XXII, folios 361-4.

great'.⁹⁹

On another occasion, he praised the pastoral care of Father Orbegozo and his preaching of the Spiritual Exercises to the nuns of Popayán. The Bishop was convinced that the monasteries of Popayán needed reform and the nunneries too: they had accepted too many members without proper discernment. He intended to remedy this situation, and insisted that 'the nuns themselves know how greatly I hope for their spiritual wellbeing, for which I have assured them that I will not spare any effort in the reformation and conservation of the monastery. As the majority of the nuns are willing to accept the reform, it does not matter that some of them resist because by force or by agreement they will have to enter through the narrow path that leads to salvation'.¹⁰⁰

On another occasion, the prelate thanked the Assistant of the Superior General for acknowledging what he had done for the missionaries:

Mi amor a los hijos de San Ignacio es inmensurable y mis deseos de favorecerlos los más sinceros y cordiales. Pero mis servicios han sido muy cortos, y aun no merecen tanta gratitud. Sin embargo puede asegurar al padre Asistente que mientras yo sea obispo de Popayán no omitiré medio alguno para sostenerlos y defenderlos de sus gratuitos enemigos, que no son otros sino los impíos y los hombres corrompidos. Mi protección a los Jesuitas es ya un deber y una justa compensación por los importantes servicios que actualmente hacen a mi diócesis, aliviándome en gran parte del numeroso peso del oficio pastoral. He leído con particular gusto la petición que ese buen pueblo ha elevado al presidente a favor de los jesuitas: esta <es> no solo buena sino excelente, y esto será de gran contención a los malvados que han pretendido su expulsión.¹⁰¹

Finally, on the expulsion of the Jesuits, he expressed his desolation and the grief that the decree of 18 May had caused him:

A mi llegada a esta se ha renovado la llaga a mi pecho cuando no he encontrado a mis jesuitas, y cuando he visto desierto mi seminario.

⁹⁹ AHPCSJ. Correspondencia al P. Pablo de Blas, Estante 2, caja 68, Subcarpeta 1a. Carta no. 35.

¹⁰⁰ AHPCSJ. Correspondencia del Obispo Fernando Cuero y Caicedo, Estante 2, Caja 68, Subcarpeta 1ª, carta n. 67.

¹⁰¹ AHPCSJ. Correspondencia del Obispo Fernando Cuero y Caicedo, Estante 2, caja 68. Subcarpeta 1ª, carta no. 98.

Temo que Dios ha castigado a esta Diócesis por los pecados del Prelado que indignamente la gobierna, y esta idea me tiene sumamente abatido. Creo que debo aplacar la justicia divina, y el medio no es otro que reponerme de un destino que no he sabido llevar, y retirarme a mi antiguo claustro para llorar mis delitos. Le pido pues con la confianza que me inspira su amistad, me ayude a demandar al cielo para que me ilumine e inspire lo que debo hacer en tan terrible conflicto, pues nada más deseo que hacer la voluntad de Dios y acertar en el medio de aplacar la justa indignación.¹⁰²

He ascribed the expulsion of the Jesuits to Divine Providence and refrained from making any public pronouncement comments about the expulsion to avoid unrest among the people. He welcomed the news that the Jesuits had been well received in Ecuador, and kept hoping that they would one day return to the country.

Mgr Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata, Bishop of Santafé de Antioquia and the Jesuits

Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata was born in the town of Barichara, Santander, in 1793. He spent his childhood in San Gil and then studied in *San Bartolomé* in Bogotá, becoming Professor of Philosophy and Vice-Rector of the *Colegio*. According to Estanislao Gómez Barrientos, Gómez Plata took an active part supporting the War of Independence in Boyacá, and served as chaplain of the liberating armies.¹⁰³ In 1826, he was parish priest of the cathedral, district attorney, synod examiner of the Archbishop and teacher of Canon Law at the *Colegio de San Bartolomé*. In 1827 he represented the province of Socorro, in the Constituent Congress, and the following year he represented the same province at the Convention of Ocaña, as a *Santanderista*, on opponent of Bolívar. His friendship with and support for Francisco de Paula Santander involved him in the September 1828 conspiracy against the Liberator, he was tried and sentenced

¹⁰² AHPCSJ. Correspondencia del Obispo Fernando Cuero y Caicedo, Estante 2, caja 68. Subcarpeta 1ª. Carta no. 143.

¹⁰³ E. Gómez Barrientos, *Don Mariano Ospina y su época, vol.1, 1805-1849*, Medellín, 191, p. 101.

to imprisonment in Guyana.¹⁰⁴ After Bolívar's death he was pardoned and returned to the country to join the supporter of Santander, becoming indeed the President's favourite candidate for the Archdiocese of Bogotá. However, Congress elected Mosquera. Gómez Plata was appointed Bishop of Antioquia in 1835, and consecrated in the following year by Archbishop Mosquera.¹⁰⁵

On taking office, he published a pastoral letter in which he cordially greeted the clergy and the faithful, urging them not to condemn him before he had acted, as it seemed that some priests had spread the idea that he was unworthy of his post because of his closeness to Santander. On 10 March 1836, he issued a second letter deploring a riot against the civil authorities that had taken place in February in Medellín. This *bochinche* had been organized to obtain the release from jail of the notoriously unquiet priest José María Botero y Cadavid, who had been sentenced to death for his role in an abortive rebellion against Santander. From the pulpit and in printed broadsides Botero had insulted the President, calling him impious and even accusing him of atheism, because the Law of May 1835 obliged the schools and universities to teach the morals of Baron d'Holbach, the philosophy Destutt de Tracy and the legislation of Jeremy Bentham.¹⁰⁶ Botero also initiated a defamatory campaign against the Bishop, calling him 'our very unworthy Bishop'.¹⁰⁷ Gómez Plata suspended Botero on several occasions. The supporters of Botero continued to criticize him in the press and through

¹⁰⁴ Centro de Historia de Antioquia. *El Excmo. Y Rvdmo. Dr. D. Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata 1793-1850*, Antioquía, 1936, pp. 3-9.

¹⁰⁵ His appointment as Bishop of Popayán was praised by Mariano Ospina Rodríguez in a eulogistic article: 'Los talentos y luces eminentes del Dr. Gómez, sus importantes servicios a la Patria y a la Iglesia, su conducta pública siempre pura y popular, su constante y eficaz cooperación al progreso y difusión de las virtudes religiosas y sociales le daban en el concepto de todos los hombres ilustrados un derecho incontestable a una de las sillas episcopales de la República, y los amantes de la educación anhelábamos por verlo colocado en el alto puesto que la expresión legal acaba de señalarle. Esta provincia se congratula ciertamente por una elección que pone a la cabeza de su Iglesia, un sacerdote digno de presidirla, cuyo mérito personal arrastra la estimación y el respeto de todos'. See: *El Constitucional de Antioquia, Medellín*, 5 de abril de 1835.

¹⁰⁶ Centro de Historia de Antioquia. *El Excmo. Y Rvdmo. Dr. D. Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata 1793-1850*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 11.

pamphlets. Some broadsheets published in Medellín, the *Díceres*, attacked his active participation in Congress. He was also supposed to have influenced the move of his Episcopal see from Santafé de Antioquia to Medellín which naturally caused some resentment in Santafé.¹⁰⁸

He raised funds throughout his diocese to complete the Seminary, and inaugurated the *Colegio Seminario San Fernando* in the old school of the Jesuits in September 1836. This success was communicated to the Secretary of the Interior and to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who would duly inform Santander:

Con la mayor complacencia participo a ustedes para que se digne ponerlo en conocimiento de S.E. el presidente de la república, que el día 5 del corriente se instaló el colegio seminario de esta ciudad con el número de más de sesenta jóvenes o cursantes en las clases de gramática, filosofía, cánones y teología que por ahora se han establecido, y que se sirven interinamente mientras se proveen en propiedad conforme el plan de estudios. Me será permitido indicar, para honor de este pueblo de Antioquia, que el día en que se ha abierto este establecimiento literario se ha manifestado el mayor entusiasmo y el más grande interés a favor de la educación pública.¹⁰⁹

In 1840, he had condemned as illegal the uprising of Colonel Salvador Córdoba in Medellín against the central government. The Colonel had asked him to join the uprising, and he had answered: ‘I am not a *ministerial* (the name given to supporters of the government of President Márquez), but I am not an anarchist demagogue either’.¹¹⁰ The *Antioqueño* clergy in general did not support the uprising. Córdoba threatened those who opposed him, and attempted to make off with parochial funds. In November 1840, he imprisoned and then ordered the exile of two priests, José Manuel Lobo Rivera, a priest of the cathedral, and José María Montoya, priest of Abejorral. In a pronouncement dated on 3 December 1840, Gómez Plata condemned these actions of Córdoba, and protested against his arbitrary measures used against his clergy: ‘...¿Cuál

¹⁰⁸ AUA, Hojas Sueltas, *Díceres*, Medellín, 18 de septiembre de 1841.

¹⁰⁹ Centro de Historia de Antioquia. *El Excmo. Y Rvdmo. Dr. D. Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata 1793-1850*, p. 17.

¹¹⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 32.

es el derecho, cual la autoridad que usted tiene para arrebatar de los curatos a dos eclesiásticos respetables? La fuerza. ¿Cuál es la justicia que anima sus procedimientos? La fuerza. Es necesario respetarla: con este motivo yo debo usar de la que está a mi alcance'.¹¹¹ The Colonel proceeded to banish the Bishop, and Gómez Plata left Antioquia in January 1841 and retreated to Bogotá. He did not return to his diocese until June 1842.¹¹²

Like the Archbishop, he took great interest in the academic education of his clergy. He refers to this in his pastoral of 27 May 1847, where he cites a lengthy exhortation of Pope Pius IX inviting priests always to continue their education. The Bishop encouraged them to devote the free time to the study of Holy Scripture and Canon Law and to deepen their knowledge of the traditional teachings of the Church:

‘... que aprendáis en los Santos Padres, en los concilios, en las bulas de los pontífices, en la historia eclesiástica las tradiciones, las leyes y las reglas que han dirigido y gobernado, dirigen y gobiernan la congregación de los fieles, que no obréis ni hagáis en vuestro ministerio sino lo que sea conforme con lo que la iglesia enseña y practica.’¹¹³

When the government issued the law of Mission Schools in 1842, writing from his temporary Bogotá exile he urged all the parishioners of his diocese to contribute funds.¹¹⁴ As we have seen, on several occasions he asked the Jesuits to take charge of the Seminary in Santafé de Antioquia.^{115 116}

Despite his public adherence to the policies of Santander, Gómez Plata maintained his orthodoxy and his loyalty to the Pope and to Archbishop Mosquera until his death on 1 December 1850. A contemporary eulogy reads:

¹¹¹ AUA, Hoja Suelta 1, Documento 227, Folio 277r.

¹¹² Centro de Historia de Antioquia. *El Excmo. Y Rvdmo. Dr. D. Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata 1793-1850*, p. 36.

¹¹³ AUA. Folletos Misceláneos 160, Documento 12, p. 13.

¹¹⁴ *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá, 2 de octubre de 1842, no. 578.

¹¹⁵ U. Ramírez, *Historia de la Diócesis de Medellín, 1868-1886*, Medellín, 1922, p. 4-5, and I. D. Toro Jaramillo, *El clero en la diócesis de Medellín de 1868 a 1902. Actuación y formación sacerdotal*. Medellín, 2005.

¹¹⁶ G.M. Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa en Antioquia. Prácticas y discursos, 1828-1885*. Medellín, 1993.

Las buenas cualidades que adornan a este gran prelado de la Iglesia granadina, todos las conocían, y nosotros tuvimos la dicha de observarlas muy de cerca. Sus virtudes como hombre público y privado son todas las que pueden encontrarse en un hombre verdaderamente justo. Nosotros nos honramos de haber sido discípulos de él, y siempre lo mirábamos con respeto y gratitud al considerar el sumo interés que tenía por la ilustración, llevándolo hasta el punto de servir una cátedra en el seminario, de pagar otra y de costear a varios clérigos y jóvenes en aquel establecimiento. El Dr. Gómez Plata fue una de las notabilidades de la República por su profundo saber y su acrisolada honradez; a él le debe en gran parte la provincia de Antioquia la ilustración que hoy posee; él ha regenerado el clero, antes ignorante y hoy nos lo deja importante por su virtud e ilustración.¹¹⁷

Conclusion

In this chapter some account has been given of the state of the Church in New Granada and of its relation with Rome. It has included a view of the diplomatic relations between the governments of Simón Bolívar and Francisco de Paula Santander with the Holy See, and of the sending by the Vatican of its first representative to New Granada, and the Pope's recognition of the independence of the country and of the other republics of Hispanic America.

The scarcity of secular and regular clergy and their inadequate theological and philosophical education motivated the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Popayán, Antioquia and Pasto to ask the central government for the help of the Jesuits. They needed missionaries to set up mission schools and to take charge of the education of seminarians in their cities.

¹¹⁷ AUA, Hoja Suelta 2, Documento 243, Folio 282.

Chapter III

The reception of the pro- and anti-Jesuit legends in New Granada:

1842-1850

In this chapter we aim to show how the European anti-Jesuit campaign of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was used by many Liberal politicians to induce President José Hilario López to expel the Jesuits.¹ These politicians considered the Jesuits a hindrance to the political reforms they intended to establish in New Granada. Between 1844 and 1850, both in the newspapers and in Congress all the old criticisms against the Jesuits were repeated. This campaign culminated on 18 May 1850 when the expulsion decree was published in the *Gaceta Oficial*. We will also show how European pro-Jesuit literature was used by many Conservatives.

The presence of the Jesuits between 1844 and 1850, and later between 1858 and 1861, has to be seen against the background of the Liberal reforms established in the mid-nineteenth century. During the first period, a faction of the Liberal Party promoted a number of reforms founded on its concept of a modern state. Coming to power in 1849, they turned their attention to the ecclesiastical institution. The first intervention was the decree to expel the Jesuits, but this was followed by the abolition of sacramental fees and other ecclesiastical rights, and the trial and expulsion in 1852 of the Archbishop of Bogotá, Manuel José Mosquera, the highest ecclesiastical authority in the

¹Known as 'anti-Jesuitism', and defined as: 'any writing that falls outside the framework of rational discourse, base on verifiable, theological or common sense facts'. See: C.E. O'Neill, 'Anti-jesuitismo', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 1, p. 178.

country.² In the second period, General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, again President, intervened forcibly in Church affairs in a through regalist manner.³ Mosquera's regalism led him to issue a decree for mortmain disentailment and the expulsion of any diocesan clergy and members of religious orders who resisted. Significantly, among his first acts of state were the expulsions of the Papal Nuncio, Monsignor Mieczyslaw Ledochowski, and again of the Jesuits, accused of collaborating as chaplains with the Conservative armies in the 1860 civil war.⁴

The sources reveal how pro -and anti-Jesuit propaganda was received in New Granada. The first is the reproduction of various versions of the policies of the Jesuits from the foundation of the society in 1540 to its suppression in 1773. Works published from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries supplied arguments for both supporters and opponents of the Jesuits, and some were translated and published in New Granada in our period. Several examples can be given: first, *The Wandering Jew* by Eugène Sue, a novel serialized by the French newspaper *Le Constitutionnel* in 1845, which had great success in France. This novel describes the crimes and schemes, of Jesuits to obtain the estate of a French family. Secondly, *La historia dramática y pintoresca de los Jesuitas* by A. Boucher, describes the involvement of Jesuits in a series of dark events.⁵ Published in Barcelona, it was read on Bogotá. A third work is Gioberti's *Il Gesuita moderno*,⁶ mentioned in the debates, though not translated from Italian into Spanish. Similarly, those who supported the Jesuits had translated works from French to Spanish to disprove the anti-Jesuit literature against them and these works also were

² J.P. Restrepo, *La Iglesia y el Estado en Colombia*, Londres, 1885, pp. 167-193; J.M. Arboleda, *Vida del Ilmo. Señor Manuel José Mosquera, Arzobispo de Santafé de Bogotá*, Bogotá, 1956, pp. 211-450; J.D. Cortés, *Las relaciones Estado-Iglesia en Colombia a mediados del siglo XIX*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, El Colegio de México), 2008, p. 57.

³ P. Borges, *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1992, p. 85.

⁴ F. González, *Podere Enfrentados. Iglesia y Estado en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1997, p. 171.

⁵ A. Boucher, *Historia dramática y pintoresca de los Jesuitas*, Barcelona, 2 vols. 1847.

⁶ V. Gioberti, *Il Gesuita moderno*, 5 vols. Napoli, 1848.

read and cited in the local polemics.⁷

A second key theme was the questioning of the legitimacy of the Jesuits in New Granada. Their opponents considered that the Pragmatic Sanction of Carlos III was still in force in the Republic. This argument was brought forward on numerous occasions in the debates in Congress and outside. Those opposed to the Jesuits also argued that on returning to the country they should not have settled in the main cities to provide education for the young, but should go to the mission territories. The law authorising the return and the correspondence with the Superior General agreed that the Jesuits on returning should work in missions and in the Society's houses for the formation of missionaries.

The fact that a number of the Jesuits did not appear to be destined for the missions provided ammunition for a third line of attack, which exploited the reputation of the order, for its success in forming an elite subservient to their doctrines. Their opponents believed that they would corrupt young men through their teachings.

Moreover, they would influence women through preaching, spiritual retreats, and the confessional, and also workmen's groups through their religious associations. Another constant theme was the wealth that the Jesuits allegedly accumulated during the short time they remained in the country. Opponents also analysed critically the governing structure of the order.

These Liberals were eager to break away from the legacy of the colonial period, in areas such as Church-State separation, secular education, and civil marriage. In their writings and memoirs they describe their apprehension regarding the Jesuits, perceived as an obstacle to the desired reforms. Some were members of the Masonic lodges, namely Florentino González, Salvador Camacho Roldán, Manuel Murillo Toro,

⁷ J. Cretineau-Joly, *Historia religiosa, política y literaria de la Compañía de Jesús, compuesta sobre documentos inéditos y auténticos*, Paris, 1851.

Ezequiel Rojas, and José María Samper. Mosquera was also a high ranking freemason. Samper, who later repented, confessed that in his youth he had assumed that the '*Monita Secreta*' and other anti-Jesuit writings were true.⁸ Another prominent politician, Julio Arboleda, this time a Conservative, strongly criticised the Jesuits in letters published in *La Prensa* in 1848, and demanded that Congress expel them on the grounds that the royal decree was still in force. He changed his mind two years later, when the Jesuits were being expelled from Popayán in 1850. He then opposed the action taken by President López. Arboleda subsequently used his own newspaper *El Misóforo* in opposition, and emerged as one of the Conservative leaders in the 1851 civil war.⁹

Within the church hierarchy there was a small group of clergymen hostile to the presence of the Jesuits who criticised them harshly in pamphlets and letters. The most prominent was Manuel Fernández Saavedra, a priest who wrote a pamphlet attacking the Archbishop of Bogotá for assigning responsibility for the minor seminary and the San Bartolomé chaplaincy to the Jesuits, and for supporting the bishops of Antioquia and Popayán over the founding of schools by the Jesuits. According to Fernández Saavedra, this task should have been entrusted to the native clergy of New Granada, who were capable and virtuous enough to assume the responsibility for educating and evangelizing.¹⁰

The lay leader of the Jesuit supporters was Mariano Ospina Rodríguez who, as Minister of the Interior during the government of Pedro Alcántara Herrán, had drafted the law that made possible their return. He took on their defence in the subsequent debates held in the Senate and in the press. Another distinguished defender was José

⁸ On the *monita Secreta* see S. Pavone, *The Wily Jesuits and the Monita Secreta*, Saint Louis, 2005, p. 34. These 'secret instructions' were supposedly written by a Polish ex-Jesuit, after his expulsion from the order in 1613. J.M. Samper, *El Catolicismo and La República*, Bogotá, 1865.

⁹ A. Valencia, 'La Guerra de 1851 en Cauca', in *Las Guerras Civiles desde 1830 y su proyección en el siglo XX*, Bogotá, 1998, pp. 37-57.

¹⁰ M. Fernández Saavedra, *El arzobispo ante la nación*, Bogotá, 1852, pp. 13-6.

Eusebio Caro, who argued in *La Civilización* that the people of New Granada were mostly Catholic, and were entitled to choose freely the educators of their children; that since the Jesuits were a Catholic order approved by the Holy See, they were entirely suitable for this task.

First theme: the history of the Society of Jesus and anti-Jesuit literature

There have been a number of publications about anti-Jesuitism in recent years.¹¹ The *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús* includes an entry on the subject, which distinguishes two phases: from the Society's foundation in 1540 to its suppression in 1773, and from the 1814 restoration to the end of the nineteenth century. It analyses the cases of France, Italy, and other European countries.¹²

The Jesuit order has faced opposition from both within and outside the Catholic Church for the innovations it has introduced. The very name *Compañía de Jesús* was objected to by several powerful Bishops and Cardinals. The Jesuits did not pray in choir, and were not organised in chapters like other religious orders, did not wear a special habit; they also took a vow to accept no ecclesiastical dignity, and the professed priests took a special vow of obedience to the Pope.¹³ These differences and other aspects of their structure of government, as well as their doctrinal and moral teaching, caused conflicts and misunderstandings with the hierarchy, with other religious orders, with kings and their courts and in wider European society. According to Poliakov, after the Council of Trent the Jesuits were the object of hate and envy around the world,

¹¹ There is a vast work about the discourses, images and geographical spread of the Anti-jesuitism in the modern period by P.A. Fabre and C. Maire, *Les Antijésuites, Discours, Figures et Lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque modern*. Rennes, 2010.

¹² C. E. O'Neill, 'Antijesuitismo', in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 1, Roma, 2004, pp. 178-89.

¹³ A. Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España. San Ignacio de Loyola*, vol. 1, 1540-1556, Madrid, 1902, pp. 181-99.

particularly in seventeenth-century France.¹⁴ There they were abhorred by other religious orders, such as the Dominicans, Augustinians, and Mercedarians, by the Jansenist religious movement, by the Sorbonne, and by the monarchist party and the Protestants.¹⁵ In some regions where the Jesuits were pioneer missionaries, they encountered criticism due to their innovative proposals with regard to *inculturation*, for example over the Chinese rites and the Indian Malabar rites.¹⁶ In Spanish America, the Jesuits were in dispute with, amongst many others, Bishop Bernardino de Cárdenas in the reductions of Paraguay, and with the Bishop of Puebla, Juan de Palafox, in New Spain.

After Pope Pius VII reestablished the Society of Jesus in August 1814, they were stigmatised as continuing the old order, and the old aversions and criticisms reappeared against them. Being a Jesuit was synonymous with being a monarchist and a reactionary. Such a reputation was in part the result of former members of the order writing works which ‘present the French Revolution as the result of a conspiracy of philosophers and Jansenists aimed at destroying the monarchy and the Church’.¹⁷ Among such authors were Lorenzo de Hervás y Panduro and Agustín Barruel. Accusations of crimes attributed to the Jesuits were rekindled, including the murders of Henry III, Henry IV, and Don Carlos de España.¹⁸ Poliakov states, ‘It seems clear that it was in France during the first half of the nineteenth century, with Paris as the world’s

¹⁴ L. Poliakov, *La causalidad diabólica. Ensayo sobre el origen de las persecuciones*, Barcelona, 1982, p. 46.

¹⁵ A.L. Cortés, *Historia del Cristianismo*, vol. 3, *El mundo moderno*, Granada, 2006, pp. 551-89.

¹⁶ For Malabar Rites see I.G. Zupanov, *Disputed Mission. Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-century India*, Oxford, 1999 and P. Aranha, *Il cristianismo Latino in India nel XVI secolo*, Milano, 2006. For Chinese Rites see G. Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy. From its beginning to Modern Times*, Chicago, 1985.

¹⁷ J. Herrero, *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario español*, Madrid, 1987, p. 151.

¹⁸ T. Worcester, ‘Jesuit on the French Monarchy’ in *The Jesuits*, ed., T. Worcester, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 104-19, and E. Giménez, ‘La extirpación de la mala doctrina. Los inicios del proceso de extinción de la Compañía de Jesús (1767-1769)’ in *Expulsión y Exilio de los Jesuitas Españoles*, ed., E. Giménez. Alicante, 1997, pp. 229-256

laboratory of the conspiracy theories, that the Jesuit phobia reached its peak'.¹⁹

The contemporary newspapers of New Granada spared no effort in reproducing the controversies about the Jesuits. Between 1844 and 1850 the following newspapers were founded: *La Noche*, *El Neo-granadino*, *El Sur-Americano*, *El Amigo del País*, *La Época*, *El Progreso*, *El Siglo*, *El Republicano*, *El Aviso*, *La Jeringa*, *El Alacrán*, *La Sociedad Popular de Cartagena* and *La Gaceta Mercantil*. All of them published articles aimed at discrediting the order.²⁰ They all reproduced the propaganda circulating in European papers, the French press in particular.

At the same time, some newspapers, among them *El Día*, *La República* and *El Atalaya*, opposed the anti-Jesuit literature of the Liberal press.²¹ Two more pro-Jesuit papers were also founded in 1849, *La Civilización* and *El Catolicismo*. In the former, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez and José Eusebio Caro defended the Society relying on apologetic works from Europe.²² *El Catolicismo* was founded by Archbishop Mosquera and a number of Conservative politicians to promote Catholic doctrine and protect the Jesuits.²³

A series of articles entitled *Los Jesuitas* was published in the weekly *La Noche* from 1845. Each of the 27 articles was headed with a supposed edict issued by Henry

¹⁹ L. Poliakov, *La causalidad diabólica*, p. 49.

²⁰ *La Noche* was first printed in Bogota, 14 September 1845. This journal was published in opposition to the government. *La noche* and *El Amigo del País* published anti-Jesuit propaganda. *El Amigo del País* printed in Medellín on 15 December 1845 levelled devastating criticism from its first issue against the presence of the Jesuits in that city. See: J. M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, 1845-1854, p. 27. *La Época* and *El Progreso* were published in Bogotá to defend the administration of President Mosquera, See: J. M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, 1845-1854, p. 27 and p. 76. *El Siglo*, founded by Florentino Gonzáles, was first published, 18 June 1848. Julio Arboleda y Lino Pombo contributed to this newspaper.

²¹ *El Día*, founded and largely written by José María Torres Caicedo, was published from July 1840 to 15 July 1851. According to Restrepo: 'Desde el principio sostuvo al gobierno nacional y las instituciones contra los revoltosos, conducta que observó generalmente en el curso de su existencia. No impidió esto, que algunas veces fuera un campo neutro en que se batían campeones de bandos opuestos. Al comienzo del periódico fue una empresa tipográfica del impresor J. A. Cualla, más que un periódico de partido. El último año su redactor fue el estadista Mariano Ospina Rodríguez'. See: J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 1, 1832-1845, Bogotá, 1962, p. 175.

²² *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 9 de agosto de 1849, no. 1.

²³ *El Catolicismo*, Bogotá, 1 de noviembre de 1849. no. 1.

IV of France in January 1595 against the Jesuits: ‘The Jesuits are... enemies of the State and the French crown, they corrupt young people, and disrupt the public peace’. Almost all these articles were anonymous, while a few were signed with pseudonyms. The articles repeat several stories, the first of which depicts the abbé *Blache*, the parish priest of *Ruel* and a member of the French Assembly in 1685, as aware of a plan to poison Louis XIV and the Dauphin; the Jesuits are alleged to have been involved in this, not directly but as advisors of the perpetrators, and consequently they were charged with not disclosing the plan to the authorities. The second case alludes to one Ambrosio Guys, and describes how the Jesuits of Brest allegedly got hold of his considerable wealth, a rumour dating to 1716.²⁴ The third case refers to the letters the Spanish Bishop Palafox addressed to Pope Innocent X describing his conflict with the Jesuits.²⁵ Palafox arrived in Puebla in 1640 and initiated a number of reforms aimed at creating diocesan parishes, which up to that point had been part of the Jesuit mission. His conflict with the Jesuits began when they refused to pay the tithes demanded owed by the *hacienda* that a canon of Puebla cathedral had donated to them to found a school in Veracruz. This dispute lasted for a long time, and led to numerous submissions from both parties. Neither the Bishop nor the Jesuits were willing to yield, and their mutual intolerance involved disqualifying the civil courts.²⁶ This dispute was now referred to by both supporters and opponents of the Jesuits in New Granada.

The purpose of these stories was to illustrate the Jesuits’ lack of morals at different times and in different places. Their immoral aim was the accumulation of wealth, for which they were greedy beyond measure; the Jesuits had no respect for any oath, for the right to property, or for good faith; they obtained legacies with false

²⁴ M. Bonfill, *Verdadero retrato al daguerreotipo de la Compañía de Jesús*, Barcelona, 1852, p. 484-6.

²⁵ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 5 de abril de 1846, no. 25.

²⁶ J. López Moctezuma, ‘Juan Palafox y Mendoza’, in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 3, pp. 2951-53.

witnesses. Whole families had been reduced to misery when their properties were stolen.²⁷

Works critical of the history of the Jesuits were selectively quoted to convince readers of the danger they represented and of the evil of the Society's presence in New Granada. Conflicts which undermined the life of the Church were held to originate with the arrival of the Jesuits:

La historia eclesiástica de trescientos años a esta parte, contiene las disensiones escandalosas suscitadas por los jesuitas en todo el Orbe cristiano: en ella encontrará usted los desórdenes que ocasionó la abominable doctrina de estos hombres que autoriza matar a los reyes cuando los juzga ilegítimos o tiranos el Papa, doctrina enseñada sin interrupción en la compañía por sus famosos teólogos: allí hallará U. las invenciones de Molina un jesuita, que la compañía abrazó como suya, y que fue condenada diferentes veces por la Silla Apostólica: otros muchos errores sobre la Santísima Trinidad, Encarnación, Redención, Sacramentos, Jerarquía eclesiástica, poder y dignidad de los obispos: las censuras de los Sumos Pontífices, de los Obispos, de las escuelas de teología que proscribieron todos estos errores, y los libros que los contienen, que aun existen y son bien conocidos: una moral corrompida, con la que han infestado toda la Iglesia, y que se halla tanto en sus libros nuevos, como en los antiguos: las sentencias condenatorias de los poderes supremos que las han prohibido: en la historia eclesiástica encontrará U. las conspiraciones detestables contra la paz de los Estados y contra la vida de los soberanos, inspiradas, sostenidas y alimentadas por la abominable moral de los jesuitas, y por su horrible abuso de los sacramentos de la Penitencia y Eucaristía: los asesinatos de San Bartolomé en Francia, y la guerra desastrosa de la liga católica, sostenida y alimentada por los jesuitas: la historia eclesiástica le enseñará a U. acerca de los jesuitas, una usurpación general y continua de los derechos y bienes de los obispos, de los párrocos, de las universidades, de los religiosos, de los beneficiados de los Príncipes mismos y de sus vasallos.²⁸

This quotation mentions two topics related to the Jesuits, misinterpreted throughout their history both within and outside the Catholic Church. The first is the theory of tyrannicide. In 1599, the Spanish Jesuit Juan de Mariana published a work to serve as a guide for King Philip III. It followed a theory of Saint Thomas, which stated that if an oppressed people could not obtain justice by pacific means, it had the right to

²⁷ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 24 de mayo de 1846, no. 29.

²⁸ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 21 de junio de 1846, no. 32, p. 2.

overthrow a tyrant. In such a case, regicide was not to be considered immoral. This doctrine had circulated across Europe for many years and was accepted in some philosophical and theological circles. Mariana's mistake was to use the recent disputes and actions in the kingdom of France as his examples, and to quote praises of Henry III's assassin. The Spanish hostility to King Henri IV meant that Mariana's work raised such a clamour in France that the Society of Jesus had explicitly to forbid its members from teaching the doctrine.²⁹

The enemies of the Society used Mariana's work to devise all kinds of legends to connect the Jesuits with conspiracies and attacks against the kings of France during the confusions of the League, and with the gunpowder plot in England. They were charged with the riot aroused against the college of Krakow, Poland, which led to the unfortunate death of the King Sebastian of Portugal, with the use of violent means to seize property and abbeys from the old German orders, with the persecution of bishops and priests in China.

Liberal politicians in New Granada repeated these accusations at face value. One such was Juan Nepomuceno Vargas, a veteran Liberal lawyer of revolutionary spirit. According to Samper:

...escritor mediano, de genio zumbón y epigramático, austeramente honrado, pero de muy fuertes pasiones, alto, flaco y bilioso, había fundado un periódico de oposición, intitulado *La Noche*, como para contrastar con *El Día*, que era ministerial. Curioso era que *El Día* fuese órgano de los conservadores, llamados 'retrógrados', y *La Noche* lo fuese de los liberales o 'progresistas'.³⁰

Vargas compiled accounts of the debates held by the Jesuits with bishops and other members of the Church throughout the history of the order. His writings appear to have influenced incautious readers such as the Bishop of Cartagena, that the Jesuits were a threat to the country. He quoted Episcopal testimony of enemies of the order

²⁹ C.E. O'Neill, 'Anti-jesuitismo', in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 1, p. 179.

³⁰ J.M. Samper, *Historia de un alma*, Medellín, 1971, p. 180.

such as Melchor Cano, Bishop of Canarias, Juan Martínez Silicéo, Archbishop of Toledo, and Eustaquio de Belloi, Archbishop of Paris.³¹ Melchor Cano was a Dominican theologian, who harassed the Jesuits on the arrival in Alcalá in 1548 to open a school; and he opposed the presence of other religious orders as well. His *Apuntamientos* accused the Jesuits and Ignatius of Loyola of being illuminists, and he pointed out what he considered dubious passages in the Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius.³²

The second topic mentioned alludes to the theological controversy that arose in the seventeenth century about the complex question of reconciling human freedom with the action of divine grace. This had been extensively discussed at the Council of Trent, for it was related to the distinction between the Catholic and Protestant theologies, and the debate set the Dominicans and Mercedarians against the Jesuits. The former, following Saint Thomas and Saint Augustine, stated that the salvation of men depends on the *efficacious grace* that God freely chooses to confer. Some Jesuit theologians, always ready to lead the defence of Catholicism from Protestantism, presented another position that took into greater account the merits of human work because they contended that the *sufficient grace* which God grants all men, became *efficacious grace* not by virtue of a capricious election but only when man's free will sides with free consent.³³

The Jesuits were recurrently blamed for the disasters that disrupted public peace in countries where they were present; their history had been marked by blood, horrors and every imaginable crime. According to *La Noche*:

Un sentimiento patriótico es el que nos ha animado a presentar el tremendo cuadro de desolación y de ruina que por todas partes ofrece el nombre de estos religiosos, nombre que se ha hecho detestable en todos

³¹ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 12 de julio de 1846, no. 35, p. 2.

³² C. Pozo, 'Melchor Cano', in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 1, pp. 636-7.

³³ A.L. Cortés Peña, *Historia del Cristianismo*, vol. 3, p. 556.

los pueblos del mundo, donde quiera que la razón, la humanidad y la religión se respetan y se tienen en algo.³⁴

In the opinion of José María Samper, the Society of Jesus had been tried by history and condemned by universal opinion:

...y ya es una trivialidad la creencia de que esa funesta asociación, en apariencia religiosa, no ha tenido jamás otra mira que la de enriquecerse a favor del engaño, de la mentira y de la seducción, para luego fundar sobre las sociedades políticas la preponderancia temporal y absoluta de la Corte de Roma, con el poder irresistible del espionaje y la delación.³⁵

To counteract the historical discredit of the Jesuits, *El Día* published documents that defended the Society of Jesus and refuted the letters of Bishop Palafox in 1647, which had been published by the Liberal papers. From 1842 *El Día* divulged articles defending the Jesuits. One of its issues reproduced an article of the *Oxford and Cambridge Review* of September 1845, a summary of Cretineau Joly's work which had been translated from French into English. *El Día* wished to show how the order was valued and praised in a prestigious magazine from a non-Catholic country. The piece gives a brief history of the Jesuits, from the time of Ignatius and his companions to the present day, exalting their discipline, teaching methods and European popularity. With regard to Spanish America, it highlights the utopia achieved in Paraguay and describes how the Jesuits had defended the Guaraní from the Portuguese and Spanish settlers. Cretineau Joly described his experience of living in Jesuit houses for seven years and attested to the hardworking and austere life. 'I appeal to thousands, educated like myself, to say whether this was not so; and I am therefore in perpetual astonishment that people can accuse such men of teaching a depraved morality'.³⁶ Since the Council of Trent, the doctrines and teachings of the Jesuits had been pronounced orthodox, and had been given full support by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. However, the author

³⁴ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 22 de marzo de 1846, no. 24.

³⁵ J.M. Samper, *Apuntamientos para la historia política y social de la Nueva Granada desde 1810, y especialmente de la administración del 7 de marzo*, Bogotá, 1853, p. 377.

³⁶ *The Oxford and Cambridge Review*, London, September, 1845, pp. 245-6.

acknowledged the prejudice often present in those societies where the Jesuits worked. He stressed the animosity of the *Parlement* and University of Paris towards the Jesuits, and explained how they had been discredited by allegations that they had monopolized the education of the young in France:

Los jesuitas son siempre intelectuales, importantes en ciencia, eminentes en literatura, esclarecidos en moral, sublimes en su esperanza, en su caridad y en su fe: ellos son los pequeños congregados que alcanzaron un gran día; forman una sección de la iglesia católica, y sin ser más que una sección han contado en su compañía un número mayor de eclesiásticos, que las que han aparecido en el mundo de entre todas las opuestas sectas protestantes y cismas: ellos han educado más hombres ilustres que la mitad de todas las universidades de Europa en un espacio igual de tiempo: ellos han dado más mártires cristianos desde su origen, que las demás órdenes religiosas combinadas: ellos fueron los primeros, los generosos, los nunca vencidos que se opusieron al comercio de esclavos, por cuya oposición fueron amenazados, no con puestos y con el aura popular, sino con la persecución, con la degradación y con la muerte. En los tiempos presentes son venerados y amados, como lo fueron sus padres espirituales, por todos los que los conocen, y que estiman en algo el orden y la fe, por los que dan valor a la moralidad, a la virtud, y a la utilidad de las naciones; así como han sido siempre objeto de terror y del odio de los libertinos de los jacobinos y anarquistas: ellos en fin son ilustres por los amigos que tienen, y venerables por los enemigos que cuentan.³⁷

El Día insisted that President Herrán had invited the Jesuits to strengthen in the community the principles of obedience, discipline, and morality. It praised their work in Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán, and Pasto. They improved family relationships, obedience to the government, and respect for the law.

El Día published a weekly series of articles under the title ‘In defence of the Jesuits’, to refute the arguments of its competitor, *La Noche*. This section reproduced chapters from the *Historia de la Nueva Granada* by José Cassani which dealt with colonial times.³⁸ According to *El Día*,

El semanario la Noche era un periódico enemigo del orden social; eran los revolucionarios sempiternos de la Nueva Granada: de los que quieren echar por tierra el catolicismo y radicar el ateísmo en nuestra patria, para

³⁷ *El Día*, Bogotá, 23 de noviembre de 1845, no. 322, p. 1.

³⁸ *El Día*, Bogotá, 25 de enero de 1846, no. 335, p. 5.

poder vivir holgadamente en sus pasiones. Queremos oponer un cuadro original de nuestro país al negro cuadro que nos han presentado y con que han ofendido la vista de todos los buenos, esos hijos de la *Noche* que hacen todos sus esfuerzos para sumirnos en sus tinieblas y *revolver* el país.³⁹

These two newspapers presented their material using a bellicose, sarcastic, and mocking tone that showed a clear lack of balance. An example can be found in the article ‘The Jesuits, sixth defence’. It reproduces a letter quoted by Cretineau-Joly in which Palafox asks the Jesuits for forgiveness with regard to the mistakes made against them, and emphasises that none of the charges brought against the Jesuits by the Bishop could be proved.⁴⁰

In 1850 the opponents of the Jesuits had expected them to resist the expulsion, but they left in an obedient, respectful, and expeditious fashion, in accordance with the government decree. This proved that at least some of the accusations against them were groundless. However the expulsion by President López did give the Conservatives an additional argument for starting the civil war of 1851: they argued that conditions for democracy in the country were lacking because the government while it talked about tolerance and freedom expelled priests, without the trial the Constitution required.

A few days before the decree of expulsion was issued, the leading Liberal paper *El Neo-granadino* argued that these priests were the cause of divisions among the people of New Granada, since they were ‘a fuse of discord’ and ‘the fuel thrown into the fire of our civil differences’, and offered a definition of what the paper understood as Jesuitism:

¿Qué es el jesuitismo? El Jesuitismo es una milicia disciplinada y armada en Roma, en el siglo XVI, para combatir el espíritu de libertad que apareció en ese siglo. El pensamiento de Lutero era un movimiento del espíritu humano, era un paso dado en la vía de la emancipación, era un

³⁹ *Ibíd.*, p. 5.

⁴⁰ *El Día*, Bogotá, 11 de enero de 1845, no. 332, p. 4.

grito de libertad. El Jesuitismo creado en ese siglo para combatir la reforma, fue hecho expresamente para matar ese pensamiento, para detener ese paso, para sofocar ese grito.⁴¹

The Jesuits were pictured as opponents of all liberal reforms, and their priests were the covert agents and promoters of crime.⁴²

Faced with expulsion the Jesuits asked López that they be allowed to remain as individual priests, without forming communities.⁴³ However, López did not accede to the request, and went ahead with their expulsion with the support of his ministers and the majority in Congress, and the applause of *El Neo-granadino*:

Desde que triunfó el partido democrático en la República debieron conocer los amigos de los Jesuitas, y los Jesuitas mismos, que era imposible ya su existencia en el país y que debían salir de él infaliblemente. Para esto no se necesita ser profeta, ni un profundo político; bastaba tener dos dedos de frente porque Libertad y Jesuitas, Jesuitas y Democracia son dos enemigos mortales que no pueden vivir unidos, y porque dejar a los jesuitas en la Nueva Granada protegidos y sostenidos por el partido conservador era una torpeza tan crasa, que era nada menos que dejar el puñal en manos del asesino, y el Gobierno ha dado pruebas claras de inteligencia y de que conoce su misión; y la cumplirá.⁴⁴

After the expulsion in 1850, *El Neo-granadino* still asserted that although the Jesuits were now not in the country, the 'Jesuit party' continued its opposition; the paper defined it as a party aspiring to ecclesiastical dignities and public office, all of them equally ambitious of power and promoters of absolutism.

Su divisa es *la intolerancia*, su constitución, el exclusivismo, su religión, la superstición más abyecta, su moral el jesuitismo. Los demás miembros del partido son los hombres buenos y sencillos que se han dejado seducir de los Jesuitas de hábito o de casaca, o aquellos débiles e infelices que acarroñados con el cacareo sempiterno jesuítico de la mujer y las hijas, al fin tiene que rendirse a la discreción por escaparse de aquellas persecuciones domésticas que las mujeres fanáticas saben poner en práctica con tan buen suceso, especialmente cuando el ataque va dirigido por la mano diestra de un jesuita.⁴⁵

⁴¹ *El Neo-granadino*, Bogotá, 3 de mayo de 1850, no. 98, pp. 141-3.

⁴² *El Neo-granadino*, Bogotá, 14 de junio de 1850, no. 105, p. 193.

⁴³ *El Neo-granadino*, Bogotá, 21 de junio de 1850, no. 106, p. 203.

⁴⁴ *El Neo-granadino*, Bogotá, 2 de agosto de 1850, no. 112, p. 253.

⁴⁵ *El Neo-granadino*, Bogotá, 23 de agosto de 1850, no. 115, p. 278.

Second Theme: Is the presence of Jesuits in New Granada lawful?

The issue of the legitimacy of the Jesuits was extensively discussed in Congress. Likewise, the newspapers of the time explored this issue, both for and against their presence in the country. The theory that they were illegally in the country was widely divulged; some Liberal politicians alleged that the Pragmatic Sanction of Carlos III, of 2 April 1767 was still in force in the Republic and that the decree issued in 1842 for their return had not contained any clause repealing the royal decree.⁴⁶

An article, signed by a ‘Republican from Tunja’, was published in 1846. The author urged the legislators to review the law issued in 1842 to clarify whether the Society of Jesus was in the country legally or not, because the question was causing an exaggerated controversy in the newspapers of New Granada. After discussion and analysis of the opposing reasons, a proper decision should be made to put an end to the controversy:

Hace tratado seriamente por el cuerpo legislativo en sus presentes sesiones, la cuestión de existencia bajo ciertas condiciones, de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús, nuevamente establecidos en la Nueva Granada. He aquí una cuestión, como el proteo de otras muchas, más o menos conexiadas. He aquí el foco de donde han nacido, y nacen mil disputas, alternativamente homogéneas y heterogéneas. Más; ¿el Congreso deberá ocuparse hoy de la cuestión jesuitas, bajo el solo punto de vista de su actual o futura existencia en el país? No: pues ellos existen ahora de hecho, ora de derecho, y esto es tan cierto como indisputable. Luego la cuestión debería ser otra, a saber: *si la existencia actual de los misioneros jesuitas en la Nueva Granada, es legal o illegal.*⁴⁷

The opponents of the Jesuits took two positions. One alleged that the law which had allowed their return to the republic was unpopular, and contrary to the country’s well-being, since they considered the governments of Herrán and Mosquera had committed an abuse in giving the Jesuits permission to establish schools in the main cities, to conduct lectures and to create associations, arguing that there existed an

⁴⁶ J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, 1845 a 1854, Bogotá, 1963, p. 27.

⁴⁷ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 7 de mayo de 1846, no. 27.

‘express, conclusive, and effective republican law prohibiting them’.⁴⁸ To support this view, they questioned the validity of the invitation made by the government to a group of foreign Jesuits when there existed qualified priests in New Granada, belonging to both the diocesan and the regular clergy, who were educated and virtuous enough, and always ready to serve the public. These critics thought that this procedure had offended the local clergy; before the Jesuits arrived, religious worship in New Granada had been solemn, pure, and constant, and the always-open churches offered all forms of piety, and satisfied all religious needs; during the solemn feasts of the Church, its orators did their utmost to carry out their duties and were always willing to meet the public and private demands of their parishioners. According to *La Noche*: ‘No, no es el clero granadino como acaso lo ha dicho alguno, inferior a la sotana sucia de un jesuita’. These arguments were used to criticise Archbishop Mosquera, who had shown himself the prelate most in favour of the return of the priests. From the arrival of the Jesuits to their expulsion, he was frequently criticised for prejudice, partiality, and aversion towards the clergy of New Granada, and for having appointed the Jesuits as directors of the minor seminary while knowing that the Archdiocese of Bogotá had excellent clergymen, to the Jesuit fathers in their knowledge of science and their virtue.⁴⁹ According to Fernández Saavedra: ‘Ah! La Diócesis de Bogotá solo llora una desgracia de que la Providencia no mas puede libertarla!’.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, as has been shown in part three, both the diocesan and regular clergy were clearly insufficient in number for the population of the country.

To support their arguments about the illegitimate presence of the Jesuits in New Granada, their critics gave detailed descriptions of the problems caused by them in other countries of Europe and Spanish America. They mentioned how they had been expelled

⁴⁸ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 5 de julio de 1846, no. 34, p. 3.

⁴⁹ M. Fernández Saavedra, *El arzobispo ante la nación*, Bogotá, 1852.

⁵⁰ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 2 de noviembre de 1845, no. 8.

from Spain in 1835, and recounted the protest that occurred in Parma, Italy, at the school owned by the Jesuits: the students of that school had walked out into the streets to harangue against the priests. They published details about their expulsion from France, and commented on events in Switzerland, where eleven of the twenty-one states passed a referendum in favour of the expulsion of the priests.⁵¹ A report from Guatemala stated that the government did not consider their presence appropriate, on the ground that the constitutions, doctrines, and history of the order had caused great damage to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Europe; this report reiterated that the Jesuits sought absolute control, caused the economic decline of all governments, and insubordination against all authorities; consequently, it was a mistake to receive them in Guatemala. Finally, these critics said:

Los padres de la Compañía de Jesús que se hallaban en la bahía de Santo Tomás, no habían presentado al gobierno sus estatutos para que fueran examinados y aprobados, ni disposición pontificia, que autorizase el establecimiento de su orden; pero que venidos en la esperanza de lo que se les había ofrecido por el decreto 3 de julio de 1843, el crédito del Estado estaba comprometido a indemnizarlos de los gastos del viaje, y que así se hiciera.⁵²

There was frequent reference to the decision of the mid-eighteenth-century Portuguese, French, and Spanish monarchies to expel the Jesuits from their territories, and to the procedure followed by Pope Clement XIV in 1773 to suppress the order altogether: the Pope and these kings must certainly have had their reasons. However, an examination of the Spanish king's decree did not disclose any formal accusation, nor did it provide any evidence to support the expulsion of the order. The Spanish king's decree simply states that due to very serious 'causes', which he would keep to himself, and with a view to maintaining subordination, peace, and justice in his kingdoms, he had made the decision to proscribe the Society:

⁵¹ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 5 de octubre de 1845, no. 4, and *La Noche*, Bogotá, 7 de diciembre de 1845, no. 13.

⁵² *La Noche*, Bogotá, 14 de diciembre de 1845, no. 14.

Estimulado de gravísimas causas, relativas a la obligación en que me hallo constituido de mantener en subordinación, tranquilidad, y justicia mis Pueblos, y otras urgentes, justas, y necesarias, que reservo en mi Real ánimo: usando de la suprema autoridad económica, que el Todo Poderoso ha depositado en mis manos para la protección de mis Vasallos, y respeto de mi Corona: He venido en mandar se extrañen de todos mis Dominios de España, e Indias, Islas Filipinas, y demás adyacentes, a los Religiosos de la Compañía, así Sacerdotes, como Coadjutores o legos, que hayan hecho la primera Profesión, y a los Novicios, que quisieren seguirles; y que se ocupen todas las temporalidades de la Compañía en mis Dominios; y para su ejecución uniforme en todos ellos, os doy plena y privativa autoridad; y para que forméis las instrucciones y órdenes necesarias, según lo tenéis entendido, y estimareis para el más efectivo, pronto, y tranquilo cumplimiento. Y quiero, que no sólo las Justicias y Tribunales Superiores.⁵³

The other reason the critics gave referred to their being expelled from countries in Europe and Spanish America after the 1814 restoration. New Granada should follow the example of these more advanced countries.

La experiencia es una guía segura para encaminar nuestros pasos y arreglar nuestra conducta, ella debe hacernos abrir los ojos y temer unas consecuencias que ya han tenido lugar en diversas ocasiones. Esta sociedad fue extinguida por uno de los más sabios y más justos pontífices que han llevado la tiara, a la reiterada solicitud de las naciones de Europa en el año de 1773: nueve años antes había sido expulsada de Francia por Luis XV, a petición del Parlamento y las universidades, en la actualidad ha corrido la misma suerte en la misma Francia, en la Suiza, en la España, en Centro-América, y dentro de poco quedará reducida a Roma y a la Nueva Granada, y es creíble que solo aquí, y eso por no todos, se piense acertadamente, que solo aquí se tenga razón? Esta sería mucha presunción, mucho creer, y mucho arriesgar con esta creencia indiscreta.⁵⁴

The politicians and journalists opposed to the Society often asserted that there was no reason to object to the behaviour of the Jesuits as individuals; they were kind, morally irreproachable and impeccable. The issue was that they were members of an institution governed by inquisitorial principles which were opposed to those of the

⁵³ *Colección General de Providencias hasta aquí tomadas por el Gobierno sobre el extrañamiento y ocupación de temporalidades de los regulares de la Compañía que existían en los Dominios de S.M. de España, Indias, e Islas Filipinas, a consecuencia del Real Decreto de 27 de Febrero, y Pragmática-Sanción de 2 de abril de este año*, Madrid, 1767, pp. 1-46.

⁵⁴ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 25 de enero de 1846, no. 20.

Republic of New Granada. Their enemies strove for the *institute* to be expelled, but not its members.

The second issue debated in the newspapers concerned the particular role of the Jesuits in the republic. Some articles argued that the Jesuits had been invited and reestablished by the government by the decree of 28 April 1842, and that the law clearly provided that they would come back to take responsibility for missions among the indigenous and to create residences for the education of missionaries, rather than to settle in the main cities such as Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán, and Pasto. This was the argument of José María Samper, a young politician born in Honda, Tolima in 1828. While he was a law student, he had criticised the study programme created by Mariano Ospina Rodríguez in 1842 as too rigid and authoritarian.⁵⁵ He composed diatribes against the Society first in *La Noche*, where he wrote between 1845 and 1846, later in his own weekly, *El Sur-Americano*, founded in August 1849, and finally in *El Neogranadino*, where he was the editor until 1855.⁵⁶

His weekly articles were entitled 'the Jesuit question'.⁵⁷ Samper argued that what mattered was not whether the royal decree was in force or not, as was being discussed in Congress, but rather whether the Jesuits had abided by the law of 1842. If

⁵⁵ In 1858 he travelled to Europe, returning in 1863. Thereafter, he changed his position, now finding his country's liberalism exclusive and intolerant. He maintained the changed standpoint until his death in 1888. See: L. Gómez Giraldo, 'José María Samper', in *Gran Enciclopedia del Colombia*, vol. 10, Bogotá, 1994, pp. 532-4.

⁵⁶ *El Sur-Americano* was first published on 23 August 1849 and defended the administration that took office on 7 March 1849 and the reforms it undertook. The first issue attempted to make an analysis of the legacies of past administrations and to describe objectively the achievements of the Conservative Party. This journal published 41 issues. According to Samper: 'para mengua de sus jefes y corifeos y oprobio de su memoria, son la Constitución de 1843, la detestable pandilla de frailes jesuitas, la miseria del pueblo y del tesoro público, la tiranía de la inteligencia sistematizada en las Universidades, las proscripciones de los hombres amantes de la libertad, los cadalsos de los defensores de nuestra independencia, el fanatismo religioso encabezado por un prelado enemigo de la democracia, y los rancios sistemas de legislación que han encadenado el progreso de nuestra sociedad'. See. *El Sur-Americano*, Bogotá, 23 de agosto de 1849, no. 1.

⁵⁷ *El Sur-Americano* called the Jesuits 'descendants of the bastard race of Loyola' in a series of articles that resulted in Archbishop Mosquera banning the newspaper for as long as its editors did not retract such libels. The Archbishop contended that the newspaper had insulted a religious order approved by the Holy See and founded by a man who had been declared a saint, and had been accepted and blessed by the Pope. See *El Sur-Americano*, Bogotá, 23 de agosto de 1849, no. 1.

the Jesuits did not abide by the law, they ought to be expelled from the country and the government should bear the costs. Samper's proposal to the López government were; first, not to allow the continuation of the public corporation called the Society of Jesus; second, to require the submission of the constitutions of this religious order to the relevant authorities for study and approval, so that the order would be subject to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; third, to forbid this community the purchase of any real estate, and the work of educating the young, as well as the ordination or admission of any new priests; lastly, the prohibition of any new members of the order coming from abroad. With these proposals, all doors to the existence of the order in New Granada would be firmly shut.

After the Jesuits were expelled in 1850, a long article was published in the Conservative newspaper *La Civilización*. It meticulously explained the legal and procedural process followed to obtain the return of the Jesuits to New Granada. The content and style of the article show that it might have been written by a Jesuit, perhaps Manuel Gil, the Superior of the group. It quotes letters from Rome, from the Superior General to those responsible for arranging their return to the country. As described in the first chapter, Manuel Gil had sent three missionaries to the Putumayo and Caquetá regions to work in evangelization as stipulated in the decree of invitation, but the mission failed because of the opposition of the House of Representatives and the lack of budget, as Mosquera had indicated in his report to Congress in 1849.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, as we have seen the Superior had sent three missionaries who, at their own risk and cost, had penetrated the selva. José Segundo Laínez, had twice journeyed to the mission territories without financial support from the government and had died from his exertions.⁵⁹ After his death Gil had asked two other missionaries to return from the

⁵⁸ T.C. Mosquera, *Mensaje del Presidente de la República al Congreso*, Bogotá, 1849, p. 11.

⁵⁹ *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 2 de Julio de 1850, no. 48, p. 193-4.

jungle to a wait for support from the national government. The order had therefore not ignored its missionary commitments.

Congress debates

In Congress, the leading Liberal and Conservative politicians discussed the issue. The former included Manuel Murillo Toro and Salvador Camacho Roldán. Among the latter were Mariano Ospina Rodríguez and José Eusebio Caro.⁶⁰

El Día published an account of the Congress session of 25 March 1846, which illustrates a Senate debate of those days. Senator Caballero alleged that bringing back the Fathers of the Society of Jesus was illegal, immoral, and politically inadvisable: illegal because the decree of Carlos III that suppressed the order was still in force; immoral because when they had been subject to summary judgment before the suppression, it had been discovered that they were usurpers, ambitious and cruel, therefore essentially enemies of freedom as well as friends and supporters of despotism. Apparently, the congressman had never read the Pragmatic Sanction in which the king never gives any cause for the expulsion, but just asserts that he keeps the ‘causes’ to his own royal self. Caballero considered that it was not politically advisable because both victors and vanquished in the 1840 Revolution, all equally patriots according to him, agreed that the Jesuits should not remain in the country, the vanquished because they saw them as supporters of despotism, and the victors because they regretted having had them as allies or colleagues. Senator Mantilla argued that regardless of the defects in the bill, the matter required further legislation; he thought it was not good that the Jesuits be allowed to live without submitting to the authority of the ecclesiastical authorities of the country, but rather subject to others who were three thousand leagues

⁶⁰ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 12 de abril de 1846, no. 26.

away. He implied that the Jesuits would only consult with the Superior General. Mantilla contended that they were exempt from the laws of the country. He referred to the request made by the authorities of Girón to the Jesuits to accept responsibility for their school. According to him, the priests had answered that first they had to consult with the Superior General, and had said that they would not render accounts. He concluded that the Jesuits did not abide by the laws of New Granada. He also recalled a story he had heard from his father when he was a child. When his parents used the word 'Jesuit' they always referred to a man who hid vices and evil actions under the cover of modesty and virtue. Mantilla was convinced that the government should not have brought back the Jesuits; rather it should have employed and promoted missionaries from amongst the native priests. According to him, nobody should underestimate, harass or humiliate the missionaries of other religious orders, and he referred particularly to the priests Mariño and Escovar of the order of Santo Domingo in the city of Cartagena.

Ospina Rodríguez replied that the return of the order was not illegal: principles of freedom and independence had been declared and the laws of the Spanish empire had been abolished. The expelled Jesuits had not been in any way tried to prove whether they were guilty or not. Ospina alleged that the decree under which the priests were brought back was clearly legal because it had been passed by a majority of the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Just as his colleague had heard things against the Jesuits in his youth, he also had read Voltaire and Diderot. However, when he later read other histories using his own criteria and discretion, he became aware of the injustice involved in the accusations.⁶¹ In this session, Congress voted in favour of the Jesuits: the vote was close 26 in favour and 24 against.

⁶¹ *El Día*, Bogotá, 19 de abril de 1846, no. 349, p. 1.

In 1848, another congressman who raised the issue of expulsion was Manuel Murillo Toro, a distinguished Liberal opposed to any Jesuit presence in the country. This politician had become a Free mason in 1850, and was elected to Congress as a representative of the Santa Marta Province in 1848.⁶² He supported the bill sponsored by Julio Arboleda, which alleged that the royal law was still in force, and that therefore the presence of the priests was illegal and they should be expelled. Murillo declared that anything that happened to the Jesuits was the responsibility of those who had permitted the crime of their return. He alluded particularly to Mariano Ospina Rodríguez.⁶³ Murillo Toro, as Finance Minister and acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, was later to sign the decree of expulsion on 18 May 1850.⁶⁴ He was one of those who notified the fathers resident in the minor seminary of their expulsion. Murillo considered the Society of Jesus a hindrance to the implementation of reforms such as the separation of Church and State, freedom of education, freedom of conscience and religious freedom. He contended that the Jesuits inevitably influenced political affairs with their schools, missions, and workers associations. These views are recorded in statements he made in 1864 when he was elected President of the United States of Colombia. On that occasion, some Bogotá ladies asked for his help to preserve the Catholic beliefs of Colombian society. In his answer, he formulated his thoughts on religión:

...Ustedes saben tanto como yo, que el partido llamado liberal ha desconfiado del clero, que debería representar la libertad religiosa, porque éste desacordadamente se mezcló en las cuestiones meramente políticas, y que de esa desconfianza han venido las providencias que el celo por la libertad civil y política dictó en la efervescencia de la guerra civil. Y como con la idea religiosa se mezcló la defensa de intereses del orden temporal, la confusión fue inevitable, y los derechos periclitaron. Mi principio en la materia, y creo que es el principio profesado por la mayoría nacional, es el

⁶² M. Arango Jaramillo, *Libertad y tolerancia, la Masonería Colombiana en los inicios de la República, 1810-1960*, Bogotá, 2008, pp. 87-8.

⁶³ J.C. Torres, *Manuel Murillo Toro. Caudillo Radical y Reformador Social*, Bogotá, 1984, p. 46.

⁶⁴ A. Bateman, *Manuel Murillo Toro*, Bogotá, 1978, p. 30.

del Estado libre, las creencias libres y el culto libre. Pero la práctica de esta doctrina requiere la recíproca confianza, el hábito de tolerancia, que serán la consecuencia del reconocimiento mutuo de los derechos de la sociedad civil y de los derechos de las sociedades religiosas. Se ha acusado a los representantes del catolicismo de no tener esta tolerancia, y de servirse de la libertad que reclaman cuando están oprimidos contra la libertad civil y política de sus adversarios, luego que la obtienen.⁶⁵

As already mentioned the Conservative Julio Arboleda at the point argued that the Jesuits should leave. Born in 1817, he was from a prominent Popayán family. Later he was educated in London by a Spanish tutor. He returned to the country in 1836 ambitious for a political career.⁶⁶ Arboleda set forth his arguments in two letters in *La Prensa*, in which he denies any intention of attacking the Jesuits as individuals.⁶⁷ He underlined:

Yo no quiero que se destierre ni proscriba a algunos sacerdotes, que viven entre nosotros, y a quienes nosotros llamamos, y acogimos desgraciada e incautamente; deseo solo que no continúe tolerándose en la Nueva Granada la asociación llamada Compañía de Jesús, porque su existencia es ilegal, como creo haberlo probado en mi primera carta, y porque es peligrosísima, como también creo haberlo manifestado en la segunda.⁶⁸

It is not easy to understand why this politician did not want the individual Jesuits to be proscribed while he invited his fellow country-people not to tolerate the institution.

Arboleda elaborates on three topics: first, the legality of the Society's existence in New Granada; second, the convenience of the presence of the Society in the country; third, whether the education of youth should be entrusted to them. His reasoning behind the first question relied on his views of the royal decree, still in force according to the opinions of jurists, the common feeling of the nations and the practice of countries in

⁶⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 89.

⁶⁶ G. Arboleda, *Diccionario biográfico y genealógico del antiguo departamento del Cauca*, Bogotá, 1962, p. 14-6.

⁶⁷ J. Arboleda, *Los Jesuitas*, Bogotá, 1848, p. 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibíd.* p. 1.

the same situation as New Granada: a particular law could not rescind it. He insisted that the legislative decree of 28 April 1842 had not repealed the royal decree.

José Eusebio Caro gave his answer to Arboleda's first question in an article in *La Civilización*.⁶⁹ Caro meticulously analysed the Pragmatic Sanction. He found that it had been reversed by several acts of Spanish kings before 1808, by which individuals of the Society had been allowed to return to the Spanish domains and to live there like everybody else. He also contended that the law had been definitely and fully repealed by article 183 of the Colombian Constitution of 1821, reproduced in the New Granadan Constitution of 1832, which provided that 'all foreigners from any country would be admitted in the Republic and would be granted for their persons and property the same safety as the locals, insofar as they abide by the laws of the Republic'.⁷⁰ Consequently, any foreigners, whether Jesuits, Protestants, or Jews, who came to New Granada, were protected by these constitutional and legal rights. If a foreigner committed a crime, the law stipulated that he had to be tried to determine whether he was guilty or not.

For Caro there were simply some individuals called 'Jesuits', who lived communally and practised the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. As priests, they preached, heard confessions, and said mass, and as teachers, they taught at some institutions in Bogotá, Medellín, and Popayán. He wondered by what sort of measure the government could expel them without violating the rights the constitution granted to both national and foreign individuals. Furthermore, he considered it outrageous to claim that no reproach was being made against the priests as individuals, but only against the Society of Jesus as an organisation: '...ser jesuita en la Nueva Granada no es un delito. Si es delito, decid qué pena tiene señalada. Y mientras no haya pena, no hay delito, pero ni culpa siquiera; así lo declaran expresamente los dos primeros artículos de

⁶⁹ *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 8 de noviembre de 1849, no. 14, p. 55-56.

⁷⁰ *Constitución de la República de Colombia*, Rosario de Cúcuta, 1821.

nuestro Código penal'.⁷¹ Caro argued that even if the royal law had not been expressly repealed, it had fallen into disuse due to general custom and the new laws issued before and after the independence of the country.

Caro pointed out that Congress had issued its special decree in 1842, proposed by a Secretary of State, which had authorized the executive to bring into the country individual European missionaries from whichever institution it considered appropriate. By virtue of this decree, and given there was no law excluding the Society of Jesus, the Executive Branch had arranged with the approval of Congress the return of the Jesuits.

Arboleda misinterpreted the universal nature of the Jesuit vocation and the question of group spirit among members of the Society. Any member of the order keeps his particular nationality. Nevertheless, his Superiors may request him to work anywhere in the world. Ignatius Loyola, the founding Superior General, instructed Francis Xavier to work in India, Japan, and China. Arboleda had argued that as the Jesuits came from different countries, they did not and could not belong to any one country; the duties imposed by the Institutes were incompatible with their duties as citizens:

Prontos como deben estar, en todas ocasiones, a obedecer a las órdenes de sus superiores para llenar cumplidamente la misión que están llamados a desempeñar, deshácense de todos los vínculos que los ligan a la sociedad. Su patria es la Compañía de Jesús; su madre es la Compañía de Jesús; sus hermanos son los miembros de la Compañía de Jesús; que todo esto se necesita para que ellos llenen su misión; para que sea completa y voluntaria su obediencia; para que sea perfecta la unidad de acción que les es indispensable, y para que su resignación sea ejemplar.⁷²

The Spanish Jesuits, though foreigners, had conformed to the laws of New Granada at all times. As we have seen, when the Jesuits became aware of their expulsion, they approached President López to persuade him against the expulsion and

⁷¹ J.E. Caro, *Obras escogidas en Prosa y en Verso*, Bogotá, 1873, p. 159.

⁷² Arboleda, *Los Jesuita*, p. 17.

to allow them remain as individuals, but this had been all in vain. A government that proclaimed itself democratic and tolerant resorted to drastic action to expel priests who had been invited in accordance with a law.

The founder of the *Neo-granadino*, Manuel Ancízar, Liberal politician and Freemason, was a minister in both the first government of Mosquera and in the government of José Hilario López.⁷³ From the beginning, he criticised the presence of the Jesuits in New Granada, asserting that this religious order hindered the acceptance of modern republican ideas with its teaching of antiquated Catholic doctrines.

La armazón externa de la Iglesia romana es hoy idéntica a lo que fue en la Edad Media, los oficios se celebran, los templos están abiertos, pero ¡Cuánto han decaído las creencias! El sacerdote ya no da impulso a la sociedad, ni aun lo recibe de ella, y malgasta sus fuerzas en una estéril lucha contra el progreso social, que en vano pretenderá detener. Ocupa el púlpito, pero su voz no conmueve el corazón de los pueblos, ni corrige, ni dirige, y no ve que su poder mengua de día en día y que en vez de estar a la cabeza de la sociedad camina penosamente detrás de ella.⁷⁴

Under his editorship consistently maintained *El Neo-granadino* that a religious institution that was sowing the seeds of discord in the society of New Granada should not be tolerated.

⁷³ For Manuel Ancízar see: G. Loaiza, *Manuel Ancízar y su época. Biografía de un político hispanoamericano del siglo XIX*. Medellín, 2004, and L. Gómez, 'Manuel Ancízar', in *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, Bogotá, 1994, vol. 9, pp. 37-9.

⁷⁴ *El Neo-granadino*, Bogotá, 28 de abril de 1849, no. 39.

Third Theme: that the Jesuits corrupt the young in their schools, and women and artisans in their churches and confessionals

As we have seen, when the Jesuits arrived they were expected, in accordance with the Decree of 1842 to work as missionaries. The formation of missionaries takes time and patience, and for this purpose the Jesuits opened a novitiate. However, soon after their arrival the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán, and Pasto, invited them to establish schools with the more general and non-missionary purpose of educating the young. Arboleda spread the charge that once they were in charge of the seminaries and schools, the Jesuits would teach fanaticism under the cover of virtue and piety, with the aim of reinforcing the established institutions. He spread the alarm that the Jesuits would dominate education in New Granada, to implant the order's opinions and principles, and ultimately to inculcate in the young the dogma of passive obedience.

El dogma de la *obediencia pasiva*, que enajena la voluntad propia, y los entrega a discreción de un tercero; dogma opuesto al de la soberanía del pueblo, dogma que destruye la libertad, es el dogma característico del jesuita. Y como consecuencia este dogma, la delación ha sido por ellos erigida como virtud.⁷⁵

Arboleda considered that the Jesuits posed a danger in an ignorant country with few teachers, because they would come to hold sway over society at all levels, and all would end up living 'in passive obedience, denunciation, and their consequences – *falsehood, hypocrisy, and distrust*'.⁷⁶

To prevent such a sinister future, Arboleda proposed the drastic removal of all the Jesuits from educational establishments; education was the essential means of moulding the country's future and it was urgent to promote and publicise the republican

⁷⁵ Arboleda, *Los Jesuitas*, p. 26.

⁷⁶ *Ibíd.*

principles that would bring progress and happiness to all the people.⁷⁷ Arboleda at this juncture considered that a nation that was consolidating its institutions should ensure the removal of anything that might prevent the implementation of democratic principles. For Arboleda, there were several ways to destroy the institutions of a nation: one was to attack them directly, but another was to create among the common people opinions and principles opposed to those institutions.

Es evidente que los principios y las opiniones de los jesuitas son, y deben ser, contrarios al espíritu de nuestras instituciones; y que la educación les dará un medio poderoso y eficaz para hacer imperar en la Nueva Granada sus principios y sus opiniones. Luego el gobierno granadino tiene no solamente derecho, sino deber de impedir que eduquen la juventud de la República. Creo tener fundamento para decir, como digo: *—Que no es conveniente confiar a los jesuitas la educación de la juventud granadina, y que hay no solo derecho sino deber impedirlo—*.⁷⁸

The Jesuits were accused of developing hatred and resentment, which kindled religious divisions.

They would import ultramontane doctrines that were not tolerated any more in any civilized country: they had not changed, and would not change their principles, plans, goals, system, ambition, and pride, for these were a part of their corporate spirit and institute.⁷⁹

The opponents of the Jesuits constantly insisted on the danger to the young men who studied with them. This can be seen in the following passage from *La Noche*:

...muévenos el deseo de que no se dé un golpe fatal a la instrucción eliminando por las astucias e intrigas de algunos interesados en la conservación del fanatismo y de la ignorancia, los colegios y establecimientos públicos de enseñanza, que ya se comienzan a atacar, para que todos al fin vengan a sujetarse a las solas opiniones de los padres jesuitas y a retrogradar a los siglos de barbarie en que las cuestiones teológicas promovieron tantos disturbios y empaparon el mundo entero en sangre. Nos mueve el deseo de impedir que vengan a resucitarnos aquí el Jansenismo, arma terrible con que los padres de la Compañía mancillaron la reputación de esclarecidos varones de la

⁷⁷ *Ibíd.*

⁷⁸ Arboleda, *Los Jesuitas*, p. 27.

⁷⁹ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 2 de noviembre de 1845, no. 8.

Iglesia, calumniaron aun a los mismos príncipes y a los Papas, sembraron la discordia por todo el orbe católico, y diseminaron el espíritu de persecución que los ha distinguido siempre, contra todos lo que no elogiaban sus hechos y sus doctrinas, y se oponían a su sistema de dominación universal.⁸⁰

This article claims that to entrust the education of the young to the Jesuits would mean a return to backwardness and fanaticism. It mentions Jansenism, but the author fails to acknowledge that the Jesuits were precisely the adversaries of that theological school.⁸¹

Salvador Camacho Roldán was another Liberal politician and publicist who disapproved of the education imparted by the priests. In his writings he contends that the Society of Jesus had been created to fight the free ideas and thoughts of the Reformation, not to guide people towards a religious experience:

...Por su origen y el objeto de su institución, la comunidad de los jesuitas no es, propiamente hablando, un establecimiento religioso sino uno de propaganda política; de predicación de las ideas reaccionarias dominantes en España en los tiempos de Felipe II; en resumen, esa comunidad es una sociedad de carácter permanente, en lucha con los gobiernos libres y las ideas de la renovación social. Así lo muestra su historia de tres siglos, en los que, íntimamente ligada con todos los gobiernos tiránicos, ha sido expulsada de todos los países regidos por libres instituciones, o en los períodos en que los pueblos esclavizados bregaban por mejorar su condición social.⁸²

Camacho Roldán later stated that the reason why the Jesuits had been expelled by the Liberal government of López was that they came from Spain, a country still without diplomatic relations with New Granada and hostile to republicanism. Be that as it may, the education they offered was certainly incompatible with republican institutions.

⁸⁰ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 2 de noviembre de 1845, no. 8

⁸¹ P. Blet, 'Jansenismo', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 3, pp. 2126-30.

⁸² S. Camacho Roldán, *Memorias*, vol. 2, Bogotá, 1946, p. 43.

Las tendencias inevitables de la educación jesuítica hacia la intolerancia religiosa por una parte, y hacia el espíritu de dogmatismo y de negación de la autoridad de la razón humana, por otra, son absolutamente inaceptables. La experiencia de nuestro país en los dos períodos en que han sido dueños de los primeros de nuestros establecimientos de educación (1843 a 1850 y 1886 a 1898) está muy lejos de darles buen crédito en el particular, pues se han exhibido, con algunas raras excepciones, como maestros chabacanos e inferiores en todo sentido.⁸³

He considered that the Jesuits were not as skilled in scientific subjects as were teachers from France, Germany, and the United States, and thought that, except for Father Manuel Gil, a brilliant preacher, and Father Pedro García, a humble and generous priest, most of the Jesuits who came to this country were mediocre and undistinguished.

The Medellín society *El Amigo del País* severely criticised the Governor's entrusting of the *Colegio Académico* to the society.⁸⁴ The Jesuits were also held to have excessive influence over women through their preaching spiritual exercises and the confessional. Female superstition would hinder progress and reform. Women did indeed figure prominently in the representations made to López urging him against expelling the Jesuits. The Jesuits were accused of violating the seal of the confessional, the *sigillum sacramentale*, and of keeping notebooks in which they wrote down the confessions of influential and important people to take advantage of them later. These notes allegedly showed the double standards of those Jesuits residing in Bogotá.

Other general critical statements appeared, such as:

...nosotros no queremos sus enseñanzas, y detestamos sus principios y sus doctrinas. Otra es la doctrina del evangelio, otras las máximas sublimes de nuestra religión, otra la moral de los cristianos; y por esto repetimos con Henrique IV. "Nosotros somos católicos, apostólicos, romanos, pero no católicos jesuitas."⁸⁵

⁸³ *Ibíd.*, p. 44.

⁸⁴ *El Amigo del País*, Medellín, 1 de enero de 1846, no. 2.

⁸⁵ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 12 de abril de 1846, no. 26.

In relation to the common people and workers, articles are to be found like the one published in 1850 entitled '*Los Jesuitas y la Tolerancia*', in which they are accused of distracting people from their proper work with the frequent repetition of meaningless and useless religious ceremonies.⁸⁶ They conclude that priests take advantage of the ignorance of society to exaggerate the importance of religious worship and to develop it into a dominant passion. They accuse the Jesuits of inculcating gross superstitions in the masses. According to *El Neo-granadino*, 'They know how to transform their followers' religious feeling into a dark hatred, a deadly hate towards everyone who does not submit to the Society's dominion'.⁸⁷ Their critics allege that as long as the priests control the consciences of the masses it will be impossible to promote a beneficial foreign immigration into the country. This implicitly referred to the possible arrival of non-Catholic people in the Republic.

After the *Sociedad Popular de Bogotá* was created, the Jesuits were accused of fomenting 'hatred and defamation towards the legal Government, as the core of that association consisted of 200 'congregants' who had been gathered and disciplined by the Jesuits at closed weekly meetings held on the pretext of religious education'. Artisans belonging to the association denied the accusations and put up posters on the walls. These defended the priests and argued for their presence in the country, warning people that the attacks in *La Noche* were libels not only against the Jesuits but against the honour of the Catholic religion:

Proclama de un Artesano. Compatriotas y Camaradas! La impiedad se ha desmascarado: su lenguaje es la blasfemia: jamás su osadía había llegado a tanto: leed *La Noche* y os desengañareis. *En ella se dice que los padres jesuitas son unos malvados: que corrompen el mundo: que gastan el dinero que cogen en la corrupción: que sus maldades y rapiñas las cometen por que siguen el instituto del SOLDADO de la bandera colorada S. Ignacio de Loyola!...que blasfemia?...unos religiosos estimados y protegidos por el Sumo Pontífice!, por la Iglesia Católica!*

⁸⁶ *El Neo-granadino*, Bogotá, 17 de mayo de 1850, no. 101, p. 161.

⁸⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 162.

Esto es decir que el Sumo Pontífice, que la Iglesia protege el crimen...que protege a los malvados...! ¡Qué blasfemias...! Y esto se publica en medio del católico pueblo bogotano... ¡A vuestra vista...! ¡A vista del pueblo que siempre ha hecho callar a los impíos...! ¿Qué hacéis? ¿En qué pensáis...? ¿Queréis que consiga la impiedad su triunfo en 1846 cuando no lo consiguió en 1842? ¿Queréis que se acabe la religión? Desengañaos. ¡No es a los jesuitas que se trata de destruir, es el catolicismo...! Es al Gobierno...Con nosotros a sostener al Gobierno a quien atacan estos malvados facciosos que se venden por amigos del país! ¡Con nosotros, que nuestra santa causa ha de triunfar y los malvados han de sucumbir! VIVA LA RELIGION! ¡Viva el Gobierno! ¡Mueran los impíos perturbadores del orden y enemigos de las buenas costumbres! ¡¡¡ABAJO LOS NOCHEROS!!! Cuartel general en la sociedad de la lanza, febrero 10 de 1846. El general Zapatero.⁸⁸

El Día argued that through education the Jesuits provided a great service to the country, which would help to create a new society.

La existencia de los Jesuitas en la Nueva Granada es un hecho consumado; y en el cálculo de todo hombre de bien y pensador de buena fe sobre la necesidad de remediar la educación torcida que, en los principios morales principalmente, se ha dado a nuestra juventud, y cuyas ideas han sido y serán la causa de los males pasados, presentes y futuros de la patria, los Jesuitas deben considerarse como poderosos auxiliares para la regeneración social de este país, y firmes apoyos del orden político. En un pueblo libre como el nuestro en que nada hay oculto, en que la mayoría resuelve las cuestiones, en que hay leyes, penas y garantías, y en que cada ciudadano es un guardián de las libertades públicas, sería una cobarde conducta, alarmarnos por la existencia de un puñado de hombres de cuyas cualidades debemos aprovecharnos en bien del país, así como lo hacemos con todo extranjero que viene a él.⁸⁹

Fourth Theme: The presumed wealth of the Jesuits

In *Historia de un Alma*, José María Samper describes how his feelings towards the Jesuits originated in his adolescent years.⁹⁰ In one of his articles in *La Noche* he dealt with their acquisition of property. According to him, they were necessarily donation:

⁸⁸ Archivo Universidad de Antioquia (AUA) Hoja Suelta, documento no. 146, folio 165.

⁸⁹ *El Día*, Bogotá, 7 de diciembre de 1845, no. 326, p. 3.

⁹⁰ J.M. Samper, *Historia de un alma*, Medellín, 1971, pp. 182-3.

Pero, y que otra cosa podéis hacer vosotros dignísimos y sacratísimos jesuitas, vosotros que habéis jurado una ciega obediencia únicamente al vuestro general, aun despreciando la majestad soberana de todos los gobiernos del mundo y que tan humilde y escrupulosamente practicáis los divinos preceptos del venerable soldado S. I de L? Estáis precisados por vuestros, votos, por vuestra institución, y por vuestra naturaleza a ser lo que sois y lo que habéis sido siempre es decir; pérfidos, sonsacadores, codiciosos, traidores y corrompidos. Cualquiera que tenga escasos conocimientos sobre las constituciones de los jesuitas, se convencerá de que para que ellos practiquen todo lo que les ordena su santo y divino soldado de la cruz roja, necesitan mucha astucia, y sobre todo, mucho dinero; porque no siempre bastan la hipocresía mas desenfrenada, y la seducción para convencer a los que tienen bastante firmeza de carácter para resistir a las palabras, pero que no la tienen cuando está de por medio el dinero.⁹¹

This article refers to the generosity of people from Bogotá, in particular to María Agustina Fuenmayor Lishc, who had provided the Jesuits with significant aid by giving them the property where they were opened the novitiate.⁹²

Again, on the question of Jesuit wealth, a contrasting article appeared in *El Día*, signed by L. R. R., a seminarian, as a response to these attacks:

Indeed, some people, who give credit to these false and defaming stories, believe that these priests only strive to establish a universal monarchy everywhere and to seize everyone's property – but that point of view is clearly untrue because nowhere in their Constitutions do we find any proof of that intention and besides, history does not show that they ever tried to carry out such an action.⁹³

The author acknowledged that he had formerly held the views as the opponents of the Jesuits, as he had read Pascal's letters against them. He had then read the ecclesiastical history of the *Barón de Henrion*, and changed his mind.⁹⁴

⁹¹ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 8 de febrero de 1846, no. 22.

⁹² According to Fernández Saavedra: 'En el periodo de seis años de mansión de los Jesuitas en este país, eran ya dueños en Bogotá de tres valiosas casas que se les regalaron, y el dinero que recogieron aquí, en Antioquia y Popayán, no puede calcularse; de solo Popayán y en los últimos días de su expulsión sacaron, fuera de alhajas, veinte mil pesos en onzas'. See: *El Neo-granadino* no. 112 and M. Fernández Saavedra, *El Arzobispo ante la nación*, Bogotá, 1852, p. 22.

⁹³ *El Día*, Bogotá, 8 de marzo de 1846, no. 341, p. 3.

⁹⁴ He refers to M. Henrion, *Historia general de las misiones desde el siglo XIII hasta nuestros días*, Barcelona, 1863.

Fifth Theme: Structures of government of the Jesuit Order

The 1848 bill proposing the expulsion of the Jesuits was an occasion that enabled congressmen to voice their opinions, and a new element in the debate concerned the founding principles of the Society the 'Formulas of the Institute' and the Constitutions.

Julio Arboleda and Florentino González had read these texts, and cited them for their particular interpretations of the way in which Jesuits acted. Both politicians concentrated on the vow of obedience professed by Jesuits to their superiors and especially with the fourth solemn vow of obedience to the Pope. They claimed that keeping these vows promoted betrayal and disloyalty. Arboleda also complained about the lack of documentation available about the Society, and his explanation of this was that the Jesuits kept it hidden to avoid the discovery of their conspiratorial methods. The various points are worth examination.

Arboleda claimed that both supporters and critics of the Jesuit order distorted the history of the Society by not taking into account the foundational documents, and that these had been deliberately concealed from the general public ever since its foundation. This claim was supported by *La Noche*: the Jesuits had hidden the formulas of the Institute, the Constitutions, and other documents issued by the General Congregations.⁹⁵ The claim was that they were hidden to prevent the disclosure of spying procedures, of plans for rebellion and regicides, of religious intrigues and of violence in the exercise of power, and to prevent the general public from knowing out about the oaths supposedly taken by members of the order. Supporters of the Jesuits pointed out that the foundation documents were available to the general public, and had been subject to analysis and

⁹⁵ General Congregations are meetings held from time to time in order to elect the Superior General and assess the condition of the order.

discussions throughout the history of the order.⁹⁶ Ever since the popes Paul III and Julius III had approved the Institute of the Society, the documents had been available and had been discussed in several forums, in the *Parlement* of Paris in 1560 and the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561. Furthermore:

El Instituto con sus declaraciones fue sucesivamente publicado por la imprenta en Italia, Austria, Francia, Polonia y España, contándose en 1762 DIEZ Y SEIS ediciones; y después de restablecida la Compañía por Pío VII, se han hecho otras dos. En 1762 publicó Carlos Francisco Saboureux de la Bonneterie en francés una traducción del Instituto, hecha sobre la edición auténtica de Praga de 1757. Hay otra traducción anónima de las constituciones de la Compañía publicada en Paris en 1770, y reimpressa con el texto latino en 1843. Compendios del Instituto los hay en latín, y en todas las lenguas de Europa, y de muchísimas ediciones. Desde principios del siglo XVII, época de la controversia entre la Universidad de Paris y los Jesuitas, fue el Instituto de estos materia que ejerció los talentos y la elocuencia de los abogados: Pasquier y Marteliere en contra de la Compañía; Montholon y Versoris en su favor, publicaron en 1612 alegatos difusísimos, en que era examinado el Instituto hasta en sus ápices. A mediados del siglo anterior volvió el Instituto a ser la arena en que combatían los amigos y los enemigos de la Compañía: las prensas de Alemania, Bélgica, Francia, España, Portugal y de la Italia, dieron millares de volúmenes sobre el Instituto.⁹⁷

This refuted complaints about the lack of sources for the study of the order. It seems highly probable that both supporters and critics of the Jesuits used copies of the Constitutions that had been in libraries seized at the time of the Expulsion in 1767, that they used the 1843 edition.

However, the lack of trustworthy literature had led both supporters and critics of the Jesuits in Europe to frequent repetition. The former exaggerated the value of the order both historically and doctrinally, and the latter attributed to them imaginary

⁹⁶ M. Ospina, *Arboleda, González y los Jesuitas, Reflexiones para servir de comentario a los Jesuitas del Sr. J. Arboleda*, Bogotá, 1848. José Manuel Groot published a work to refute Arboleda's anti-Jesuit arguments and to offer a synthesis of the ecclesiastical history of New Granada. See: J.M. Groot, *Refutación de algunos errores del Señor Julio Arboleda sobre los Jesuitas y sus Constituciones*. Bogotá, 1848.

⁹⁷ M. Ospina, *Arboleda, González y los Jesuitas, Reflexiones para servir de comentario a los Jesuitas del Sr. J. Arboleda*, p. 1.

crimes.⁹⁸ Despite the shortage of sources, in New Granada Arboleda was familiar with the apologetic works of Ravignan and Cretineau, and of critical pieces, including a famous article in the Encyclopaedia Britanica, and the works by Vicente Gioberti, Ranke, Robertson, Edgar Quinet, and Jules Michelet.⁹⁹

Arboleda describes the main characteristics of the Jesuit order: its members were numerous and known for their organization, for their academic qualifications, and for ordeals they had suffered. According to the Constitutions, all members were committed to obeying their superiors blindly, which forced them to overemphasize the *esprit de corps* of the order. They were accused of not obeying the authorities of the countries where they resided because of the Fourth Vow of obedience to the Pope and their dependence on the Superior General. As priests, they would influence a high proportion of the population of New Granada, and as teachers and pedagogues, the risk was that they would dominate the education of the young in the main cities, at very low cost.¹⁰⁰

Interpretation of the Jesuit foundational documents by Julio Arboleda and Florentino González: The Formula of the Institute and the Constitutions

According to Arboleda, the Jesuits dated back to 1606, and had not evolved any innovative or modern ideas. Since the approval and confirmation of the order by Pope Gregory XIII in 1583 and 1584, the Jesuits had followed his mandates

⁹⁸ J. Arboleda, *Los Jesuitas*, Bogotá, 1848, p. 2.

⁹⁹ Jules Michelet and his colleague Edgar Quinet were authors of the famous work *Les Jésuites*, against the order, without little real knowledge of the *Spiritual Exercises* or of the history of the Society, they stigmatized the Jesuits as priests who merchandised the faith. They wrote in a period characterized by the polemic between the anti-Jesuit French Minister of Education, Abel Villemain, who defended a monopoly of the university and the Jesuit Nicolas Deschampa, who aggressively claimed liberty to teach: see. P. Duclos, 'Jules Michelet', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 3, p. 2659, and M.J. Michelet, *Jesuits and Jesuitism*, London, 1846. Gioberti Vincenzo concentrated his hostility against the Jesuits on three themes: first, his friendship with Jansenists opposed to the Jesuits; second, his philosophical disagreement with the Italian Jesuits who defended neo-Thomist theories; third, the opposition of the Jesuits to the *Risorgimento Italiano*. See: A. Scurani, 'Vicenzo Gioberti', *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 2, p. 1735.

¹⁰⁰ Arboleda, *Los Jesuitas*, p. 20.

meticulously: 'He teaches and educates them, they are his children, and I cannot refrain from regarding their diligent observance of him as a virtue, when I consider that these men, living in the present are taken back to remote times by their education'.¹⁰¹ He thus concludes that the priests, still living in 1606, were a manifest anachronism in the enlightened nineteenth century. They represented antique moral and political ideas that might have been in fashion two and a half centuries earlier, but which were now harmful to human society. The Jesuits believed their moral and political principles to be outstanding, and the severity of their doctrine accustomed them revering them. Arboleda found the principles and opinions absurd and odious: if the Jesuits were allowed to be in charge of the education and consciences of the young, then harmful and archaic doctrines, typical of colonial times, would be divulged once more.

For Jesuits, the *Constitutions* are the main legislative work after the Formula of the Institute. Their spirit and purpose are rooted in the mystical experience that Ignatius evident in the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Spiritual Diary*. As the essence of the order, these documents indicate the path that every Jesuit has to follow in order to achieve evangelical perfection. The *Constitutions* comprise the actual 'Constitutions', the *Examen*, and the Declarations. These 'three different types of Ignatian documents have equal legal force in the Society of Jesus'.¹⁰² The *Examen* is a booklet handed out to candidates to the Order in the first phase of formation; it contains a series of instructions and of questions that should be raised by the appointed examiners. This document has a double purpose: first, so that the candidate may learn the evangelical demands and the implications of being a member of the Order –this life project entails renunciation and the spiritual dispositions of poverty, abnegation and mortification aimed at promoting humility and striving for evangelical perfection; second, so that the examiner may come

¹⁰¹ *Ibíd.*, p. 2-3.

¹⁰² M. Ruiz Jurado, 'Constituciones', in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. Biográfico Temático* vol. 1, pp. 928-35.

to know in depth the person who aspires to join the Society of Jesus. In the first four chapters of the *Examen*, Ignatius Loyola introduces the Society and the purpose of its foundation, along with an account of the renunciation that a candidate must embrace to start on this new path as a priest.¹⁰³ Part of the renunciation expected from a candidate concerns the family. For obvious reasons, the novice has to leave his beloved ones in preparation for special training. The purpose of this renunciation is to live according to the evangelical advice ‘to leave father, mother, brothers, and sisters for the kingdom of God’. From very early times such renunciation has been practiced by other religious orders in the Church and aims to prepare the candidate for an absolute willingness to renounce the world, including family and friends, in order to identify completely identify with Jesus Christ. All such renunciations are presented to the candidate in a context of complete freedom and self- awareness, so that he may discern whether he is willing to accept them or not. However, for Arboleda such conduct was contrary to the customs of New Granada and he argued that the Jesuits used this practice to coax young men away from their families and, once away, to corrupt them with their doctrines.

Arboleda also objected to the section where the examiner is invited to interrogate the candidate, as follows:

For the sake of his greater progress in his spiritual life, and especially for his greater lowliness and humility, he should be asked whether he will be willing to have all his errors and defects, and anything else which will be noticed or known about him, manifested to his superiors by anyone who knows them outside of confession; and further, whether he along with all the others will be willing to aid in correcting and being corrected, and to manifest one another with due love and charity, in order to help one another more in the spiritual life, especially when this will be requested of him by the superior who has charge of them for the greater glory of God.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ I. de Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary norms. A complete English Traslation of the oficial Latin Texts*, Saint Louis, 1996, pp. 23-54.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibíd.*, p. 37.

Arboleda, a Conservative politician educated in a Catholic family, considered that these practices displayed disloyalty and betrayal, because the statements in these sections describe the duty of fraternal correction outlined in the Gospels. Arboleda's criticism ignores the context of spiritual conversion that led Ignatius to write the *Constitutions*: he wanted to guarantee compliance with the purpose of founding the Society, which was '...not only to the salvation and perfection of the members' own souls, but also with that same grace to labour strenuously in giving aid toward the salvation and perfection of the souls of their neighbours'.¹⁰⁵

Arboleda and Florentino González both referred to the actual text of the *Constitutions*. This consists of an introduction and ten parts. Both politicians mention Part Six which refers to the obedience within the Society and how to comply with it. The Society of Jesus is a religious order whose members take the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, while some, who are called 'professed', also take a fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, which concerns mission. Ignatius was very precise when he came to define how to understand the vow of obedience in the Society, and he explains it as follows:

...En manera en que todas las cosas a que puede con la caridad extenderse la obediencia, seamos prestos a la voz de ella como si Cristo nuestro Señor saliese (pues en su lugar y por su amor y reverencia la hacemos), dejando por acabar cualquier letra o cosa comenzada; y poniendo toda la intención y fuerzas en el Señor de todos, en que la santa obediencia, cuanto a la ejecución y cuanto a la voluntad y cuanto al entendimiento, sea siempre en todo perfecta, haciendo con mucha presteza y gozo espiritual y perseverancia cuanto nos será mandado; persuadiéndonos ser todo justo, y negando con obediencia ciega todo nuestro parecer y juicio contrario en todas las cosas que el superior ordena, donde no se pueda determinar (como es dicho) que haya alguna especie de pecado, haciendo cuenta que cada uno de los que viven en obediencia se debe dejar llevar y regir de la divina Providencia por medio del Superior, como si fuese un cuerpo muerto, que se deja llevar adondequiera y tratar como quiera, o como un bastón de hombre viejo,

¹⁰⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 24.

que en donde quiera y en cualquier cosa que del ayudarse querrá el que le tiene en la mano, sirve.¹⁰⁶

Arboleda argued that this understanding of obedience within the Society was not compatible with republican principles: in no case should one's mind be subjected to another's will, because the merits or demerits of actions depend on free-will, by which one is actually accountable to God. According to his interpretation, the Jesuits believed that the greatness of virtue lay in surrendering mind and free-will, and that this constituted evangelical perfection. He respected this behaviour and appreciated those who practiced it, but he did not approve of the young men of New Granada being exposed to those doctrines. He was therefore willing to prevent by all means the presence in the Republic of the so-called Society of Jesus, for it would drown at birth the new-born freedom of the country.¹⁰⁷ Jesuit doctrines had reached their heyday in the early seventeenth century, and were useful to the order in those times, but they were now inadmissible and harmful for the people of mid-nineteenth century New Granada.¹⁰⁸ Arboleda invited the Jesuits to love their laws, to proceed upon their principles, and to practice their doctrines, because he tolerated all of these, but as a citizen of New Granada he demanded that they abide by the laws of the country, not undermine its institutions, and not interfere in the affairs of New Granada families or New Granada government. The Jesuits might remain in the country as individuals, but not as an association, and he urged them not to increase their numbers in the country by admitting novices.¹⁰⁹

Arboleda misinterpreted Part Eight of the Constitutions, which deals with the measures that should be implemented by members of the order, spread around the

¹⁰⁶ I. de Loyola, *Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola*, Madrid, 1963, p. 531.

¹⁰⁷ J. Arboleda, *Los Jesuitas*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

world, to keep in touch with the Superior General. The latter is based in Rome and he appoints assistants, called ‘General Assistants’, for administrative purposes.¹¹⁰ Through these he provides guidance to local superiors around the world with regard to such topics as spirituality, methods of government, and new apostolic works. The aim is to preserve communication with the Superior General and put into practice the *Constitutions*. The Jesuits in New Granada followed this practice and constantly requested the approval of their superiors in order to be faithful to the spirit of the order. Nevertheless, this conduct was interpreted by Arboleda, González and other Liberals as an indication that a foreign power was engaged in spying and interfering in the affairs of the national government.¹¹¹

In the nineteenth century a new calumny had appeared, that the Jesuits taught that the end justified immoral means. This accusation was based on a false interpretation of an ethical manual written by a German Jesuit in 1650. The text discussed several moral cases and gave alternative solutions. ‘The phrase was not found as part of a general principle, but rather as a simple statement of a possible solution to a case. However, two centuries later it was popular to assert that the SJ taught that a good end can be achieved by using any means, even if they are immoral’.¹¹² Florentino González assumed that the defamation was true: he argued that those who professed the principle that it was possible to do wrong when it was convenient, as well as those who justified crime for reasons of expediency, must indeed be guilty of the poisonings, disruptions and other crimes attributed to them; for that reason the people of New Granada had to outlaw the presence of the Jesuits who professed such an abominable doctrine.¹¹³ He encouraged his readers to examine the *Constitutions*:

¹¹⁰ I. Echarte. ‘Gobierno’, in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 2, pp. 1745-62.

¹¹¹ *La Noche*, Bogotá, 2 de noviembre de 1845, no. 8. y Arboleda, *Los Jesuitas*, p. 16.

¹¹² C.E O’Neill. ‘Anti-jesuitismo’, in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 1, p. 187.

¹¹³ F. González, *A la Imparcialidad y la Justicia*, p. 19.

Conociendo a la compañía como la conozco, por sus constituciones, por sus infames casuistas, por los hechos de sus miembros en todos los países en donde han adquirido ascendiente, yo no podía ver con indiferencia los progresos que hacía en mi país. Siempre dejé oír mi voz contra ella en el consejo de gobierno, siempre me opuse a toda medida que pudiera favorecerla, siempre reclamé que, por lo menos, se mandase a convertir salvajes a esos celosos varones, que se ocupan en convertir a los cristianos civilizados de Bogotá, Medellín y Popayán, y que pasan su tiempo en los espectáculos teatrales de sus fiestas, en decir gracias a las beatas en el confesionario, y en difundir entre la gente sencilla y la juventud incauta sus perniciosas doctrinas. Sabidas eran mis opiniones por los miembros del gobierno y por todos los que me conocen, y no ha debido por lo tanto parecer extraño que me separase del ministerio el día que el secretario de gobierno, con la imprudente declaratoria que hizo en la Cámara de Representantes, prestó el favor del gobierno a la Compañía de Jesús.¹¹⁴

González was appointed Minister of Finance by President Mosquera on 14 September 1846, but he resigned in 1848 because he did not approve of the Jesuits being allowed to remain in the country. Despite disputes between Mosquera and himself, he had taken office because he shared with the government the aim to pursue reforms of modernizing stamp.¹¹⁵ His proposals had included the encouragement of steam navigation on the Magdalena River, the abolition of barriers to tobacco export, the promotion of free-trade principles and the abolition of tithes. He was an exceptionally talented man, well read in politics, economics, fiscal theories and public administration. Both in Congress and as a minister he had proposed projects to improve tax collecting and government expenditure.¹¹⁶ At the end of his report he devotes several paragraphs to his disapproval of the presence of the Jesuits, and he had taken part in the debates of 1848 when a bill was proposed requesting their expulsion.

¹¹⁴ J. Duarte, *Florentino González, Razón y sin Razón de una lucha política*. Bogotá, 1971, p. 366.

¹¹⁵ Florentino González was born in Santander in 1805, and died in Buenos Aires, in 1874. Ver: G. Vargas, 'Florentino González', *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, Bogotá, 1887, pp. 230-3; and O. Morales, 'Florentino González', *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 9, Bogotá, 1994, pp. 262-3.

¹¹⁶ F. González, *Memorias*, Medellín, 1973, p. 8.

González supported the bill, and this brought about his resignation. His behaviour was disapproved of by the President and his Secretary of State Alejandro Osorio.¹¹⁷

González considered that the invitation to the Jesuits to evangelize the natives had not been sufficiently discussed, and was one of those who claimed their presence was illegal because the pragmatic sanction had not been repealed.¹¹⁸ Subsequently several articles refuting González were published, and among them one anonymous piece in *Las Finanzas y los Jesuitas según el doctor González* stands out. This argued that before the law of 1842 was enacted, all segments of society had indeed been consulted and that Congress had approved the return of the Jesuits by a vast majority.¹¹⁹

Both González and Arboleda claimed that the teachings of the Jesuits were in opposition to republican principles. Both published somewhat contradictory arguments because they contended that they were not proscribing individual Jesuits, but only the Society. They said that the Institute bound the priests with immoral ties and turned virtuous men into criminals who might blindly obey a villain. To approve such a religious order would be to authorize an institution liable to crime; they predicted that such a corporation could have no future in this country; it would be bound to disappear, as had the tribunal of the Inquisition. According to González: 'Their power is now decreasing and the veil of their hypocrisy has been torn by civilization. The Jesuits are demanding the principles of tolerance that they used to condemn'.¹²⁰

The level of anti-Jesuit propaganda in New Granada reached a high point in 1848 when Ezequiel Rojas, another leading Liberal intellectual, published a programme which was adopted by the presidential candidate José Hilario López. It was published in the newspaper *El Aviso*, and is considered to be the first political programme of the

¹¹⁷ *El Día*, Bogotá, Sábado 10 de noviembre de 1849, no. 667, p. 3-4.

¹¹⁸ González, *A la Imparcialidad y la Justicia*, pp. 18-9.

¹¹⁹ Anónimo, *Las Finanzas y los Jesuitas según el doctor González*, Bogotá, 1848, pp. 13-40.

¹²⁰ González, *A la imparcialidad y la Justicia*, p. 20.

Liberal Party.¹²¹ In one paragraph Rojas raised the issue of religion, and stated that his party would not adopt religion as a means to govern, because government and religion must be separated. 'For this reason the Liberal Party can see the imminent danger to public liberties, prerogatives of sovereignty and guarantees, posed by the presence of the institution known as the 'Society of Jesus' in the country. The influence of this corporation is irresistible...'¹²²

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to illustrate how from the arrival of the Jesuits in New Granada in 1844, a hostile atmosphere developed and grew until they were expelled in 1850. The Liberal party showed no mercy to either the Jesuits who settled in Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán and Pasto in 1844, or to those who subsequently went into the Caquetá and Putumayo regions. The Liberals constantly published anti-Jesuit stories and literature from Europe, particularly from France.¹²³

It was alleged that the Jesuits were in the republic illegally; that their education corrupted the young; that their preaching and sermons had an adverse influence on women and the working classes. Criticisms were spread about their supposed avarice and their devious means of acquiring wealth. Finally, the organizational structure of the order was called in question, particularly with regard to obedience.

The supporters and friends of the Jesuits, who were mainly members of the Conservative Party, claimed that the order had been re-established to spread Christian doctrines, to establish centres for the education of the young in religion, morality and discipline, and to reinforce the seminaries of Bogotá, and Popayán. The Jesuits

¹²¹ M. Arango, *Libertad y Tolerancia. La Masonería Colombiana en los inicios de la República 1810-1960*, p. 81.

¹²² *El Aviso*, Bogotá, 16 de julio de 1848, N.26.

¹²³ J. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, Bogotá, 1963, p. 62.

encountered in New Granada many friends and, since they themselves did not write in the press, these friends were those who defended them in the country's newspapers against the frequent calumnies.

Chapter IV

The Jesuits and their Relations with Two Conservative Politicians and the General Public

This chapter will return to the support by Mariano Ospina Rodríguez and José Eusebio Caro, two representatives of the nascent Conservative party.

These men wrote the first formal Conservative programme and were the two most prominent public figures who opposed the expulsion of the Jesuits. The first is Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, one of the chief proponents of the decree of 1842 that had invited their return. The second is José Eusebio Caro, who in 1849 in *La Civilización*, defended their presence. We do not imply that they were the only politicians who opposed the expulsion and defended the presence of the Society of Jesus in the country. During the debates in Congress in 1848 in which the expulsion of the Jesuits was rooted, the historian José Manuel Groot defended them with a study that made clear the historical context in which the Society had appeared, and emphasized the significant contribution of the order to the history of the New Granadan Church.¹ Venancio Restrepo followed his example in his defence the Archbishop of Bogotá.² These politicians were practicing Catholics who believed religion to be a fundamental element in the organization of Colombian society. They respected the achievements by the Jesuits in Colonial times and saw them as effective agents for the evangelization of the country's citizens. Ospina Rodríguez also expected their scientific knowledge to contribute to the material progress of the country.

¹ J.M. Groot, *Refutación de algunos errores del Señor Julio Arboleda sobre los Jesuitas y sus Constituciones*, Bogotá, 1848.

² V. Restrepo, *Impugnación del doctor Venancio Restrepo al libelo infamatorio titulado: El Arzobispo de Bogotá ante la nación*, Bogotá, 1852.

Mariano Ospina Rodríguez

Mariano Ospina Rodríguez undoubtedly exercised a prolonged influence in the political life of the country and can be considered the single most dominant figure in the conservative ranks until his death in 1885, from the administration of Márquez and Herrán until the administration of Rafael Núñez and the *Regeneración*. As a public figure, he had admirers and detractors. Several biographies provide insights into the thought of one of the most controversial politicians of the century. Among them, the two-volume biography by Estanislao Gómez Barrientos still stands out. He used primary sources such as Ospina's private correspondence, the press of the time and an extensive bibliography written from both the Conservative and the Liberal viewpoints. Though his work is essentially an apologia.³

In 1990, Doris Wize de Gouzy wrote and edited a two-volume study of Ospina. It contains a chronology of Ospina's life, and an introduction that analyses his life in the nineteenth-century context, and compares and contrasts his ideas with those of other Hispanic American politicians and thinkers. She also reprints a selection of Ospina's writings from throughout his public life.⁴ Her originality consists in that she shows the influence exerted upon Ospina Rodríguez by the political, economic, social and cultural vision of the Jesuits and of a group of intellectuals that emerged in Latin America in the

³ E. Gómez Barrientos, *Don Mariano Ospina y su época*, 2 vols. Medellín, 1913-15, and *25 años a través del Estado de Antioquia: continuación de la Obra de don Mariano Ospina y su época*, 2 vols. Medellín, 1927. An important article about Ospina was published in the *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades* of 1906, see: J.M. Cordovés, 'Cautividad de don Mariano Ospina', *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, no. 34, 1906, pp. 629-37. In 1912, Carlos E. Restrepo wrote an article describing Ospina's role in inviting the Jesuits to return to New Granada, because of the order's proven competence in the education. See: C. E. Restrepo, 'Doctor Mariano Ospina', *Boletín de historia y Antigüedades*, no. 87, Bogotá, 1912, pp. 129-56. Cordovés Moure and Restrepo offer further details about the different posts that Ospina held in his public life. Among other authors, Gustavo Otero Muñoz wrote a substantial biographical essay on Ospina in 1949, see: G. Otero, *Mariano Ospina Rodríguez ensayo biográfico*, Bogotá, 1949, and Antonio Cacua Prada a brief biography in 1985, see: A. Cacua, *Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, fundador del conservatismo colombiano 1805-1885*, Bogotá, 1985, and A. Cacua, 'Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, maestro, periodista y magistrado', *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, no. 748, 1985, pp. 93-136. Both authors give significant extracts from Ospina's correspondence and published writings.

⁴ D. Wize de Gouzy, *Antología del pensamiento de Mariano Ospina Rodríguez*, Bogotá, 1990.

late eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century. She cites Javier Ocampo López, who discusses how some of the *criollo* Jesuits, after being expelled by Carlos III, used their writings to challenge ideas about America that were current in Europe.⁵ He had argued that the Jesuits offered coherent models for state and civil society. During colonial times, the Jesuits had demonstrated how to organise an efficient society through their universities, schools, lands and plantations. Wyze underlines this:

With regard to the Society of Jesus Mariano Ospina and his followers assume certain presuppositions drawn from criticism of the Spanish monarchy and of colonialism, such as responsibility for the deprivation of people of their lands, of their personal freedom, of free disposal of land and trade with Europe, of management of their economic interests, and of an awareness that the people of Latin America are different (historically and geographically). Consequently the ruling class had to make specific ethical and political efforts to encourage the development of an intellectual élite of a new kind, drawn from this class as mediators between the State and civil society, promoters of key projects in the fields of economy, morals, and education, and in the efficient organization and administration of the State.⁶

Ospina valued highly education on Jesuits lines, as laid down in the *Ratio Studiorum*. Elaborated by the Society of Jesus in 1599, this plan outlined a system of study in schools and universities, detailing the number of hours to be devoted, and the methods for mathematics, physics and philosophy. As Smolarski has noted, ‘this academic system provided students with intellectual tools necessary to become leaders in a world that was rapidly changing’.⁷

Another theoretician who influenced Ospina is Gabino Barreda, a Mexican politician who defended conservative notions of education. According to Barreda one should ‘educate for the order that one day would make freedom possible, the order that would replace the old colonial order and put an end to the anarchy of ideas and spirits

⁵ J. Ocampo López, *Historia de las Ideas de Integración de América Latina*, Tunja, 1981, p. 144. See for example F.J. Clavijero, *Historia Antigua de México*, 1945, pp. 1-33.

⁶ D. Wize de Gouzy, *Antología del pensamiento de Mariano Ospina Rodríguez*, p. 12.

⁷ D. Smolarski, ‘The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum, Christopher Clavius and the Study of Mathematical Science in Universities’, *Science in Context*, no. 15, Santa Clara, 2002, pp. 447-57.

that is felt in the practical behaviour of everyone'.⁸ Ospina developed these thesis in his speeches on the reform of education delivered in Congress from 1843 to 1844.

Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was born in the village of Guasca in Cundinamarca in 1805, the son of Santiago Ospina y Urbina and Josefa Rodríguez. He studied law at the *Colegio de San Bartolomé* in Bogotá. When he was 23 years old, he joined in the conspiracy that attempted to assassinate Simón Bolívar on 25 September 1828. To avoid arrest, he first sought refuge in the mountains around Guasca and then fled to Antioquia.⁹ In 1879, when questioned as an old man about the conspiracy against Bolívar, he answered that it was the fruit of the immaturity: 'For the fiery youth of 1828, it was a dogma that General Bolívar aspired to establish a monarchy. History, with the publication of many of his letters, has come to confirm that we were wrong'.¹⁰ In his revised opinion *El Libertador* acted as he did in the last stage of his life to preserve the strength of the government and to counter elements that threatened order. Ospina also recognised that he was wrong to have been involved in the conspiracy, and that young liberals were then much influenced by the ideas of French thinkers. Such ideas excited for Colombian politicians, but it was impossible to apply them in a poor, distant and backward country. After this political debut, Ospina settled in the province of Antioquia and held prominent public positions there.¹¹ According to Wise de Gouzy, is right to consider him an important and representative conservative thinker:

Mariano Ospina figures as an intellectual, both a witness to, and an actor in, one of the most important currents of thought that developed in Latin America during the Republican period of the nineteenth century; he is a figure who looks at the present and the future of the newly created

⁸ Wise de Gouzy, *Antología*, vol.1, p. 7. Gabino Barreda was born in Puebla in 1818 and died in Tacubaya in 1881. He studied law, medicine and philosophy. See: G. Barreda, *La educación positivista en México*, México, 1978, pp. IX-XXIX.

⁹ Though born in Guasca, Ospina can subsequently be said to have become a naturalised *antioqueño*; the Ospina family, which has produced two more presidents, is identified now with that Department.

¹⁰ Gómez Barrientos, *Don Mariano Ospina*, vol. 1, p. 34.

¹¹ F. Villegas Botero, *La Saga inquietante, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez 1805-2005, Política, Religión y Riqueza*, Medellín, 2005, pp. 39-49.

republics from a privileged position.¹²

Appointed secretary of the Interior and External Affairs by President Herrán in 1841, in 1843 he revised the Plan of Education which had been implemented by Santander and ruled between 1826 and 1843. According to Ospina, the kind of education it established tended to anarchy: universities and secondary schools taught the moral philosophy of Baron d'Holbach, Destutt de Tracy and Jeremy Bentham. Ospina presented them as arguing that people should be free to do what they wanted if this did not harm others, and that actions were morally right if they led to general happiness; such teachings were opposed to the doctrine of the Catholic Church.¹³ Ospina introduced in 1843 a Plan of Studies that emphasized Christian doctrine. For Ospina, one cause of the civil war of 1840 was that the Colombian government had not provided for the teaching of religious and moral values, and instead had applied imported, French and English, secular political theories and law.

In support of the idea that more good teachers were needed in New Granada, even before the return of the Jesuits, *El Día* published in August 1842 an article entitled 'Some observations and indications about the reform of studies'. This praised Secretary of the Interior Ospina, and offered suggestions about what should be reformed:

Por supuesto debe el Gobierno, ante todas cosas, quitar enteramente esos textos maléficos, corruptores poderosos de la moral y la razón, que han causado el mal más grave relajando y haciendo perder todas las ideas que mantienen la moral y son el cimiento de toda la sociedad, y sin las cuales no puede subsistir, sino que debe echar mano de aquellos que mas inculquen dichas ideas sanas y razonables de la existencia de Dios, la espiritualidad e inmortalidad del alma, la realidad de la vida futura y de la conciencia, porque sin esto no hay sociedad buena ni mala entre

¹² Wise de Gouzy, *Antología*, p. 3.

¹³ According to Samper: 'En breve la lectura de Bentham vino a ser delito en los colegios, Tracy un contrabando pernicioso, Holbach una blasfemia; y en vez de los hermosos textos de ciencia constitucional y administrativa, de legislación y de economía se enseñaban a los jóvenes a no ver la verdad y los principios sino en la oprobiosa Constitución de 1843, los Programas redactados por orden del Gobierno, y esas mismas instituciones reaccionarias sancionadas entonces; sin que fuera permitido entrar en discusiones acerca de la bondad o los efectos de esa Constitución y de esas leyes'. See: J. M. Samper, *Apuntamientos para la historia*, p. 369.

racionales.¹⁴

Ospina took into account all of these elements in the new Plan of Studies, as he firmly believed that by implementing principles of order and morals, citizens would respect the Law and the Constitution.

His *Informe* to Congress in 1842 is an eloquent analysis of the situation of anarchy and disorder that had resulted from the civil war, and contains his lengthy explanation of its causes: defects in education and in morality, a public repugnance towards work, the lack of harmony between institutions and public customs, opposition between government institutions and the people, the demoralization of the army, inefficiency of moral sanction against the crime of rebellion, the weakness of public authority and a disdain for law and authority, the excessive freedom of the press and the geographical condition of the country.¹⁵ Ospina proposed a series of measures to remedy this situation: more education, agriculture, trade and mining; a harmonization of law with the public customs; justice made quicker, easier and less expensive; strong discipline in the army; power to the authorities to control newspapers and to build new roads.

For Ospina, the public education system that had been used up to that time had several vices: first, the attempt to teach all disciplines in every educational establishment without considering the resources needed to pay the teachers; second, the preference given to speculative studies of Law, Medicine and Theology over practical studies and industrial knowledge; third, the superficiality of the instruction; fourth, the deplorable situation of moral and religious education, and the indiscipline and

¹⁴ *El Día*, Bogotá, 7 de agosto de 1842., no. 129.

¹⁵ M. Ospina, 'Exposición que el Secretario de Estado en el despacho del Interior y Relaciones Exteriores de la Nueva Granada dirige al Congreso Constitucional el año de 1842', in Wise de Gouzy, *Antología del pensamiento*, vol. 1, pp. 471-576.

insubordination of the students.¹⁶ He agreed with Archbishop Mosquera, on the need to invite the return of Jesuits.¹⁷

This report also referred to the decadent condition of the missions among the indigenous people in remote regions. His remedy:

Formar misioneros, o hacerlos venir de otros países, donde se educan sacerdotes con este objeto; de otra manera se consumirán inútilmente los fondos que a esto se destinan. Si ha de seguirse la primera idea, es de absoluta necesidad el establecimiento de un colegio de misiones en un clima igual o análogo al del Meta o del Putumayo; que los alumnos sean jóvenes de iguales o semejantes climas; y que el establecimiento sea regido por instituciones especiales, adecuadas para formar hombres sinceramente celosos por la propagación de la fe, al mismo tiempo que animosos y robustos para arrostrar los peligros y los sufrimientos inseparables de su misión.¹⁸

Ospina believed it necessary to look for a European religious institution that would help the government of Colombia to achieve these two goals: the education of missionaries for the evangelization of the native communities and the education of the young in the main cities.¹⁹ These two aims led him to convince Congress to pass a law for the foundation of mission schools and to invite the Jesuits back.

Ospina also sought to provide for the education of children of the lower classes, and legislated for the creation of normal schools in every provincial capital to train schoolteachers. His reforms were embodied in Act 28 of 1842; its *Plan of Studies* according to him, was ‘the way to accomplish that those who had to teach would teach and those who had to learn would learn’.

In the biographies mentioned above there are constant references to the close friendship that united Ospina Rodríguez with the Jesuits. These good relations were not

¹⁶ *Ibíd.*, pp. 530-3.

¹⁷ For Archbishop Mosquera, the Jesuits were the only group capable of revitalizing the education system. The archbishop argued that in a properly educated society revolutions would not occur again; authority, both civil and ecclesiastical, would be respected; and Congress would act in accordance with the natural and divine laws. Moreover, Mosquera expected that the Jesuits could help strengthen the vertical ties between the clergy and the hierarchy. See: T. B. Horgan, *El Arzobispo Manuel José Mosquera, Reformista y Pragmático*, Bogotá, 1977, pp. 57-8.

¹⁸ *Ibíd.*, p. 560.

¹⁹ F. Villegas Botero, *La saga inquietante, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez*, p. 50.

limited to the period from 1842 to 1850, but continued throughout his life. As a politician he took advantage of the Society of Jesus to implement his political projects in New Granada from 1844 to 1850, and then in the Granadine Confederation between 1858 and 1861, but his sincere esteem for the Society is evident. The Jesuits considered him a friend and protector in New Granada. This mutual friendship was apparent in the defence that Ospina gave to the Jesuits, and in the support and protection they later offered him during the difficult times that he and his family suffered in exile, first in Puerto Rico and then in Guatemala.

Their friendship first became public in 1842 when Ospina won approval for the law allowing their return. A second proof of their friendship appeared in the defence of the Jesuits delivered by Ospina during the debates in Congress in 1846. In this session, Ospina declared that he was a defender of the Jesuits, as he had had the opportunity to read their Constitutions and the history of the order; he had found proof of their irreproachable public and private behaviour. In 1848, he refuted in a pamphlet the accusations that Julio Arboleda and Florentino González made against the order.²⁰

A third example of Ospina's esteem for the Jesuits can be seen in an article written by him and his friend and ally, José Eusebio Caro, in *La Civilización*, criticising in detail the government of President López for banishing without trial all Jesuits, both nationals and foreigners.²¹ This procedure failed to recognize the legality of the presence of the Jesuits. The

authors regretted that a supposedly democratic government, tolerant and respectful of the Constitution, should expell a religious order without a previous trial. They argued

²⁰ M. Ospina Rodríguez, *Arboleda, González y los Jesuitas, Reflexiones para servir de comentario a los Jesuitas del Sr. Arboleda*, Bogotá, 1848.

²¹ To define the principles of the Conservative Party in opposition, Ospina in 1849 wrote the first formal Conservative program with José Eusebio Caro. Ospina and José Antonio Cualla began to publish the newspaper *El Día* on 4 July 1849, and Ospina inaugurated *La Civilización* on 9 August 1849. See: A. Cacia, 'Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, maestro, periodista y magistrado', *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, no. 748, 1985, p.109.

that President López had yielded to a group of intolerant politicians. The measure had three aims: firstly, to destroy the establishments where the Jesuits were teaching; secondly, to deprive the population of the moral and religious instruction offered by these priests through the pulpit and the confessional; thirdly, to provoke uprisings and revolts that would serve as an excuse for the government to repress its opponents. They recommended their readers not to let themselves be provoked by this measure, and to respect public order.²²

Later, as President of the Granadine Confederation, Ospina again showed his Jesuit sympathies: in 1857 he asked the Archbishop to petition the Jesuit General in Rome for the return of the Society. Once this was arranged, his brother Pastor Ospina Rodríguez, in charge of the teaching at the *Colegio San Bartolomé*, signed a 20-year contract with Father Pedro de Blas in January 1859, in which it was agreed that the Jesuits would take responsibility for the finances of the *Colegio* and for the education of the students in Mathematics, Physics, and Philological and Moral Sciences, in accordance with the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*.²³ From their arrival to their second republican expulsion, Ospina Rodríguez allowed the number of Jesuits to grow, opening the doors of New Granada to new missionaries.

With Ospina himself now an exile the Jesuits welcomed him and his family, first in San Juan de Puerto Rico, and then in 1863 in Guatemala.²⁴ Ospina had escaped from

²² *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 16 de mayo de 1850, no. 41, p. 163.

²³ *Gaceta de Cundinamarca*, Bogotá, 7 de diciembre de 1858, no. 71.

²⁴ C. Ospina Vásquez, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez y Enríqueta Vásquez de Ospina, *Reminiscencias*, (unpublished document from Mariano Ospina's family Archive, Bogotá, 1950), p. 12.

prison in Cartagena, where Mosquera had imprisoned him and his brother Pastor.²⁵ In Guatemala, the brothers founded a ‘Scientific and Industrial High School’, published the newspaper *La República*, and furthered the cultivation of coffee, cotton and eucalyptus. Between 1868 and 1871, Mariano Ospina was Professor of Political Economy and Law at the National University of Guatemala, and kept up his good relationship with the Jesuits.²⁶

Ospina Rodríguez took up the defence of the Jesuits in a Guatemala newspaper criticising the Liberal government that passed measures to expel the Jesuits. He insisted that Guatemala was a Catholic country that had gained much from the educational work of the order, and he asked the government to respect the right of Catholic citizens to send their children to schools founded by the Jesuits. This intervention led to his own expulsion from the country and his return to Colombia in 1871.²⁷

Between 1871 and his death in 1885, he continued to defend the Church and kept up a correspondence with the Jesuits. He founded the journal *La Sociedad*, in which he wrote about the demoralization of education and the degradation of values and sound principles. As President of the Conservative *Concejo* of Medellín he wrote to Pope Pius IX; the Pope replied to his ‘dear son and great and honourable man’. When Ospina died on 11 January 1885, he was attended by Jesuit priests, Vicente Ramírez, Zoilo Arjona and father Catalánw who were allowed to return in 1884.²⁸

²⁵ Cordovés Moure describes how the two Ospina brothers, Mariano and Pastor, were imprisoned in La Mesa after Ospina’s government was overthrown in 1861, and he lists the politicians who sentenced them to death: the victorious General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, Dr. José María Rojas Garrido, his Secretary of War and Minister of External Affairs, Dr. Andrés Cerón, Secretary of Government, General Julián Trujillo, Secretary of the Treasury, and Dr. José María Plata, Governor of the State of Cundinamarca. To prevent the execution of the two brothers, Generals Santos Gutiérrez and Pedro Alcántara Herrán, along with the Archbishop, Antonio Herrán, and diplomats from France, Great Britain, the United States and Peru interceded with Mosquera and obtained their pardon. See: J. M. Cordovés, ‘Cautividad de don Mariano Ospina’, *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, no. 34, 1906, pp. 629-37.

²⁶ A. Cacia, *Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez*, p. 120.

²⁷ M. Ospina Rodríguez, ‘Nuestras Aspiraciones’, *Artículos Escogidos del doctor Mariano Ospina Rodríguez coleccionados por Juan José Molina*, Medellín, 1884, pp. 261-7.

²⁸ *Ibíd.*, p. 121.

Ospina Rodríguez was a vigorous and wide ranging publicist. He expressed in his writings his views on the national economy, government, administration, education, culture, ethics and the relationship between the Catholic Church and the State. He wrote a clear prose, accessible to a large public. Some liberal critics accused him of using the Church and the Jesuits for his own convenience, and of deliberately creating a division between Colombian politicians on the Church-State issue. Some said that he was really an agnostic, that he did not know how to pray or how to be a good Catholic. However, during his life he was coherent in his ideas and convictions about his Catholic faith and its practice. He had a deep knowledge of the history of the Catholic Church in Europe, North America and South America, and his writings proclaimed the important role played by Catholicism throughout history, and defended Catholic morality, discipline and dogma. He argued that these three elements were essential for Colombian believers, and in the creation of a prosperous Catholic nation.

During his long life Ospina bore with resignation the death of his two wives, four sons and four daughters, as well as of his brother, Pastor, and of friends such as José Eusebio Caro.²⁹ In his private and public life, he defended the doctrine and faith of Colombian Catholics. In his letters to his wives, daughters and friends he quoted many Christian writers. Gómez Barrientos emphasizes that Ospina, in both his private and public life, was austere, strict, and serious in appearance and behaviour. When he was President of the Granadine Confederation, two subsequently eminent visiting Venezuelans asked to see the man who was then attacked as a dictator. They were surprised to see an austere gentleman walking in the streets of Bogotá without the protection of guards. Gómez Barrientos describes the episode:

Su rigidez republicana contrastaba con lo que solían afirmar los periodistas liberales sobre su tiranía; tanto que se sorprendían los

²⁹ Wise de Gouzy, *Antología*, vol. 1., p. XIII-LXXII.

extranjeros que llegaban por primera vez a la ciudad al conocer al denigrado mandatario: entre ellos no se puede olvidar a los Generales Falcón y Guzmán Blanco y otros venezolanos que iban derrotados, y que huéspedes o tertulios en casa de sus paisanos Echeverrías, donde se publicaba el famosísimo *Tiempo*, órgano de los doctrinarios liberales, querían conocer al hombre contra quien tanto leían y tanto oían hablar. Esta tarde a las cinco lo van a conocer, les decían; y con este propósito los llevaban al frente de Palacio: “Ahí sale!, cuchicheaban; Ahí Sale! Conózcanlo”. En efecto salía D. Mariano con paso calmado, los brazos cruzados llevando en la mano derecha el bastón y con la serenidad del que nada tiene que temer.³⁰

He believed that the Church needed liberty in order to teach its dogma and morals, to develop its liturgical and sacramental life and to exercise its discipline over clerical and lay members. In an important essay, *El Catolicismo en Colombia*, he described how the ideas of the French Revolution entered Colombia and perverted the young Liberal generation. He was concerned by how anti-clerical books had influenced them:

...en tales circunstancias vino la gran revolución de la Independencia; abriéndose los puertos a todas las naciones y nos pusimos en comunicación con los pueblos de la Europa, en donde se luchaba abiertamente entre el filosofismo impío y el catolicismo. Proclamamos la República, y los republicanos franceses eran los ateos, los materialistas, los más acérrimos enemigos de la religión católica. Empezó entonces la corriente de libros, y precisamente de los libros que combatían el cristianismo. Fueron las obras de Voltaire, de Rousseau, de Holbach, de Volney, de Cabanis, de Dupuis, de Gibbon, de Tracy, de Bentham y de cuantos en el siglo pasado y en los primeros años del presente habían combatido la religión cristiana y defendido el deísmo, el materialismo y el ateísmo, fueron, decimos, el alimento intelectual que se ofreció a la juventud que buscaba con ardor el saber y devoraba ansiosos esos libros.³¹

Ospina had read and analysed the works of these writers that circulated in New Granada during his time as a student at the *Colegio San Bartolomé*. He repeated on many occasions, these theories encouraged the young to fight religion and to promote atheism, disorder and anarchy.

³⁰ Gómez, *Don Mariano Ospina y su época*, vol. 2, p. 301-2.

³¹ M. Ospina Rodríguez, ‘El Catolicismo en Colombia’, in Wize de Gouzy, *Antología del pensamiento de Mariano Ospina Rodríguez*, vol. 1, p. 458.

Another *antioqueño*, Carlos E. Restrepo, President of Colombia between 1910 and 1914, wrote as follows about Ospina in 1912:

Fue el doctor Ospina la personificación de la sinceridad y de la consecuencia; sus ideas no fueron el traje decorativo que los arlequines políticos gastan mientras representan en el escenario, sino que fueron la norma de sus actos oficiales y privados. Así, en la muy larga y agitada carrera administrativa que tuvo el hombre eminente cuya biografía mental estoy esbozando, no hizo más que realizar tales ideas con rigidez implacable. Su fisonomía moral puede concretarse así: dedicó sus poderosas facultades y su ilustración enciclopédica a conocer su deber; descubierto, se consagró a cumplirlo con la estoica firmeza, con el valor irreductible de un héroe del cristianismo.³²

In contrast to his picture, we must examine the opinions of his political opponents such as José María Samper, Salvador Camacho Roldán, Emiro Kastos and others. They repeatedly criticized the presence of the Jesuits in the country.³³ Kastos constantly made fun of Ospina, calling him ‘Rodín’, one of the main characters of the novel *El Judío Errante*. These politicians argued that Ospina had made use of members of the ecclesiastical institution, particularly of the Jesuits, to educate the young in obedience, passivity and order. Two policies were in opposition: on the one hand, the project of Ospina, who argued that in order to have a prosperous society the principle of authority had to triumph over the freedom and absolutism of the individual in society; on the other hand, there were those who claimed that the principle of freedom should reign in the nation.³⁴ In the words of Samper: ‘Ospina, como la imagen palpitante de la ficción y el disimulo, ha venido a convertirse, de hombre de partido y sistemático, en el hombre-sofisma, el hombre-negación, el hombre-nieve, representante de las tradiciones del pasado’.³⁵ According to him:

Ospina, como la estatua impasible del odio, meditaba, ordenaba y escribía sin descanso; pero su aparente exaltación como panfletario no

³² Restrepo, *Doctor Mariano Ospina*, pp. 140-155.

³³ S. Camacho Roldán, *Memorias*, vol. 1, Bogotá, pp. 33-5.

³⁴ J.M. Samper, *Apuntamientos para la historia política y Social de la Nueva Granada, desde 1810, y especialmente de la administración del 7 de marzo*, Bogotá, 1853, p. 351.

³⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 353.

era sino el disimulo formulado en pasiones para ocultar las maquinaciones del faccioso. El maquinaba en silencio, y preparaba la insurrección, esperando una coyuntura propicia para dar el santo y seña y hacer estallar el grito del conspirador. Ospina era el verdadero jefe de la oposición, el oráculo que dirigía todos los movimientos y comunicaba todos los misterios al partido conservador.³⁶

Without doubt, as a politician, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was the product of his time. He firmly tried to make his own convictions about society and State prevail, and in this process came up against the convictions of opponents who thought differently. This led to ideological debates in Congress, in the press, and, at times, in armed disputes that took place in the rural areas of the country. Ospina was a politician, and it is no surprise that his opponents placed a political interpretation on his views as well as his acts.

José Eusebio Caro

Another prominent supporter of the Jesuits was José Eusebio Caro. He was born in Ocaña in the home of Antonio José Caro and Nicolasa Ibañez in 1817. He studied Philosophy and Law at the *Colegio San Bartolomé*, but he could not obtain his full degree because his difficult economic situation forced him to begin work.³⁷ In 1837 he took the civil law examination and on that occasion delivered a much-applauded speech. He obtained the degree of bachelor, but he never became a lawyer nor exercised the profession.³⁸ In 1840, along with Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, he fought in the campaign to support the government of José Ignacio de Márquez. In 1842 he founded the journal *El Granadino*, in which he defended the Conservative ideas that triumphed after the defeat of the revolution. Between 1843 and 1846 he was a member of the Chamber of Representatives for the province of Bogotá. After holding these posts he became

³⁶ *Ibíd.*, p. 507.

³⁷ M. Aguilera, *José Eusebio Caro*. Bogotá, 1949, p.10.

³⁸ M. A. Caro, *Obras completas de don Miguel Antonio Caro*, vol. 2, Bogotá, 1918, p. 65.

Contador General of the nation.³⁹

According to Samper, Caro was a young man of high intelligence and excellent merits, but these qualities were overshadowed by his passions and resentments against the administration of President López. Samper described him thus:

Honrado en política; intachable, sobrio y austero en su vida privada; escrito florido, enérgico y audaz; lleno en todos sus escritos, en su palabra y en su gesto de ese nervio vigoroso, de esa independencia altiva que acompaña siempre al genio, poeta espiritual y profundo; estudioso, y ardiente en sus inspiraciones; Caro era sin disputa, a pesar de su cólera y sus sangrientas exageraciones, la más bella figura de la oposición. Caro era la metafísica pomposa y palpitante del partido conservador. El era patriota; pero estaba ciego, le faltaba la calma en el espíritu y el corazón, y se dejó devorar por ese contagio de la fiebre que dominaba a los vencidos. Si la victoria produce muchas veces el delirio del placer, ¿cuán terrible no será el desvarío de la derrota y de la decepción?⁴⁰

Samper noticed two aspects of the young politician: there was solidity and academic depth in his political writings, but also the passionate exaggeration with which he entered political debate, from the foundation of the journal *La Civilización* until his death in exile in 1853.

Following the decree of expulsion of the Jesuits in 1850, José Eusebio Caro expressed his disagreement in several articles published in *La Civilización*.

According to Carlos Valderrama Andrade, the political thought of Caro was channelled in three directions: morality, as the support of any normative and programmatic thought; political parties, as ways through which concrete political actions may be carried out; and religion, as the corollary of a traditionalist doctrinal position.⁴¹

For Caro, morality was the foundation of society and without it any progress

³⁹ S. Camacho Roldán, *Memorias*, vol. 1, p. 93-4.

⁴⁰ J.M. Samper, *Apuntamientos para la historia política y social de la Nueva Granada desde 1810, y especialmente de la administración del 7 de marzo*. Bogotá, 1853, p. 506.

⁴¹ The foreword written by Carlos Valderrama Andrade to the compilation selected by Simón Aljure Chalela of some of Caro's writings includes a synopsis of his political thought. See: S. Aljure Chalela, ed. *Escritos Histórico-políticos de José Eusebio Caro*, Bogotá, 1981 p. 11-20.

was impossible:

...todo individuo que deseara sinceramente el bienestar de su patria y quisiera contribuir a él, debía empezar por reformarse a sí mismo, de manera que cumpliendo cada uno, no solamente con sus deberes de ciudadano sino también aquellos a que estaba obligado en todas las circunstancias de la vida, contribuyera por su parte a la reforma de la sociedad entera.⁴²

With regard to political parties, Caro considered that they were the instrument that citizens should use to undertake the reforms needed within a society. Consequently, whenever a citizen became an official member of a party, he or she was obliged to accept its premises and acts. Political parties were the way by which a society could be transformed.

Caro also developed ideas on religion. For him, just as there are human instincts for eating, drinking and sexuality, there are religious instincts. 'These instincts are universal and are the work of God; they must be legitimately satisfied, but require restraint and rules to prevent perversion. These restraints, these rules, can only be found in doctrine and in the religious and legal institutions that are founded on this doctrine'.⁴³

On the religious instinct, he argued that it transported the human being from the visible to the invisible world so as to provide a model of worship and a power to which men could turn. This instinct is also the work of God and it must have a legitimate satisfaction, but to avoid its perversion, it requires a certain constraint. Caro stated that 'if this instinct is abandoned to itself, it can degenerate into the practice of superstition and magic, the cult of idols, the deification of animals, whores, madmen and tyrants'. This instinct, which is the most beautiful aspiration of the human being, could become an ignominy and deviation, if not restrained. Every human being requires a rein:

Ese freno es el mismo que necesitan todos nuestros otros impulsos: el freno de una doctrina positiva, que sin disminuir en nada la fuerza del instinto, y aumentándola por la misma represión que le impone, lo dirija

⁴² *Ibíd.*, p. 12

⁴³ *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 18 de octubre de 1849, no. 11, p.44.

irresistible, hacia el objeto y verdadero y legítimo a que Dios quiso destinarlo desde su origen...; el instinto de la religión reprimido y arreglado por la buena doctrina en el verdadero cristiano, produce los bienes mayores que puede apetecer el hombre: la adoración interior incesante del Padre Celestial; la paz de la conciencia; el amor de la verdad; la intrepidez de la virtud; el desprecio del dolor, de la injuria, de la pobreza y de la muerte.⁴⁴

Caro maintained that to prevent the religious instinct from deviating from its original purpose, it was necessary to promote good doctrine and to preach the Gospel to the people. Competent priests and preachers should carry out this work.

With arguments like these, Caro reproached the government of President López for depriving the Catholic population of New Granada of good religious men such as the Jesuits, who come to the country to propagate Catholic doctrine. He also criticized the government for undermining the Church with measures as the abolition of stole rights and ecclesiastical privilege, and the election of parish priests by municipal councils.⁴⁵ These interventions forced the priests who obeyed the national government to oppose their bishops, who in turn opposed the intrusions of the State in ecclesiastical government.

Given this perspective, it is understandable that Caro took over the defence of the Jesuits, arguing that it was for the good of the country with its vast majority of Catholics to rely on them for the education of new generations. This religious order was approved by the Holy See, and aimed to defend and promote Catholic doctrine in all the activities carried out by its members in the fields of science, preaching, administration of sacraments and teaching. Such priests were irreplaceable, as they gave authority to their mission, showed selfless impartiality in their lives, and were an example in their studies. For Caro, the Jesuits were among the most useful members of society, and one

⁴⁴ *Ibíd.*, p. 44

⁴⁵ According to Archbishop Mosquera: 'el nombramiento de curas por los cabildos municipales y padres de familia eran contrarios a la autoridad y disciplina de la Iglesia', see: M.M. Mosquera, ed. *Documentos para biografía e historia del Episcopado*, vol. 2, pp. 407-8.

of the most respectable Catholic elements. If the Jesuits were attacked, the Catholic element of society was being attacked too.⁴⁶

José Eusebio Caro, like his colleague Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, criticized the Plan of Studies of General Santander. He reproached President Márquez for not having made any effort to change it. In a letter to Márquez, he argued that the causes for revolt among the citizens in New Granada were: ‘the lack of religion, immorality and hunger, which are rooted to some extent in our repulsive system of education, which has taught us to discuss and not to work, to seek profit and not to practice virtue, to believe in matter, and to deny God’.⁴⁷ Recommendations made by Caro were incorporated in the new Plan of Studies of Ospina Rodríguez.

In September 1849 Caro was removed from his position as *Contador General* of the Nation. He had held this post since appointed by President Mosquera and had done so with great professionalism, introducing new accountancy techniques. While still a public employee, he had started to attack the new government of President López in *La Civilización* with great passion and aggressivity. In 1850 his radical criticism of the government led to a criminal lawsuit and prosecution for libel. Caro voluntarily went into exile because he did not trust Colombian justice or its judges and ostensibly feared for his life; he argued that the López regime did not have the legitimacy to judge him impartially.⁴⁸ In his correspondence with his wife, Blasina Tobar, between June 1850 and January 1853, he described details of his exile and expressed his nostalgia for the love of his wife, children and relatives. However, this did not daunt him in his criticism of the government of President López.⁴⁹ In one of his letters, he made this clear:

Pero entretanto tendremos la administración de López y la

⁴⁶ *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 8 de noviembre de 1849, no. 14, p. 58.

⁴⁷ J.E. Caro, ‘Sobre la Educación Pública en la Nueva Granada’, in *Obras Escogidas en Prosa y en Verso, publicadas e inéditas de José Eusebio Caro*, ed. by El Tradicionista, Bogotá, 1873. p. 78.

⁴⁸ J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, Bogotá, p. 130.

⁴⁹ J.E. Caro, *Epistolario*, Bogotá, 1953, pp. 43-217.

administración de Obando, y la cuestión religiosa; y las persecuciones, y los destierros, y las injurias mutuas y la vida insoportable, y la confusión de lenguas, porque la Nueva Granada es una verdadera torre de Babel, en que los hombres han llegado a no entenderse ni querer entenderse unos a otros.⁵⁰

For Caro, the cause of all the ills of New Granada had been the previous government of Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera 1845-1849: this government had created the means to undermine the rights of the Catholic Church. It was during this administration that the dishonesty of the government and the erratic personal conduct of the President had prepared the way for the immorality and the abuse of power seen on 7 March 1849. Caro regretted having been a public employee of the administrations of Mosquera, and López.⁵¹

While in exile in New York, Caro received news that full freedom of the press was restored, with the repeal of the old Act that had led him to trial and prison; the new Act created the possibility of his going back to New Granada to defend himself from the accusations brought against him. However, Caro refused to return arguing that this law had been issued by a government which he considered illegitimate and fearing that the judges would not be fair in applying the new decree:

Quizá dirán que las leyes no tienen efecto retroactivo, y aunque esta máxima es inaplicable a las leyes que regían antes de la publicación de la nueva ley y al tiempo en que se abrió mi causa. No sería extraño que se valiesen de este sofisma, como emplearon el de que lo general no deroga a lo particular para desterrar a los jesuitas.⁵²

He eventually returned in 1853, but on arrival contracted yellow fever and died in Santa Marta. According to some of his biographers, Caro represented Conservative reaction in the style of Balme and de Maistre. Before leaving for his voluntary exile, Caro had tried to refute the utilitarian theories of Bentham in his work *Ciencia Social*,

⁵⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 217.

⁵¹ *Ibíd.*, p. 138.

⁵² J.E. Caro. *Epistolario*. New York, 1851. p. 163.

but he left this unfinished on his departure to the United States in 1850.⁵³

Representations and Letters of Support from the general public of New Granada

As soon as they arrived in Bogotá, the Jesuits started to receive petitions from the cities of Medellín, Popayán, Pasto, Girón, Cartago, Buga and Tunja asking them to found schools to benefit the new generations. And when attacks began to spread against them, the displays of support that they received from the public in general were significant.

In 1847 citizens of the Province of Antioquia printed a broadside pointing out that the legislature of 1843, 1844, 1845 and 1846 had acknowledged the legality and convenience of having Jesuits in the country; the people of the province had collected funds to support the Mission School of the Society of Jesus.⁵⁴ They acknowledged that the Jesuits had friends and enemies everywhere, and though they respected those who opposed them, they were convinced as Catholics of the advantages of the Jesuits teaching Christian doctrine and educating the youth. For this reason they had invited another group of Jesuits from abroad in 1845 to found a new school in Medellín. They were aware of the intention of again expelling the Jesuits and were aware of the hostile propaganda in the press of Medellín and Bogotá. This hostility, the broadside claimed, was absurd as the Jesuits were honest men of peace who spent their time in education and preaching Christian doctrine in a mostly Catholic country.⁵⁵

Likewise, in 1848, the Bishop of Popayán, along with the governor Vicente Cárdenas, and a number of others, wrote to the central government expressing their

⁵³ L.C. Molina, *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, 'José Eusebio Caro', vol. 9, Bogotá, 1994, pp. 126-7. And J. Jaramillo Uribe, 'Entre la Utopía y el Estado Tecnocrático. El pensamiento Político y Social de José Eusebio Caro' and 'José Eusebio Caro y la reacción antibentamista', in *El Pensamiento Colombiano en el siglo XIX*, Bogotá, 1964, pp. 181-204, and pp. 393-410.

⁵⁴ A. Uribe and otros, *Honorables Senadores y Representantes de la República*, Medellín, 1847, pp. 1-6.

⁵⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 3.

satisfaction with the developments in the city thanks to the presence of the Jesuits. They regretted the defamations to which the missionaries had been subjected by their enemies:

...el instituto de la Compañía de Jesús está probando que no tiene por las constituciones políticas de los diversos estados, ni antipatía ni predilección. Sus miembros aceptan con sinceridad la forma de gobierno bajo la cual la Providencia los coloca; sea que un poder amigo los fomente, sea que él se limite a respetar en ellos los derechos que él reconoce en los demás ciudadanos⁵⁶

They supported the educational work of the Jesuits in the Major Seminary and in the mission school founded in the city by President Mosquera in 1847, and upheld their right as Catholic citizens to choose the religious order they wanted for the education of the young.

In 1849, the same Bishop of Popayán along with many citizens sent another representation to the government of President López insisting that the return of the Jesuits had been legal and that the public had paid for their journey to New Granada. In the sessions of 1847 the Congress of the Republic had disapproved the budget for the maintenance of these schools and automatically the responsibility of the Jesuits for them had ended; the missionaries now remained in the country as foreigners, enjoying the rights that the Constitution guaranteed. Being foreigners and Catholic priests they were receiving economic support from the Bishop of Popayán and his congregation. They had continued their educational and pastoral work in the Mission School and in the Major Seminary of Popayán. This letter in support of the Jesuits had two aims: the first was to persuade President López not to take any unpopular measure regarding the Jesuits; the second was to remind the government that it should ensure freedom, tolerance and respect for the Constitution, which assured the life, honour and assets of

⁵⁶ F. Cuero y Caicedo y otros. *Honorables Senadores y Representantes*. Popayán, 8 de marzo de 1848, p. 1.

foreigners living in the Republic, as long as they respected the laws.⁵⁷

From Pasto too the citizens wrote to López urging him not to take any arbitrary measures against the laws of the Republic, nor to let himself be persuaded by those members of his government who were demanding the expulsion of the Jesuits. For the citizens of Pasto, these religious were protected, like any other foreigners, by the guarantees granted them by the Constitution and the laws. If the government intended to expel them, it must then initiate a judicial process. The *Pastusos* also reminded the President of the services that the Jesuits offered society in general ‘by teaching Christian morality with a truly evangelical constancy and by being devoted to educating the young with such efficacy that copious fruits of intelligence and zeal have begun to spring’.⁵⁸ They acknowledged that a minority inside the government and Congress did not support them and saw them as harmful for society, but this was no justification for expelling them without trial. They claimed their right as Catholics to choose the educators for their children. They ended their letter by claiming that in defending the safety of the Jesuits they defended their own rights; if the Jesuits were persecuted and expelled without fair cause and a previous trial, nobody would be exempt from persecution and expulsion.

In 1850, a select group of ladies from the capital visited López and sent him a petition. They wished to raise their voices to defend the Jesuits, who had worked for the education of their children, and who were now deprived of their political rights:

Ellos, Ciudadano Presidente, han venido al país llamados por el Gobierno y costeados la mayor parte por los ciudadanos; ellos pudieron haber venido sin llamamiento expreso, como cualquier otro extranjero que entra y sale libremente de la República; ellos han respetado y cumplido las leyes; ningún crimen han cometido, ni aun falta la más leve se les ha imputado; ellos han predicado el Evangelio mas con su conducta, que con su palabra fervorosa, constante y elocuente; han mejorado las costumbres en la masa del pueblo, contribuyendo al

⁵⁷ F. Cuero y Caicedo y otros, *Ciudadano Presidente*, Popayán, 24 de noviembre de 1849, p. 1.

⁵⁸ AGN. Sección República, Fondo Gobernaciones, Varias-Pasto, Legajo No. 153, folios 727-30.

bienestar de las familias y a la formación de buenos ciudadanos; y la juventud, finalmente, han encontrado en ellos una fuente pura donde beber la ciencia y la virtud.⁵⁹

Several issues of *La Civilización* published letters of support from Senators, Representatives, Generals of the Republic and citizens, in which they reasserted that the expulsion of the Jesuits, both nationals and foreigners, was a violation of the Constitution, as they were being denied the right to a fair trial. This involved the violation of the individual rights of men who were loved and respected by a vast majority of the population of New Granada:

Nadie en la República ha reconocido ni puede reconocer jamás en el P.E. la facultad de arrancar a un granadino de su domicilio, y sin fórmula de juicio imponerle la pena de destierro: el reconocimiento de semejante facultad sería la aceptación sencilla y completa del Poder absoluto en la República, y por consiguiente la abdicación de todos los derechos, la renuncia de la libertad y de la seguridad, la declaratoria de haber cesado el poder de la Constitución. No es posible, Ciudadano Presidente, que Vos republicano que habéis combatido el poder absoluto, podáis creer que los granadinos estén resignados a aquella aceptación, a aquella abdicación, a aquella renuncia.⁶⁰

When the decree of expulsion became known in Popayán, the Popular Society (of Conservative origin) called a meeting, which members of the Democratic Society (or Liberal origin) also attended, and drafted a protest signed by 800, which was delivered to the Governor. This document claimed that the decree violated the Constitution and the laws of the republic.⁶¹ A heated debate ensued between Julio Arboleda and Governor Castrillón. Castrillón considered the meeting and the subsequent protest document to be a revolt that had to be stopped. Representing the local authority, he could not allow President López to be insulted. The women from Popayán also wrote a letter to support the Jesuits; in which they praised and thanked them for their work in the city. The officials charged with publishing the decree of

⁵⁹ G. Barriga y otros, *Representación que las Señoras de la Ciudad de Bogotá dirigen al Ciudadano Presidente de la República*, Bogotá, 9 de mayo de 1850, p. 1.

⁶⁰ *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 16 de mayo de 1850, no. 41, p. 164.

⁶¹ A. Olano, *Opúsculo sobre la expulsión de los jesuitas*, Popayán, 1850, p. 2.

expulsion resigned, claiming that an injustice was being perpetrated.

Antonio Olano, who recorded these events in his *Opúsculo*, wrote that he had sought to find in the Jesuits men who would be educators and had indeed found teachers that met his wishes. The Jesuits were intelligent, assiduous, kind to the children, and acquainted with the best education systems in Europe. In other religious orders, he saw that profit was important, while among the Jesuits there was a total consecration to their educational and religious vocation. For this reason, he had set out to support them to the best of his ability. Olano had contributed to the foundation of their school in the city and won the support of many of the citizens of Popayán for this project. With the expulsion of the Jesuits the project had collapsed. He expressed his resentment and indignation towards the government: ‘I was filled with hopes. I have lost them, I have lost everything; my children no longer have teachers. The government has wanted it so and it has a right to my respect and obedience, but never to my affection!’⁶²

Following the expulsion of the Jesuits from Bogotá numerous parents sent letters of sympathy and thanks. These parents also spoke of the good conduct and austerity that characterized the Jesuits, the moral improvement they brought about, along with wider knowledge of Christian doctrines, and their support for the clergy and bishops of New Granada. They thanked the Jesuits for the solid education given to their children, and for banishing the philosophical doctrines that the previous governments had spread before their arrival in the country:

Las doctrinas corruptoras del filosofismo, importadas a la República en libros perversos, que, lisonjeando las ideas de un pueblo nuevo e inexperto, habían logrado romper el yugo de toda creencia y fascinar la imaginación de la juventud que tuvo la desgracia de beber en aquella fuente corrompida, encontraron en vosotros un dique poderoso que ha impedido a una gran parte de la generación que se levanta, seguir la misma desgraciada suerte de perder la fe en nombre de una libertad desenfrenada.⁶³

⁶² *Ibíd.*, p. 3.

⁶³ *El Catolicismo*, Bogotá, 15 de julio de 1850, no. 18, pp. 157-8.

These letters of support in favour of the Jesuits sent to President López by a significant proportion of the population had no effect. The same was true for the letters sent by the Archbishop, as well as those sent by the cathedral chapter and other sectors of society in Bogotá, among them the declaration made by ladies from the capital, headed by Gabriela Barriga, widow of the Independence hero Antonio Villavicencio. These ladies wanted to persuade the President not to disregard the tenets of justice.

López, que recibió a estas damas con la cabeza grotescamente cubierta con el gorro frigio, se negó de plano a escuchar toda razón de legalidad, justicia y conveniencia y dando sólo oídos a la petición de cincuenta congresistas y a las reiteradas exigencias de la Democrática, llevó a cabo el acto de la expulsión que debía proceder a la nueva secularización del seminario.⁶⁴

All these manifestations of support for, and gratitude to, the Society of Jesus in New Granada are same evidence for the sympathy, respect and admiration that the Jesuits enjoyed in the country between 1844 and 1850.

Conclusion

It was some Conservative politicians who made possible the legal return of the Jesuits, supporting them and defending them from attacks in the press and in the debates in Congress. Prominent among them were Mariano Ospina Rodríguez and José Eusebio Caro. By allowing themselves to be associated so closely with well-known Conservatives in a period of such strong polarization in politics, the Jesuits ran the risk of being attacked by members of the Liberal party.

While it is difficult to have precise figures, it seems that a substantial section of the general public of New Granada defended and supported the pastoral and educational work of the Jesuits, as shown in the letters of support sent to Congress and to President

⁶⁴ J. M. Arboleda Llorente, *Vida del Ilmo. Señor Manuel José Mosquera arzobispo de Santa Fe de Bogotá*, vol. 1, Bogotá, 1956, p. 196.

López. When the Jesuits were threatened once again with expulsion, these letters asked the President to respect the religious convictions of the majority of the people, and they demanded an open trial in which the Jesuits might argue their case before any decision was made. When the decree of expulsion was published, many claimed that the President had violated the Constitution.

Chapter V

The expulsion of the Jesuits by President José Hilario López, their eventual re-establishment under the Granadine Confederation, and their Expulsion by President Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera

José Manuel Restrepo, the author of the classic history of Independence and chronister of the first decades of the republic, and Gustavo Arboleda, the most detailed and meticulous historian of the twentieth century, agree that from the moment the Jesuits arrived to New Granada they were constantly challenged by the Liberal press, and by the Liberals in the House of Representatives and the Senate.¹ Restrepo describes the debates held and the bills proposed to expel the Jesuits from the country in all the annual sessions of the Congress from 1845 to 1849.² This goal became more likely with the election of President José Hilario López on 7 March 1849. The first programme of the Liberal Party, published on 16 July 1848, explicitly included among its proposals the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the Liberal candidate for the election in March 1849 agreed to carry out this mandate. When José Hilario Lopez won the election, his closest followers demanded that he fulfil his agreement.

However, a year and two months went by between the election of President López and the decree of expulsion. Clearly the President found himself at a crossroads:

¹ José Manuel Restrepo Vélez was born in Envigado, Antioquia, in 1781 and died in Bogotá, in 1863. He graduated as a lawyer at the *Colegio de San Bartolomé* in 1808. He was an expert in philosophy, science, history, Civil and Canon law. He defended the Independence movement, which brought him persecution and exile. See: *Historia de la Revolución de Colombia*, vol. 1, Medellín, 1969, p. 6. He was 'Interim asesor' of the governor of Antioquia in 1810; *secretario de gracia y justicia* in Antioquia, 1813-1815; escaped to Jamaica and the U.S. in the mid-1810s; governor of Antioquia, 1819-1820; congressman in the early 1820s; minister of the interior, 1821-1830; *director general de estudios* since late 1820s; appointed member of the Consejo de Estado, 1830-1831, declined; *director general de tabacos*, 1833-1834; *director* of Bogotá's Casa de la Moneda, 1828-1850; historian'. See: V.M. Uribe-Urán, *Honorable Lives, lawyers, Family, and Politics in Colombia, 1780-1850*, p. 186. Gustavo Arboleda was born in Popayán, in 1881 and died in Cali in 1938. See: A. Valencia Llano, 'Gustavo Arboleda. Cronista de la historia Política y social'. *Credencial Historia*, no. 115, Bogotá, 1999.

² J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, Bogotá, 1963, p. 12.

if he did not respond to pressure from his cabinet and the Liberal majority in the House of Representatives, along with the Senate's Liberal minority, demanding the expulsion of the Jesuits, they would not approve the budget.³ On the other hand, the Conservatives Mariano Ospina Rodríguez and José Eusebio Caro were attacking the government of López with articles in the *La Civilización*, and challenging the legitimacy of his election.

López was not a fanatic. He met the Superior of the Jesuits, Manuel Gil, to discuss the allegations made against them in the press and asked him to express his thoughts in writing about the situation. During their meeting President López pledged that there was no reason for them to be worried about their future in the country. Nevertheless, after hearing from friends and enemies, he decided to expel them. He argued that their presence enflamed the minds of citizens in certain cities of the country. Neither the memorial signed by two former Presidents, Márquez and Herrán, eleven senators and seven representatives, nor the letter written in support of the Jesuits by the Archbishop and his clergy, nor the manifestation made by the ladies of Bogotá led by the widow of Antonio Villavicencio were enough to persuade the President not to issue the decree.⁴

In this Chapter V a first section will analyse the reasons and the steps taken by López to expel the Jesuits. As was shown in Part II the propaganda against the Jesuits

³ *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 18 de julio de 1850, N. 47, p. 189.

⁴ J.M. Pacheco, 'Monseñor Manuel José Mosquera', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 126, Bogotá, 1946, pp. 31-7. Archbishop Mosquera and the Bishop of Popayán wrote to President López urging him not to expel the Jesuits. See: *El Catolicismo*, Bogotá, 15 June 1850, no. 16, and pp. 138-40. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, Archbishop Mosquera exhorted the regular and diocesan clergy and his parishioners in general to accept the decision of President López. The Bishop of Popayán exhorted the President to listen to the arguments in favour of the Jesuits put forward by his parishioners: 'Por lo que hace a los vecinos de este obispado os aseguro, que los padres de familia de las provincias de Túquerres, Pasto, Buenaventura, Popayán y Cauca que ven los progresos de sus hijos, bajo la educación de los Jesuitas profesores de mi Colegio Seminario, se hallan conmovidos por la sola alarma que ha producido la noticia de la posibilidad de que se les prive de tales profesores; y que la intensa y amarga pena que sufren de esperanza engañada, es tanto más dolorosa, cuanto ha sido su ilimitada confianza de recoger el fruto de sus esfuerzos y de sus gastos para traer profesores Jesuitas, cuya aptitud como pedagogos solo es comparable con el desinterés, habilidad, constancia y celo con que trabajan día y noche en la educación de los jóvenes que se les han encomendado'. See: *El Catolicismo*, Bogotá, 15 de junio de 1850, no. 16, p. 139.

published in the press and debated in Congress was instrumental in creating an adverse environment against the Jesuits, and this certainly influenced the conduct of a majority of members of Congress during the sessions held in 1850. They asked the President to expel the Society. However, it must be stressed that the expulsion of the Jesuits was not an isolated incident in the government of President López. Rather it was the first of a series of measures taken by the government with regard to the Church. Other measures included the *Supresión del derecho de estola* (abolition of stole rights), the election of parish priests by municipal councils, and the trial and expulsion of the Archbishop of Bogotá.⁵

A second section will examine the steps taken by the government of the Granadine Confederation in the period 1857-1861 and by Archbishop Antonio Herrán to invite the Jesuits, who had settled in Guatemala, back to Colombia.

A third section will outline the early friendly relations established between the Jesuits and General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera from 1843 to 1850, followed by Mosquera's change of mind on Church matter, as reflected in the expulsion of the Papal Delegate and the decree of expulsion against the Jesuits issued in 1861. This time the Jesuits were accused of supporting the Conservatives in the civil war of 1860, and of violating the Constitution. The *Decretos de Tuición* and the *Desamortización de bienes de manos muertas* the State's 'right of tuition' and the prohibition of statutes of mortmain, followed these measures. Members of the secular and regular clergy were forced to swear allegiance to the Constitution of the Republic, under penalty of being

⁵The privilege of 'stole rights' (*derecho de estola*) allowed the clergy to charge fees from parishioners for ecclesiastical services. The clergy of New Granada obtained their salaries in this way. The term 'ecclesiastical privilege' (*el fuero eclesiástico*) signified that clerical members of the Church were to be judged by the law of the Church and not by the civil law. Under the administration of Presidents López (1849-1853) and Mosquera (1861-1863) these privileges were abolished. See: J.D. Cortés, 'Las relaciones Estado-Iglesia En Colombia a mediados del siglo XIX', pp.122-137

expelled. General Mosquera gave two reasons for these measures. The first concerned the alleged interference by some bishops and by the Apostolic Delegate in political issues, mixing religion with politics and generating a deep division among the country's population.⁶ The second had to do with the declining situation of the regular clergy, the lack of seminaries to educate future priests, and accusations of moral laxity.⁷

Political Context of the Expulsion of the Jesuits in 1850

Historians generally agree that the Liberal Party has its origins in the 1820's, consisting of supporters of General Francisco de Paula Santander and the group that conspired on 24 September, 1828 against Bolívar.⁸ This group had lost power with the election of Márquez and defeat in the War of the *Supremos*. They considered the Jesuits to be a dangerous institution thanks to the ascendancy they might achieve in public opinion, and the added strength they would bring to the Church. The Santander Liberals feared that their rivals and enemies would raise the cry of 'La Religión' of 'Religion and danger'. The Liberals wanted the Republic of New Granada to have a more secular profile, and they aimed to reduce the control of the Catholic Church in education.⁹

Ezequiel Rojas –himself one of those involved in the conspiracy of September 1828– stood out in this party as a prominent publicist and university professor who,

⁶ On Mosquera's relations with the Catholic Church in Colombia between 1861 and 1870, see: L.C. Mantilla, *La guerra religiosa de Mosquera*, Medellín, 2010.

⁷ *Registro Oficial*, Bogotá, 22 de enero de 1862, no. 39, p. 164.

⁸ J.M. Samper y otros, *Orígenes de los Partidos Políticos en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1978, pp. 27-293.

⁹ F. Martínez, *El Nacionalismo Cosmopolita. La referencia europea en la construcción nacional en Colombia, 1845-1900*, Bogotá, 2001, p. 66.

with other members of his party, gave body to the political project of their group.¹⁰ He wrote the first program of the Liberal Party in reaction to the political erosion it had suffered of the three previous presidencies (José Ignacio de Márquez, 1837-1841; Pedro Alcántara Herrán, 1841-1845; Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, 1845-1849); he was inspired by the disappointment that the authoritarian government of Mosquera had caused.¹¹ Rojas believed in promoting change in the country, inspired by the events occurring in Europe, particularly in France, at that time.¹² The French Revolution of 1848 exerted a strong ideological influence in New Granada.

According to Gilmore: ‘The ideas of the French republicans, that is, the socialists and the communists gained a growing influence, and in the autumn of 1850 some college students, many of them recent graduates, and other interested people established the Republican School, whose mission was to announce the new ideas and encourage democratic societies to keep within the limits of the indisputable truth’.¹³ The ideas that were coming from Europe were to help to eradicate colonial survivals, such as

¹⁰ José Ezequiel Rojas Ramírez was born in Miraflores, Boyacá in 1803. He studied law at the *San Bartolomé*. This statesman was a member of the Sociedad Filológica and of the Freemasons in Bogotá. He defended the principles of democracy and opposed dictatorship and militaristic government. See: C.G. Salazar Cáceres, *Ezequiel Rojas, Vida y Pensamiento*, Tunja, 2006, p.12. According to Uribe-Urán ‘Successful practicing lawyer in Bogotá during the 1830s and 1840s; professor of political economy at one of Bogotá’s law school; landowner in Boyacá and money-lender in Bogotá during the 1840s, cabinet minister under President López, 1849’. See: V.M. Uribe-Urán, *Honorable Lives*, Pittsburgh, 2000, p.196.

¹¹ For Márquez see C. Cuervo Márquez, *Vida del doctor José Ignacio de Márquez*, 2 vols. Bogotá, 1917. For Herrán see E. Posada and P. M. Ibáñez, *Vida de Herrán*, Bogotá, 1903. For Mosquera see T.C. Mosquera, *Archivo Epistolar del General Mosquera*, vol. 1, *Correspondencia con el General Pedro Alcántara Herrán, 1827-1840*, Bogotá, 1972. T.C. Mosquera, *Archivo Epistolar del General Mosquera*, vol. 2, *Correspondencia con el General Pedro Alcántara Herrán, 1840-1842*, Bogotá, 1972. T.C. Mosquera, *Archivo Epistolar del General Mosquera*, vol. 3, *Correspondencia con el General Pedro Alcántara Herrán, 1841-1842*, Bogotá, 1978. D. Castrillón Arboleda, *Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera*, Bogotá, 1979.

¹² According to Rodríguez: ‘The French Revolutions of 1789 and 1848 exported to New Granada their dogmas and symbols. Colombian Liberals imitated the French revolutionaries using temples to hold their political congresses. The *Golgotas* used the red flag as a symbol for their political faction. In addition the Liberals promoted principles such as equality without distinction of creed, lineage, wealth, and race. See: G.H. Rodríguez, *Ezequiel Rojas y la Primera República Liberal*, Bogotá, 1970, p. 146.

¹³ R. L. Gilmore, *El federalismo en Colombia, 1810-1858*, vol. 1, Bogotá, 1995, p.148.

slavery, the death penalty, and the influence of the Church in politics.¹⁴ On 16 July 1848, Rojas published an article entitled 'The reason for my vote' in number 26 of *El Aviso*. This came to be seen as the first political programme of the Liberal Party. It defined the relationship the Party wanted to exist between the Catholic Church and the State: the complete independence of the State from the Church, each institution becoming completely autonomous. This programme found expression in the Constitution of 1853.¹⁵

As mentioned previously in this thesis, two elements generated strong dislike among the Liberals and led to a series of publications and allegations against the Jesuits. First, the law passed by the Conservative government inviting that religious order to take care of the mission schools among the natives in the remote regions of the country, thereby giving them considerable authority in those parts. Second, the fact that the Jesuits, at the invitation of local civil and religious authorities, were installed in major cities such as Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán and Pasto, to establish schools for lay pupils.

As we have seen, the Jesuits went to the Putumayo and Caquetá to evangelize the natives and reported to the government on their stay in these regions after the death of José Segundo Laínez. In addition, Manuel Gil, the Superior, asked another two missionaries to travel to Pasto in order to found a residence that would serve as a base for the missionaries assigned to the missions. An important fact was that the House of Representatives in 1847 had approved the budget to support the missionaries provided they were not foreign citizens.¹⁶ This prevented the Spanish Jesuits from taking part in

¹⁴ According to Posada: 'There is a little doubt that the 1849 presidential election developed in an atmosphere that echoed the spirit of the 1848 European revolutions. This was a major landmark in the history of Colombia. It unfolded a period of rapid economic, social and political reforms, including the final abolition of slavery, the introduction for the first time of direct elections and male universal suffrage, the adoption of absolute freedom of the press, and a series of drastic measures against the Catholic church'. See E. Posada, 'New Granada and the European Revolutions of 1848' in *The European Revolutions of 1848 and the Americas*, ed., G. Thomson, London, 2002, p. 217.

¹⁵ C. Gutiérrez Jaramillo, *José Hilario López, Un hombre de su siglo*, Bogotá, 1997, pp. 236-7.

¹⁶ J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, Bogotá, 1963, p. 62.

the missions. The Jesuits might have appealed to the government against this restriction basing their argument on the reports sent by Laínez from the missions and the original agreement for their return. However, they chose not to do so and remained in the major cities.

One can see how the arrival of the Jesuits inevitably became a political issue, since the Liberals argued that these religious were backing the policies of the Conservatives. The latter had welcomed their return as men qualified to educate following the principles and doctrines of the Catholic Church. Mariano Ospina Rodríguez and Pedro Alcántara Herrán, along with the church authorities, wanted the Jesuits to return to the country to help them establish reductions among the natives and to educate the young in the major cities. The Archbishop of Bogotá and the Bishop of Popayán put them in charge of their respective seminaries. These administrative steps were endorsed by the national government. The Liberals vehemently opposed the return of the Jesuits to New Granada, arguing that in a traditionalist, rural country with a vast majority of illiterate citizens, the Jesuits would encourage fanaticism and a return to the colonial past. They took up the anti-Jesuit campaign to attack the Conservative Party and spread the idea that the Jesuits would form the younger generations in such a mould as would prevent the changes that were necessary in the country.¹⁷ This fear was expressed by Ezequiel Rojas:

...el partido liberal ve en inminente peligro las libertades públicas, las prerrogativas de la soberanía y las garantías con la permanencia en el país del instituto conocido con el nombre de Compañía de Jesús. La influencia de esta corporación es irresistible; nace de fuentes diversas y poderosas; obra solo a beneficio del tiempo con una fuerza irresistible como un grande ejército bien disciplinado y bien dirigido: es como aquellas plantas que tienen la virtud de cubrir y apoderarse de todo el territorio que está a su alcance, marchitando y absorbiendo la sustancia de cuanto alcanza a cubrir su sombra, sin necesitar para esto de otro

¹⁷ G. Molina, *Las ideas liberales en Colombia, 1849-1914*, Bogotá, 1971, p. 24.

elemento que el del tiempo y que se le deje obrar tranquilamente.¹⁸

Rojas naturally exaggerates the number of the Jesuits when he claims that allowing them to continue in the various regions would jeopardize national sovereignty. The Jesuits had few members in the country and their apostolic work was hardly as he describes it.

However, from the early forties the Liberals wanted to implant a new type of society and began to form secular associations to achieve this goal.¹⁹ Lorenzo María Lleras founded the ‘Democratic Republican Societies of Artisans’ to bring basic education to artisans and farmers.²⁰ They taught reading, writing and other skills. According to the statutes of the Democratic Society of Artisans, ‘The society sought to promote by all lawful and legal means possible the development of the arts and any other disciplines that were considered to be necessary for the progress and welfare of its members and of society in general’.²¹ These societies were predominantly secular, although most of the members must have been Catholics.

Imitating the Liberals, and in opposition to the ‘Democratic Societies’, the Conservatives founded the *Sociedad Popular de Instrucción Mutua y Fraternidad Cristiana*, with branches in Bogotá, Tunja, Mompós, Santa Marta, Cartagena, Cali, Popayán and other places.²² Members of the upper classes participated in these associations, as well as prominent Conservatives, such as José Eusebio Caro, José María Torres Caicedo, José Manuel Groot, Urbano Padilla and Mariano Ospina Rodríguez,

¹⁸ *El Aviso*, Bogotá, 16 de julio de 1848, N. 26.

¹⁹ J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, p. 139.

²⁰ C. Escobar Rodríguez, *La revolución liberal y la protesta del artesanado*, Bogotá, 1990, pp. 126-7.

²¹ Reglamento de la Sociedad Democrática de Artesanos para su Régimen Interior y Económico, Bogotá, 1847. See: F. Gutiérrez Sanín, *Curso y discurso del Movimiento plebeyo 1849-1854*, Bogotá, 1995, p. 64. This work is an important contribution to the study of the working class in nineteenth-century Colombia. See also the early work of Colmenares. G. Colmenares, *Partidos Políticos y Clases Sociales*, Bogotá, 1997.

²² G. Arboleda, *Historia Contemporánea de Colombia*, vol. 3, Bogotá, 1930, p. 48.

and they reunited a large number of artisans.²³ Their leaders asked the Jesuits to assist as spiritual directors. According to the statutes of the Popular Society, it strived for 'mutual education, the morality of its members and the exercise of Christian brotherhood'. According to Gutiérrez, the Democratic Societies aimed primarily at achieving progress and welfare, while the Popular Societies focused on mutual instruction, morality and Christian brotherhood. The first were more radical and independent, while the second were more supervised and dependent.²⁴

The collaboration of some Jesuits with the *Sociedad Popular* was seen by Liberal politicians as political interference and even as conspiracy against the government of José Hilario López. This argument formed part of the anti-Jesuit literature that circulated in New Granada during the stay of the Jesuits. According to Salvador Camacho Roldán, it was a Jesuit idea to initiate rivalry and opposition against democratic societies. Under the government of President López the *Sociedad Popular* demonstrated strong animosity against both the administration and the *Sociedad Democrática*. The two associations became enemies.²⁵ According to Cordovez Moure, a Conservative, the *Sociedades Populares* then became permanent foci of conspiracy and proclaimed open war against the Liberals. He holds that the Society of Jesus influenced these societies, and thus the Jesuits earned the antipathy of Liberal politicians and of the cabinet of President López, resulting in the decree of their expulsion.²⁶

²³ According to Sowell: 'The programs and ideology of the Popular Society are indistinguishable from those of the Conservative party. The Sociedad Popular announced that it hoped to pursue the perfection of public institutions, promote the country's progress, work for the triumph of principles based upon evangelical morality, and put into political power men of honour, patriotism, and morality. The first three objectives could only be attained upon the success of the fourth, so political efforts were to be the primary focus of the group's energies'. D. Sowell, *The Early Colombian Labor Movement. Artisans and Politics in Bogotá, 1832-1919*, Philadelphia, 1992, p. 49, and D. Sowell, 'La Sociedad Democrática de Artesanos de Bogotá', in *Colombia en el siglo XIX*, ed., by G. Mejía y others, Bogotá, 1999, p. 197.

²⁴ F. Gutiérrez Sanín, *Curso y discurso del Movimiento plebeyo 1849-1854*, p. 64.

²⁵ S. Camacho Roldán, *Memorias*, Medellín, 1975, p. 82.

²⁶ J.M. Cordovez Moure, *Reminiscencias de Santa fe de Bogotá*, Bogotá, 1979, p. 106.

Expulsion of the Jesuits from New Granada by José Hilario López in 1850

The expulsion was ordered by a presidential decree published in a special issue of the *Gaceta Oficial*. As reported by Samper, President López did not expel the Jesuits immediately on becoming President because he was in a complicated situation; he did not have the majority in the Senate needed to break with the Conservative opposition. For the expulsion of the Jesuits not to be seen as blatant persecution, President López waited a year and two months before issuing the decree.²⁷ It is important to emphasize that during this period López listened to many opinions: those of members of his government, the Democratic Society, Liberal leaders, Conservatives, private citizens and even the Jesuits. He received numerous communications both in favour and against the expulsion. The President decided to wait for the congressional sessions to begin, and duly canvassed members of Congress about the proposed decree to ensure their approval and support; he privately gathered the necessary funds to implement the expulsion.²⁸ The government issued the famous decree on 18 May 1850, arguing incontestable reasons of convenience and legality.²⁹ On the publication of the decree, which was to be executed immediately, there were no disturbances, though there were signs of great emotion. As José María Samper testified:

Las mujeres lloraron, los fanáticos suspiraron con agonía, los congregantes se afligieron, los conspiradores creyeron hallar una coyuntura para proclamar la insurrección, la juventud y los artesanos y demás patriotas aplaudieron con entusiasmo, los Jesuitas salieron silenciosamente, sin trastorno alguno, y la República se salvó. El gobierno se había cubierto de gloria, y mereció un espléndido voto de

²⁷ L.C. Mantilla, Mitra y Sable: *Correspondencia del arzobispo Manuel José Mosquera con su hermano el General Tomás Cipriano*, p. 356.

²⁸ According to Gilmore, 'During its first year the López administration did not have control of both the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives. The Senate was controlled by a majority of Conservatives politicians. In 1850 the Senate was divided into equal parts, but in the Chamber of Representatives the Liberals had an absolute majority. Later, the Liberals dominated for the rest of this period of government. However the Liberal party was divided into two tendencies named the *Gólgotas* and the *Draconianos*. In 1853 and 1854 the *Gólgotas* and Conservatives united to oppose the policies of the *Draconianos*. In 1854 the Conservatives again controlled the Senate and the *Gólgotas* controlled the House of Representatives. See: R.L. Gilmore, *El Federalismo en Colombia, 1810-1858*, vol. 1, p. 163

²⁹ A. Cruz Santos, *José Hilario López o El Soldado Civil*, Bogotá, 1970, p.73.

aprobación de los Representantes del pueblo.³⁰

The Conservatives, led by Ospina Rodríguez and Caro, certainly protested. Later in the year 1851, they resorted to civil war on the grounds that López did not provide political guarantees for the opposition. The government quickly defeated the rebellion.

Election of José Hilario López, 7 March 1849

The election of José Hilario López on 7 March 1849 was itself the subject of polarized debate.³¹ Wanting to prove the election illegal, the Conservatives asserted that threats and coercion had prevailed in this session of Congress, which they dubbed the ‘day of knives and insults’. Among those who spread this idea was Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, who wrote that he had voted for General José Hilario López ‘to prevent the Congress from being annihilated’, in other words coerced by fear of an assassination in the precincts where the election was held. José Eusebio Caro, once he was dismissed from his position as Chief Accountant of the López administration, supported this version of the events. Apparently on the day of the election some members of the Democratic Societies booed and shouted against the other candidates.³² To prevent disorder the authorities had to clear the room where the election was taking place. Though there was some disorder, Ospina’s account was certainly exaggerated. It is nonetheless evidence of the high political passion that prevailed.

The Liberals saw the 7 March as a day of victory for progressive ideas over the

³⁰ J.M. Samper, *Apuntamientos para la historia*, pp. 508-509.

³¹ For Conservative accounts see: *La Civilización El Día* and *El Catolicismo*. According to Manuel Fernández Saavedra, canon of the cathedral, *El Catolicismo*, ‘periódico, del que siendo su redactor en jefe el mismo señor Arzobispo hasta su salida de esta capital, y continuado hoy por sus apasionados, lleva, no solo a los pueblos de la República, sino al extranjero, la horrenda pintura de un Gobierno impío, de unas leyes inicuas, y de un pueblo bárbaro’. See: M. Fernández Saavedra, *El Arzobispo ante la nación*, Bogotá, 1852, p. 4.

³² G. Arboleda, *Historia contemporánea de Colombia*, vol. 3, Bogotá, 1930, p. 8.

retrograde thinking of the Conservatives and their allies, who had ruled the country during the past three presidential terms.³³ Tension grew between the two parties. From this date, some members of President López's Liberal journalists insistently demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits. José María Samper repeatedly attacked the Jesuits and their alleged support for the Conservatives in his paper *El Sur Americano* and in *El Neo-granadino*. Apart from this young Liberal, the anti-Jesuit government ministers Manuel Murillo, Victoriano de Diego Paredes and Colonel Tomás de Herrera put pressure on the President to expel the Jesuits.³⁴ These ministers eventually signed the expulsion decree along with President López.

In his inaugural speech as President of the Republic, López emphasized his commitment to the dogma of popular sovereignty. All acts and regulations of his government would take place within this doctrinal framework. In line with this principle, he promised to bow to the opinion of the majority in the Chambers who legally represented public opinion: '... New Granada would have the reality of the representative system, and the Government would be of the people and for the people'.³⁵ He also promised along with the Chambers to reform the Constitution of 1843. For López, the Constitution should consecrate in all their purity the great principles of liberty, equality, and tolerance as the fruits of modern civilization. Measures were presented, such as education for all, the improvement and simplification of the judicial system, freedom of the press, freedom of industry, development of all the sections of the nation, and the reduction of the army: its ranks would only contain the small number required for the safety of the coasts and the repression of criminals. On

³³ For Liberal accounts see: *El Siglo*, Bogotá, 27 May 1849, no. 9; Bogotá 17 June 1849, no. 12; Bogotá, 1 July 1849, no. 14; Bogotá, 2 September 1849, no. 23; Bogotá, 9 September 1849, no. 24, Bogotá, 16 September 1849, no. 25; Bogotá, 27 September 1849, no. 26; *El Neo-granadino* and *El Siglo*, 7 March 1849. This last issue was edited to defend the López government.

³⁴ G. Arboleda, *Historia contemporánea de Colombia*, vol.3, Bogotá, 1930, p. 101.

³⁵ *Gaceta Oficial*, Bogotá, 4 de abril de 1849, no. 1034, pp. 111-2.

the issue of relations between the State and the Church, López proposed independence for these two bodies:

La religión de nuestros padres, que es también la de la inmensa mayoría de los granadinos tendrá mi respeto y veneración; pero convencido de que ella no aparecerá en toda su pureza ni llenará completamente su augusta misión si no se rompen los odiosos lazos con que la tiranía de algunos Reyes la ligaran a las miras del Trono, yo me esforzaré en volverle su necesaria independencia para que brille con todo su esplendor y pueda difundirse bajo los auspicios de su santidad y dulzura. Al seguir esta conducta, religiosa y democrática, respetaré también todas las creencias y todos los cultos, porque esto no es menos conforme a las leyes de la República, que a su felicidad y porvenir.³⁶

With these words he anticipated the steps that would later be taken with respect to the Church. The final report of his *Secretario de Gobierno* to Congress in 1853 recognized that the four previous years had not been easy for the government, since it was slandered both inside and outside the Republic. The report complained that the administration had been met with an unjust, immoral and persistent opposition that had taken up arms to disrupt public order and discredit such policies of the Liberal government as the absolute freedom of the press and the final abolition of slavery. It also claimed that despite the religious fanaticism of most members of the Church, the government had managed to abolish ecclesiastical jurisdiction, tithes and clerical control of education, and had made significant strides in reforming the Constitution.³⁷

In the sixth section of the report, entitled ‘Ecclesiastical affairs’, Secretary Patrocinio Cuellar proposed that Congress should legislate further to confirm the freedom of the Church, but also to extend the legislative measures already passed. These laws had abolished tithes, first fruits (*primicias*) and stole rights, which provided the income of the upper and lower clergy. For Cuellar, the emancipation of the Church was necessary because under Liberal institutions ‘religion was a matter of conscience,

³⁶ *Ibíd.*, p. 112.

³⁷ P. Cuellar, *Informe del Secretario de Gobierno de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá, 1853, p. 48.

not government, and to make mandatory contribution to the cost of a cult, when there was complete freedom to stop professing it, or to exercise authority concerning a man's feelings, accountable only before God, is the greatest tyranny that could ever be imagined'.³⁸ He thought a total separation of Church and State was necessary.

Events Prior to the Expulsion of the Jesuits

On 15 January 1850 the *Sociedad Popular* of Bogotá held a meeting numbering about a thousand, which included some members of the *Sociedad Democrática*. These disagreed with the opinion of a speaker, the young Nicolás Tanco Armero, who argued that the administration of President López was a sham (*simulacro*) government.³⁹ The members of the Democratic Society demanded that the head of the Popular Society should end the meeting. However, despite the uproar caused by this intervention tempers eventually calmed down and the meeting continued.⁴⁰ The members of the Democratic Society saw this meeting as an attempt by the Conservatives to rise against the government. The next day they held a rally of the Democratic Society and headed for the presidential palace to demand the removal of Conservative employees, the dissolution of the *Sociedad Popular*, and the immediate expulsion of the Jesuits. Apart from this event in the capital, a series of disturbances took place in Cali, where members of the Democratic Society physically assaulted members of the Popular Society. The Liberals, who claimed that these were just 'democratic romps', '*retozos democráticos*' denied the incidents. On 20 April 1849 a Republican Popular Society had been founded in Popayan in opposition to the new Liberal government.⁴¹

Some months later, 26 April 1850, a group of Liberal senators and

³⁸ *Ibíd.*, p. 30.

³⁹ J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, 1845-1854, p. 36.

⁴⁰ G. Arboleda, *Historia contemporánea de Colombia*, vol. 3, pp. 95-6.

⁴¹ *Ibíd.*, p. 100.

representatives, members of the Democratic Society, wrote to President López asking him to expel the Jesuits before Congress ended its sessions.⁴² As noted in earlier chapters of this thesis, they argued on two counts: legality and public convenience. On the first, they stated that the presence of the Jesuits was openly contrary to the provision of Law 38, Title 3, Book 1 of the *Recopilación Castellana*, the law of King Carlos III that prohibited the return of the Jesuits to these territories. The General Law 16, Part 2, Treaty 4 of the *Recopilación Granadina*, which had allowed the return of the Jesuits by previous administrations, had not repealed the law of Carlos III because of its very general nature. The paradox of this letter was that it made reference to Royal Laws after forty years of independence, yet failed to recognize the laws of King Fernando VII, who with two different decrees (Decree of 19 May 1815 and Decree of 19 September 1815) had restored the Jesuits in Spain and in the Spanish dominions overseas.⁴³

The signatories affirmed that they were not opposed to the arrival of foreigners who were honest and industrious people, but that they could not tolerate a religious community of foreigners who disseminated religious fanaticism. The letter claimed that the Jesuits were supporting the Conservatives, who constantly attacked the government in the press and public meetings. The letter also pretended to expose the real purpose

⁴² *Gaceta Oficial*, Bogotá, 23 de mayo de 1850, pp. 236-40.

⁴³ Groot cited the royal decree in his work: ‘Con todo, y no pudiendo recelar siquiera que el concejo desconozca la necesidad y utilidad pública que ha de seguirse del restablecimiento de la Compañía de Jesús; y siendo actualmente más vivas las súplicas que se me hacen a este fin, he venido en mandar que se restablezca la religión de los jesuitas, por ahora, en todas las ciudades y pueblos que los han pedido, sin embargo de lo dispuesto en la expresada real pragmática sanción de 2 de Abril de 1767, y de cuantas leyes y reales órdenes se han expedido con posterioridad para su cumplimiento, que derogo, revoco y anulo en cuanto sea necesario para que tenga pronto y cabal cumplimiento el restablecimiento de los colegios, hospicios, casas profesas y de noviciado, residencias y misiones establecidas en las referidas ciudades y pueblos donde los hayan pedido; pero sin perjuicio de extender el restablecimiento a todos los que hubo en mis dominios, y de que así los restablecidos por este decreto, como los que se habiliten por la resolución que diere a consulta del mismo consejo, queden sujetos a las leyes y reglas que en vista de ella tuviere a bien acordar, encaminadas a la mayor gloria y prosperidad de la monarquía, como el mejor régimen y gobierno de la Compañía de Jesús, en uso de la protección que debo dispensar a las órdenes religiosas instituidas en mis Estados, y de la suprema autoridad económica que el Todopoderoso ha depositado en mis manos para la de mis vasallos y respeto de mi corona’. See: J.M. Groot, *Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 3, Bogotá, 1891, pp. 449-53, and M. Revuelta, *Once Calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, p. 235.

for which the Jesuits had been invited back to the country. Ostensibly they had returned to found new mission schools and residences for the reduction of indians in Casanare, San Martín, Andaquí, Mocoa, Guajira, and Veraguas. However, the Jesuits had failed to work with the savage tribes scattered throughout these vast lands, and had established themselves in the major cities of the country such as Bogotá, Medellín, Popayán, and Pasto (a city and province known for its Conservative belligerence and support for the Conservatives in civil war). No mention was made of the report on their mission prepared by the three Jesuit missionaries who had spent years in the jungles of Putumayo and Caquetá, nor of the fact that the budget for the foreign missionaries had not been approved by Congress in its 1847 session. The Liberals ignored these points.

The fact that the Jesuits had settled in the major cities of the country at the request of civil and ecclesiastical authorities allowed their critics to argue that they implicitly supported the Conservative Party with their education policies. Consequently, the letter could state:

Esta circunstancia, unida a los pasos que les vemos dar de apoderarse de la enseñanza pública, y de la veneración de las masas, fuentes inagotables de poder político, nos haría penetrar en sus arcanos, aun cuando no los hiciese transparentes al empeño decidido, constante y unísono del partido conservador por mantener y propagar el jesuitismo entre nosotros. Las tendencias de ese partido son harto conocidas de vos para que tengamos necesidad de explicarlas; y ya ni puede quedar duda, después que personas notables de él, enemigas antes de los padres de la compañía, los defienden con entusiasmo, sin haber ellos variado de institución, de que los conservadores fincan sus esperanzas de volver a dominar la República apoyándose en la popularidad que les dé, en retribución de sus favores, la sociedad más compacta, más infatigable y más entendida que han visto los siglos.⁴⁴

With these arguments the Liberal members of Congress claimed that the presence of the Jesuits was a palpable threat, while they acknowledged the support and great admiration that the Jesuits enjoyed among the people of New Granada. According

⁴⁴ *Gaceta Oficial*, Bogotá, 23 de mayo de 1850, no. 1.124, p. 238.

to them, the Jesuits had infiltrated the population of New Granada and with their teaching and preaching would incline the people towards the Conservative Party and their project of a return to power.

This letter emphasized that the expulsion of the Jesuits was a measure necessary to save the Liberal Party and a duty of President López, as head of the administration that promised to establish the true republic in New Granada. Among those who signed were prominent Liberals, among them the priest Juan Nepomuceno Azuero, Salvador Camacho Roldán, José de Obaldía, Nicomedes Flórez, Vicente Lombana, José María Samper, José María Obando, Alfonso Acevedo, Alejo Morales, Lorenzo María Lleras, Antonio María Pradilla, Juan José Nieto, Miguel Samper, Pablo Arosemena and other congressmen of the Liberal Party.⁴⁵ All these men belonged to a generation of politicians who were to play a prominent role in the country's future.⁴⁶ Yet despite such strong demands, and being branded as a weakling, President López still hesitated.

Eventually the President stopped resisting the pressures from the members of his party and issued the expulsion decree that had been promised so many times. However, he kept it a secret until it was published in *La Gaceta Extraordinaria* and released on 21 May at 2 in the afternoon in the most public places of the capital.⁴⁷ The decree begins with a preamble explaining that he had decided to expel the Jesuits because their presence was unsettling the country's politics, and because in the elections to Congress there had been a consensus in favour of the expulsion. As President, he had to enforce the law and obey the voice of the majority of Congress:

Cincuenta miembros de las Cámaras Legislativas que hacen la mayoría de estas, me han pedido con encarecimiento la expulsión de aquellos, de conformidad con la ley 38, título 3º, libro 1º de la Recopilación Castellana que los proscribió de todos los países españoles de Europa y

⁴⁵ *Gaceta Oficial*, Bogotá, 23 de mayo de 1850, no. 1.124, pp. 237-40.

⁴⁶ J.M. Samper, *Los partidos políticos en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1873, p. 22.

⁴⁷ *Gaceta Oficial*, Bogotá, 21 de mayo de 1850, no. 1.123, and J. M. Restrepo. *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, p. 149.

América, y yo bien convencido ya de que dicha ley no puede considerarse derogada sino antes bien vigente, obedeciendo la voz de los pueblos expresada por los sufragios de los últimos años, siguiendo el espíritu del sistema representativo que me prescribe acatar la opinión de la mayoría de los Representantes del pueblo, he cumplido con mi deber ordenando la inmediata salida de dichos Padres Extranjeros que en contravención de la citada ley de la Recopilación Castellana se encuentran en el país.⁴⁸

This measure did not include those citizens of New Granada who had joined the Society of Jesus while it was in the country. López affirmed that he had hesitated to make this decision ‘in consideration of the spirit of tolerance and safety characteristic of modern civilization and democratic institutions’. But he decided to issue the decree because he was convinced that the emerging society of New Granada and its institutions lacked sufficient means to fight ‘the lethal and corrupting influence of Jesuitical doctrines’. At the end of the introduction he acknowledges that this measure will cause pain to the population of New Granada, noted for its religious character and its generosity. However, he considered this was a necessary step because the presence of the Jesuits was a threat to the progress of civilization and freedom. He urged the enforcement of the law against any disruption of public order.

Following the introduction, there are nine sections, where he reiterates that the Sanction of Carlos III is still in force in the Republic; the law enacted in 1842 had not repealed this royal ordinance. He stressed that the Jesuits had come to the country to open mission-schools, and not to establish themselves in the major cities. The President stressed that he had taken a whole year to examine carefully the legal issue and to listen to public opinion as manifested in memoranda from different parts of the Republic, both in favour and against the expulsion. He had observed in these documents ‘great exacerbation and zeal in supporters from both sides, which confirmed the opinion of

⁴⁸ *Gaceta Oficial*, Bogotá, 21 de mayo de 1850, no. 1123.

many learned men that the presence of the Jesuits in the Republic would be a permanent source of discord, division and alarm'. In the decree President López noted that, as a democrat, he did not wish to deny residence to any member of human society, but that his duty as President was to remove those vestiges of bigotry and superstition that had taken root in colonial society.

The last part of the decree contains three sections. The first invites the governors of the various cities, where the Jesuits had settled, to inform them about the expulsion and the place from which they were to leave. The second section informed the citizens of New Granada who had joined the Jesuits while the Society was in the country, that they could remain being priests and stay in the country, but that they would no longer be considered members of any religious community. This flatly vetoed the continuance of the Society of Jesus in New Granada. The third section raised the possibility of hiring Capuchin missionaries to come and take over the missions, if Congress considered this appropriate.

Previous Meetings of President López with Fr Manuel Gil, Superior of the Jesuits in New Granada

On 27 January 1850, President López had convened a meeting in his office with Fr Manuel Gil, Superior of the Jesuits, to discuss the various demonstrations both for and against the Society of Jesus taking place in the capital and in Medellín, Popayán and Pasto. The President asked Fr Manuel Gil to draft a document defending the Jesuits from the criticisms made against them in the press. This document was made public only after the expulsion. It is signed by the Superior, Fr Manuel Gil, and dated 19 January 1850. Fr Gil states that because of the rumours spread throughout the republic, he considers it necessary to clarify for the benefit of the government and the whole

nation the situation of the Jesuits. His document is written in his own name, on behalf of all members of the Society of Jesus in the country:

Declara pues en la forma más auténtica, que ni él ni ninguno de los jesuitas existentes en esta República han tomado jamás parte alguna en los asuntos políticos, que jamás se han mezclado en elecciones, ni directa ni indirectamente; que jamás han aconsejado a nadie entrar en sociedades políticas de color alguno, sino que limitándose al ejercicio de su santo ministerio, y a la enseñanza de los niños, no han predicado pública ni privadamente otra cosa que la observancia de los preceptos divinos y de las leyes del Estado. El declarante se lisonjea que todos cuantos han honrado a los Padres de la Compañía con su confianza, o los han tratado de cerca, atestiguarán esta verdad a pesar de las falsas imputaciones que pueden hacerles, pues los hechos hablan en su favor. Declara igualmente que todos los jesuitas reconocen como legítimo, respetan y obedecen al actual presidente de la Republica y a su gobierno, que están prontos a obedecer las leyes del Estado; que todos los que han debido ejercer algún cargo público han jurado la Constitución, y ninguno tiene ni ha tenido inconveniente en jurarla, que á nadie ha enseñado ni enseñarán cosa contraria á la Constitución ni á las leyes, ni á la obediencia y subordinación que todos deben al Gobierno actual, pues su único deseo es promover la gloria de Dios y la salvación de las almas, contribuyendo así al mismo tiempo a la tranquilidad y al orden, al bien y la felicidad de una nación, a la cual nos unen tantos vínculos de amor y gratitud.⁴⁹

The Superior of the Jesuits in New Granada here hoped to counter the insults and slanders made against them in the press and in Congress since their arrival in the country. He also refuted the arguments of those congressmen who accused them of influencing the political affairs of the nation, and emphasized his respect for the López administration and for the Constitution of the Republic. Gil insisted that those members of his order who had exercised a public office had vowed to comply fully with national laws and that they encouraged obedience and submission to the constitutional government in all public and private activities.

He also stated that the Jesuits were in the country thanks to the Law of 28 April 1842 and the decrees issued by the executive branch on 3 May of the same year. He mentioned the two mission-schools founded by the decrees of 30 August 1844 and 30

⁴⁹ *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 18 de julio de 1850, no. 47, p. 189.

June 1845 in Bogotá and in Popayán respectively. Gil reiterated their willingness to continue undertaking these missions according to the previous decrees and reminded the government that despite the new decree enacted by the Congress in 1847, which did not approve government funding to support the missions, three of his colleagues had taken charge of the missions in Putumayo and Caquetá with great success. In addition, the Jesuits had appealed to the generosity of their friends in Europe and America for financial support to continue educating missionaries.

Últimamente declara que aunque la Compañía de Jesús se encargó del Seminario menor de esta Archidiócesis por un convenio celebrado con el prelado, y que aprobó el gobierno en 23 de agosto de 1845; y que algunos de Medellín trajeron algunos jesuitas de Europa para la educación de sus hijos, y que el señor Obispo de Popayán hizo venir otros para su Seminario aprobándolo el gobierno en 30 de julio de 1846; y que recientemente algunos señores obispos y ciudades de la República los han pedido; el declarante ofrece de hoy en adelante no procurar la venida de más jesuitas al territorio de la República.⁵⁰

He insisted that the conduct of the Jesuits had been correct from the moment of their arrival in the country. The document concludes by inviting the President to accept this statement and protest as a ‘proof of the most strong yearning that encourages us to contribute as much as our strength allows to the service of God and the State in carrying out our duties’.⁵¹ On receiving the document, López assured Fr Gil that he should not worry about the future of the Jesuits; he would proceed in a proper way to guarantee their stay in the country during his term of office.

Despite this meeting, the atmosphere of animosity grew between the political parties. Conservatives and Liberals belittled each other in the national press. The Liberal members of Congress continued to ask the government to expel the Jesuits as soon as possible. This led President López to arrange another meeting with Fr Manuel

⁵⁰ Gil to López, 19 January 1850, ARSI. Prov. Colombia. 1001, IX, 4.

⁵¹ AHPCSJ, *Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 2, C-92, pp. 166-8, and R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro- América*, vol. 1, pp. 276-8.

Gil, 4 May 1850, to persuade him to leave the country of his own accord, along with the other members of the order, given the prevailing political animosity. This time Fr Gil suggested that to belie the supposed Jesuit support for a specific party, the Government should take the Jesuits under its wing, in the hope that this would solve all the problems that had arisen.⁵² The President again promised to proceed according to the Constitution and the laws with regard to the Jesuits' stay in the country, and he ended the meeting saying: 'Rest assured that you will not be treacherously wounded'.

Expulsion of the Jesuits from Bogotá

Fr Gil received notification from the Governor of Bogotá ordering him to leave as soon as possible and asking him not to disturb the good order of the city. He replied confirming he had received the official letter with the Executive Decree of 18 May and he had notified all the religious who lived in the house. He asserted his willingness to do everything possible to guarantee 'not only compliance but the preservation of the peace in the Republic, for which we offer to God all our vows and prayers'.⁵³ To avoid disturbances in reaction to the Decree of Expulsion, the Governor of Cundinamarca, Manuel María Franco, banned meetings of ten or more persons in public places and ordered the arrest and prosecution of anyone who spoke publicly against the government or incited anyone to disobey the Decree of Expulsion.⁵⁴ The Jesuits left Bogotá for the River Magdalena in the early hours of the morning of 24 May. Their number included eleven priests: Manuel Gil, Luis Amorós, Ignacio Asensi, Francisco Barragán, Andrés Cornette, Manuel Fernández, Pedro García, Ignacio Gomilla, Esteban Parrondo, León Tornero and Antonio Vicente; seven scholastics: Buenaventura Feliú,

⁵² *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 18 de julio de 1850, no. p. 190.

⁵³ J.M. Arboleda Llorente, *Vida del Ilmo Sr. Manuel José Mosquera, Arzobispo de Santafé de Bogotá*, vol. 1, Bogotá, 1956, p. 198.

⁵⁴ G. Arboleda, *Historia Contemporánea de Colombia*, vol. 3, Bogotá, 1930, p. 115.

José Ayerve, Ambrosio Fonseca, Diego Madriñan, Lorenzo Navarrete, José Telésforo Paúl and Manuel Pieschacón; and six coadjutor brothers: Tomás Araujo, Angel Chacón, Rafael Fortun, Miguel Pares, José Saracco and Luis Serarols.⁵⁵ The 24 Jesuits who had left Bogotá claimed that they were not allowed to rest during any part of their journey, a complicated trip to Santa Marta. The chronicles relate that Fr Gil wrote a final letter of protest, refuting the senators and representatives who accused the Jesuits of influencing Conservative politicians; he emphasized that he had not spoken earlier to avoid disturbances in a country where the people professed a great affection and admiration for the Jesuits. The document was signed in the city of Santa Marta on 21 June 1850.

It also made reference to the illegality of the Decree of Expulsion, a unilateral measure taken by the government which ignored the current Constitution since the Jesuits had not been given the right to a fair trial. Referring to the argument used by the executive branch which relied on the Sanction issued by Carlos III in 1767 to expel the Jesuits, Fr Gil pointed out that the government which invited them in 1842,

...conocía las leyes del país y no podía ignorar la pretendida vigencia de la pragmática sanción de Carlos III; y sin embargo, no creyó tal vigencia, pues estaba en contradicción con las leyes actuales de la República, como las de los moros y judíos. La ley 16, parte 2ª, T. 4, R.G. fue discutida en las cámaras legislativas en el supuesto de que el Instituto de la Compañía de Jesús era el que debía ser llamado, cuya intención cumplió el poder ejecutivo, dirigiéndose por medio de su encargado en Roma al General de la Compañía el M.R. P. Juan Rootham...Accediendo, pues, el General de la Compañía a la petición del Gobierno Granadino, creyó que los jesuitas podían vivir como tales en esta República a la sombra de las leyes protectoras de la libertad y seguridad de los ciudadanos.⁵⁶

Fr Gil affirmed that King Fernando VII had restored the Society of Jesus again in Spain with the decrees dated 19 May and 19 September 1815. These decrees re-

⁵⁵ 'Catálogo de los Jesuitas Expulsados de la Nueva Granada en junio de 1850'. See: R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro América después de su restauración*, vol. 1, p. 438-9.

⁵⁶ *El Catolicismo*, Bogotá, 1 de agosto de 1850. no.19, pp. 165-6. See: *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 18 de julio de 1850, no. 47, p.189. *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 25 de julio de 1850, no. pp. 193-4.

established the Society in Spain and in all the territories that belonged to the Crown. A group of Jesuits had returned to the Spain they had left behind due to the royal decree of 1767. Furthermore, Fr Gil stated that he had knowledge of some Mexican Jesuits who had imitated their Spanish colleagues. He reminded President López that he had breached the promise he made in their meeting prior to the expulsion where he had guaranteed their stay in the country. He also argued that if the Jesuits were not being expelled because of some ancient or modern law, it must be because of some other crime, and in that case they should have been subjected to the due process of law. He claimed that if they had broken some law or acted against the institutions, such behaviour should have been tried, but no trial took place. Quite the contrary, the President had repeatedly assured the Superior of the Society that '*nothing had been proven against the conduct of the Jesuits of New Granada*' and in an interview held in October 1849 he had authorized him to proclaim this openly. The injustice of the Decree and the authoritarian and illegal manner in which President López and his ministers had acted was all too evident.

Fr Gil also mentioned the many articles published against the Society in the newspapers of New Granada; all of these had simply repeated the criticisms from the anti-Jesuit literature of the eighteenth century and the slanderous rumours that had been spread after they were restored in 1814. He repeated that nothing had been proved against the Jesuits who had arrived in the country since 1844 and that, on the contrary, some writers, even their early opponent Julio Arboleda, had praised them. If the Jesuits had sinned, it was necessary to accuse them individually in court and to have particular sentences pronounced in each case.

Decir sin pruebas y vagamente que la Nueva Granada *no puede luchar con ventaja... con la influencia letal y corruptora de las doctrinas del Jesuitismo*, como se dice en la proclama que precede al decreto de expulsión, es no decir nada que convenza, y al mismo tiempo hacer una

injuria gratuita a la Compañía y aún a la misma Santa Iglesia. A la Compañía porque esta ha enseñado públicamente y nada se le puede probar que haya insinuado contra la Fe, ni contra las buenas costumbres, ni contra las leyes del Estado. A la Santa Iglesia, pues, si por Jesuitismo se entiende el Instituto de la Compañía, es decir sus Reglas y Constituciones, este Instituto, estas Reglas y estas Constituciones, han sido aprobados y elogiados por el Santo Concilio de Trento y por todos los Sumos Pontífices que han existido desde su fundación, sin que el ejemplo de Clemente XIV pueda alegarse sino como una violencia hecha a la Santa Sede en aquellos tiempos desgraciados.⁵⁷

The document ends with a protest against the way the executive branch denied the request of the group of Jesuits living in Bogotá to stay in New Granada as private individuals. Fr Gil opined that the letter of 26 April 1850, in which a group of liberal congressmen explicitly required their expulsion, was full of slander and unproven evidence, especially the part that accused the Jesuits of taking part in the political affairs of New Granada. He also explained the reasons why the Jesuits had not reacted to the expulsion earlier; they wanted to prevent problems of public order and the process of their expulsion had been very hasty.

Declaran, en fin, que no han hecho antes esta protesta, por haber sido traídos aquí con precipitación por las autoridades y por no alarmar a las gentes ni dar motivo a que se alterase el orden público en un país que ha dado mil pruebas del amor que profesa a la Compañía de Jesús y del deseo que tenía de conservarla en su seno. Haciendo esta protesta a nombre de todos los Jesuitas expulsados de la Nueva Granada, ciudadano Presidente, cumplo con un deber; pero al mismo tiempo tengo el honor de ofreceros mi profundo respeto y los sentimientos de la más distinguida consideración, Ciudadano Presidente. Manuel Gil.⁵⁸

A few months after the expulsion of the Jesuits, *La Civilización* continued to stoke the political fires by publishing a document, a ‘defence’ supposedly written by the Jesuits who had been expelled from Bogotá. Though the text was not signed by any Jesuit, it was published supposedly to expose the absurdity of the expulsion.⁵⁹ The

⁵⁷ *El Catolicismo*, Bogotá, 1 de agosto de 1850, no. 19, p. 170.

⁵⁸ *Ibíd.*, p. 170.

⁵⁹ *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 25 de julio de 1850, no. 48, pp. 193-4.

author had three objectives. The first was to itemize the guarantees given to the Jesuits when they returned to New Granada. This section emphasized that the Jesuits had come back to the country to establish mission schools and residences because of an act of the executive branch passed by Congress. Therefore these religious had a right to the same conditions enjoyed by other religious orders in charge of schools. It was logical to assume that the decrees issued by Congress and then by the executive branch implicitly repealed those laws that prohibited their stay in the new republic. The article stated that ‘it was natural for the Jesuits to think that, in the mission schools and residences, the ministries that any other priest was able to exercise in the republic could be implemented while the young missionaries were being educated, with the proper consent of the prelates’.⁶⁰ As was mentioned in Part One, the Superior General had sent a letter dated 20 November 1843 to the official based in Rome who was arranging the return of the Jesuits, Eladio Urisarri. He had replied that Article 1 of Decree 28 of April 1842 had ordered the establishment of mission schools and residences, and that later the executive branch had decreed and appointed the Society of Jesus for this purpose. Thus it was established without any ambiguity that the Society of Jesus had to be considered to be one of the religious orders lawfully admitted into New Granada, authorized to live according to their Institute provided they respected the Constitution and laws of the Republic, and the Jesuits had undertaken the education of missionaries.

The second part of this defence discusses the conduct of the Jesuits with regard to the missions. This section argues that the Jesuits had returned to the country to establish mission schools and residences. The former were intended to educate future missionaries and the latter would be available for missionaries to recover their strength

⁶⁰ *Casas de Escala* were residences founded in the cities of Popayán and Pasto, which had milder climates, where the missionaries could recover their strength and health after their journeys into the mission lands, usually characterized by unhealthy climates. The missionary priest, Fr Laínez, lost his life because of these tropical climates.

and energy after work with the natives in the unhealthy tropical regions. For this purpose, the Jesuits had established a mission school in Bogotá, 30 August 1844; later, this school was moved by decree of the executive branch to Popayán, 30 June 1845. These two schools had educated the missionaries who, after the long process of religious training, went to the various missions.

En efecto los misioneros europeos no estaban obligados a dedicarse a la civilización de los salvajes: sin embargo dos de estos sacerdotes fueron destinados al Putumayo con un hermano granadino. Estos tres misioneros a pesar de los muchos gastos que debían hacer en la obra que emprendían, quedaron casi un año sin recibir socorro alguno del gobierno, y no hubieran abandonado aquellos territorios, si una muerte prematura no hubiera arrebatado al padre José Segundo Láinez; pues no habiendo quien lo sustituyera, y quedando su compañero el padre Tomás Piquer sólo y enfermo, tuvieron que retirarse con el hermano coadjutor a Pasto para restablecer la salud.⁶¹

The document stressed that since 1848 the two mission schools functioned without receiving financial support from the government because Congress in its national budget (in its 1847 session) agreed to support only national missionaries. This decision was a mortal blow to the missions as it impeded the work of Jesuits of Spanish nationality. There had been a genuine contract between the government of New Granada and the Jesuits by which the latter undertook to found mission schools, to educate missionaries and, once these were ready, to assign them to the conversion of the natives, while the government was responsible for supporting these establishments. The defense document claimed that the government had failed to comply with the contract and therefore the Society of Jesus was free to undertake other apostolic activities. Thus, the European Jesuits were free from all obligations and were entitled to all the assurances that the Constitution and laws granted them as of 1 December 1848. The document pointed out that despite the measures taken by Congress the Jesuits did not

⁶¹ *La Civilización*, Bogotá, 25 de julio de 1850, no. 48, p. 194.

abandon the missions and had continued to educate future missionaries in the schools in Bogotá and Popayán. These establishments were maintained through private donations from citizens of New Granada and friends of the Jesuits in Europe.

The third part of the document speaks of the good reputation of the Jesuits in several cities of the Republic. It emphasizes that they were educating the seminarians of Bogotá and Popayán at the invitation of the Archbishop and the Bishop of Popayán respectively. On 31 July 1845 the Archbishop signed an agreement with the Jesuit Superior, Pablo Torroella, and received the approval of the executive branch on 23 August of that year. The Bishop of Popayán followed in the footsteps of his counterpart in Bogotá establishing an agreement with the Jesuits to take charge of the Seminary of Popayán. This prelate raised money from his parishioners to bring six Jesuits from Europe and obtained the approval of the executive branch on 30 June 1846.

Finally, the document claimed that the Jesuits continued to teach in the major cities and to preach protected by the law of 8 May 1848, which allowed free education at all levels. As reported in the document:

En estas ciudades donde la Compañía reside, además de la educación de la juventud, con la autorización de los prelados se han ejercido los ministerios espirituales de la confesión y predicación del Evangelio. Si es algún crimen el haber distribuido el pan de la divina palabra a los pueblos civilizados, a petición de los prelados, de los curas, y de las autoridades civiles también, de muchos crímenes pueden acusar a los jesuitas sus enemigos implacables, pues que además de la continua predicación en la capital, de aquí han salido misioneros para evangelizar en las poblaciones de Tocaima, Zipaquirá, Chocontá, Ubaté, Chiquinquirá, Tunja, Moniquirá, Vélez, Socorro, Charalá, Garagoa, Tibirita, Choaquí, Honda, La Mesa, Bojacá y Facatativá. Los padres residentes en Popayán han dado misiones en Caloto, Quilichao, Buenos Aires y otros puntos. Los de Pasto han ejercido su celo en Túquerres y han llegado hasta las fronteras del Ecuador. Los de Medellín han dispensado el pan de la divina palabra en Copacabana, Santa Rosa, Rionegro, Antioquia, Amalfi y otros puntos, penetrando las ásperas montañas de la izquierda del Cauca han predicado el Evangelio a los indios de Cañasgordas. En varios viajes han cultivado los pueblos de las orillas del Magdalena y del Cauca: siempre y en todas partes a petición de los fieles y con un concurso como es patente a todo el mundo. ¡Oh

buen Dios! ¿Será algún crimen el haber libertado a tantas almas de la esclavitud del demonio?... ¿Será algún crimen el haber enseñado al que no sabía, el haber dado buenos consejos a los que los solicitan, el haber consolado los enfermos, auxiliado los moribundos?⁶²

The document concludes by wondering why the Liberal Party and many newspapers in the capital showed no mercy to the Jesuits, accusing them of supporting the Conservative Party. The Jesuits saw themselves as followers of Jesus Christ, preachers of peace, unity and Christian charity.

Expulsion of the Jesuits from Medellín

The Jesuits of Medellín were sent to the port of Nare, the main port of Antioquia on the *Magdalena* River. Eleven Jesuits left on 15 June: seven priests, Joaquín Freire, Mariano Cortés, José Joaquín Cotanilla, Nicasio Eguiluz, Fausto Legarra, Benito Moral and Pablo Pujadas; a scholastic called Miguel Ruíz; and three coadjutor brothers: Juan Cenarruza, Pablo Tirado and Gabriel Trobat.⁶³ The decree of expulsion gave them no time to say goodbye to all their friends, and they wrote an open letter to thank the people of Antioquia for their affection and support. The letter showed that they felt no resentment. They greet ‘all the friends from Antioquia, Rionegro, Santa Rosa, Envigado, Marinilla, Amalfi, Barbosa and Cañasgordas, all towns of great memories’ where they had exercised their ministry by preaching the Gospel and evangelizing the inhabitants. They left ‘with the greatest outpouring of affection for beloved Copacabana, always generous to the Society, and the excellent residents of Aguacatal’.⁶⁴

⁶² *Ibíd.*, p. 194

⁶³ ‘Catálogo de los Jesuitas Expulsados de la Nueva Granada en junio de 1850’. See: R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro América después de su restauración*, vol. 1, p. 439.

⁶⁴ AUA, Hoja Sueltas, HS2, Documento 228, folio 260.

Expulsion of the Jesuits from Popayán

General José María Obando was responsible for notifying the expulsion to the Jesuits of Popayán. Conservatives in this city were agitated by the decree, and Julio Arboleda made a rousing speech before Governor Castrillón protesting against it. The European Jesuits travelled from Popayán to Neiva, where they embarked for Santa Marta. Some members of this group, which included Fr San Román, embarked from Santa Marta for Panamá, then travelled across isthmus took ship south to Guayaquil. He wanted to be near New Granada and hoped to return. He requested asylum from the President of Ecuador, Diego Novoa. This request was made through Gabriel García Moreno, who was traveling in the same ship and became his unconditional friend. Once the President of Ecuador had granted permission, the Jesuits first settled in Guayaquil. Some of them later travelled to Quito, where they joined other Jesuits who had arrived in Ibarra. In Quito they formed a new community.⁶⁵

Government officials tried to persuade the scholastics and novices who were natives of New Granada to abandon their commitment to the Society, but they sought asylum in the neighbouring republic of Ecuador, where they joined the Spanish priests who had left Pasto.⁶⁶ The administration of President López then did everything possible to convince the Ecuadorian authorities about the danger of having Jesuits in their country. Samper noted the ‘danger of an imminent break with Ecuador, whose reactionary government instigated an insurrection in Pasto, after protecting the uprising in Túquerres in November 1850, and plotted against the nation, jointly with the Jesuits

⁶⁵ The Jesuits stayed in Ecuador between 16 June 1850 and 21 November 1852. They were then expelled by President José María Urvina. In 1861 President Gabriel García Moreno wrote to the Superior General, Fr Peter Jan Beckx asking for 50 Jesuits to teach in the schools. See: J. Villalba, ‘Ecuador’, *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía*, vol. 2, pp. 1191-3, and J. Jouanen, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la República del Ecuador, 1850-1950*, pp. 27-66, Quito, 2003.

⁶⁶ D. Restrepo. *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1940, pp. 208-10.

who had sought asylum in Quito and some disloyal citizens of New Granada'.⁶⁷

The city of Popayan had sheltered the largest number of Jesuits. Out of these 37 Jesuits, nine were priests (Francisco J. de San Román, Salvador Aulet, Manuel Buján, Santiago Cenarruza, Francisco García López, Francisco J. Hernáez, Luis Segura, Ramón Solá and Joaquín M. Suarez), five were coadjutor brothers (Francisco García, Juan Garriga, Manuel Muñoz, Lucio Posada and Joaquín Ugalde), and 23 were scholastics.⁶⁸

Expulsion of the Jesuits from Pasto

The Jesuits who were expelled from Pasto travelled to Ecuador. President López tried to persuade Ecuador not to receive them, and appointed General José María Obando to request their expulsion.⁶⁹ However, the Ecuadorian government at first granted them asylum in Ibarra, Quito and Guayaquil. Four Jesuits had been living in the residence of Pasto: three priests, Pablo de Blás, Eladio Orbegoza, Tomás Piquer; and coadjutor brother Francisco Truffo.

In sum, the 76 Jesuits expelled from Nueva Granada had been distributed as follows: Bogotá, 11 priests, 7 scholastics and 6 coadjutor brothers; Medellín, 7 priests, one scholastic and 3 coadjutor brothers; Popayán, the largest number, 37 Jesuits, viz. 10 priests and one novice, 18 scholastics who were juniors and novices, and 9 coadjutor brothers, 4 of whom were in training. The residence of Pasto was home to 3 priests and a coadjutor brother. In all: 31 priests, 26 scholastics and 19 coadjutor brothers were expelled from the country.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ J.M. Samper, *Apuntamientos para la historia*, p. 547.

⁶⁸ 'Catálogo de los Jesuitas Expulsados de la Nueva Granada en junio de 1850'. See: R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro América después de su restauración*, vol. 1, pp. 439-41.

⁶⁹ J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, p. 153.

⁷⁰ 'Catálogo de los Jesuitas Expulsados de la Nueva Granada en junio de 1850'. See: R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro América después de su restauración*, vol. 1, pp. 438-41.

Some of the Jesuits from Bogotá and Medellín went first to Jamaica and then travelled to Guatemala, while others sought asylum in Ecuador. There the Jesuits spent two long years and were eventually expelled. Guatemala provided more stability to the Jesuits: they were able to establish a novitiate and prepare scholastics for their return to New Granada once political circumstances changed. Similarly, the stable situation in Guatemala allowed the Jesuits to support the work of the Society school in Havana and in the new province of México. From Guatemala they later sent men to El Salvador and Ecuador.

Cotanilla gives his version of the expulsion and he presents events from his usual definite viewpoint. For him the Jesuits are heroes of the faith, fighting its enemies in of war between the good, represented by the Jesuits, and the bad, represented by the Liberals who had discredited them in the press and forced through the decree of expulsion. According to Cotanilla, the Jesuits in New Granada were strictly devoted to their apostolic activities for the sake of the citizens of the country. Cotanilla wrote his manuscript in the sixties, after General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera had expelled him. His words reflect the resentment he felt because of the mistreatment meted out to the Apostolic Delegate, the Jesuits, and the Church in general:

Las misiones, las Congregaciones, los Ejercicios Espirituales, la enseñanza de la juventud, las fiestas religiosas, como los actos académicos de los discípulos, la asistencia constante al confesionario, el hermosísimo mes de mayo consagrado a María, los sermones de Cuaresma, la numerosa y ejemplar congregación de artesanos y otros santos ministerios propios del sacerdote jesuita los pusieron en juego los padres de la Compañía con todos los atractivos de saber humano y de la virtud cristiana, como otros tantos bastantes contra los embates del infierno, de los enemigos de Jesucristo y de su Iglesia; sin que por eso dejaran los jesuitas de conocer, la suerte que les esperaba, los cuales tanto más habían de encarnizarse contra ellos, cuanto más enérgicamente se opusieran a sus doctrinas, a sus vicios y maléficos intentos.⁷¹

⁷¹AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol. 2, p. 8.

Events between the Expulsion of the Jesuits in 1850 and the New Invitation from the Archbishop Antonio Herrán

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, Bogotá had reached a truly revolutionary situation by the end of 1850. Liberal newspapers, the Republican School and the Democratic Society defended the government as the most appropriate for the country's future. The Conservative newspapers, the *Sociedad Filotémica* and the *Sociedad Popular* resisted. Samper gives a polarized view of the situation, and presents the Liberal reforms as the embodiment of light, truth, freedom, and progress. Against them the Conservatives are shown as obstinately attached to the past. Obviously, confrontation and passions were on the increase on both sides.⁷²

The expulsion of the Jesuits generated widespread resentment in New Granada and especially among the members of the Conservative Party, while it was received with joy by liberals. Between the year of the expulsion and 1858, when the Jesuits returned, the society of New Granada was completely polarized. Even though the Jesuits were not in the country, the press continued its campaign against them. One year after the expulsion of the Jesuits the Law of 9 May 1851 was passed prohibiting the restoration of the Society of Jesus. Its first article stated that 'except for the Society of Jesus, or any other order created with its members, the foundation of any religious society or community is allowed and is not against the laws of morality'. The second article said that 'all religious societies and communities that have secret operations, mutual denunciation and passive obedience as their institutional principles shall be considered contrary to morality and as such are banned'. The seventh article categorically prohibited the entry of the Jesuits into the country, and this time it also forbade citizens of New Granada, by birth or by naturalization, from joining the order.⁷³

⁷² J.M. Samper, *Apuntamientos para la historia*, p. 520.

⁷³ J.P. Restrepo, *La Iglesia y el Estado en Colombia*, p. 205.

This law shows how merciless were the lawmakers to the order and how they tried to erase the entire Jesuit apostolate. The Constitution of 1853 also expressly banned the Society of Jesus. Although the Constitution legislated in favour of religious freedom, Article 8 stated that ‘despite the provisions of this law, the ban against priests of the Society of Jesus concerning their entrance to the territory of the Republic remains in place’. During the administration of Manuel María Mallarino, the law of 14 May 1855 repealed this prohibition.

During and after his presidential term, a significant number of citizens criticized President López for this unpopular measure. In 1853 a citizen of Antioquia wrote an open letter to the former President reproaching him for the unjust and arbitrary way in which the Jesuits were expelled. His decree had violated Article 16 of the Constitution, which stated that ‘the Roman, Apostolic, Catholic Faith is the only religion whose cult supports and maintains the Republic,’ and since the Jesuits were Roman Apostolic Catholics, the President had failed to comply with the Constitution and had broken his oath. Even if it could be assumed that the Jesuits were not Roman Apostolic Catholics, President López could not be exonerated because he had ignored the law on religious tolerance established by his predecessors.⁷⁴ Admittedly other people sent letters supporting the process of expulsion.⁷⁵

With the expulsion of the Jesuits the Seminary was secularized on the grounds that the civil administration would better educate candidates for ordination, and that the Jesuit education in the Seminary had helped promote fanaticism.⁷⁶ In May 1851, the

⁷⁴ AUA, Hoja Sueltas, HS2, Documento 199, Folio 208.

⁷⁵ After the publication of the decree expelling the Jesuits, the followers of President López sent him letters of support and congratulation. See: *Gaceta Oficial*, Bogotá, 20 June 1850, no. 1.131, p. 291. *Gaceta Oficial*, Bogotá, 4 Julio de 1850, no. 1.134, pp. 313-4. *Gaceta Oficial*, Bogotá, 14 Julio de 1850, no. 1.137, p. 338.

⁷⁶ G. Cavelier, *Las relaciones entre la Santa Sede y Colombia*. Bogotá, 1988, p. 269.

Congress of New Granada attacked the domestic jurisdiction of the Church. In these sessions the return of the Jesuits was again prohibited. It was also claimed that the civil authorities could not force religious men to fulfil their religious vows. The Archbishop was banned from using the Papal Brief, which allowed him to visit and reform the establishments of regular priests in the Republic. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction was also abolished; as a result, clerics and bishops had to appear before the civil courts of the Republic when they performed poorly in their pastoral functions.⁷⁷ A law of May 1851 stipulated that parochial assemblies were responsible for choosing their priests. These measures were part of the provocations that led that year to armed uprising by the Conservatives.

The Civil War of 1851⁷⁸

The expulsion of the Jesuits in May 1850, and the attacks in Cali by supporters of the *Sociedades Democráticas* against members of the *Sociedades Populares* led to a Conservative uprising. The leaders claimed that there were no guarantees in the country. The Democratic Societies saw in the Popular Societies agents of the landowners and aristocrats. There were clashes between members of the Popular Societies and those of the Democratic Societies, who came to the meetings of the former with weapons allegedly provided by the Governors of Buenaventura and Cauca, Manuel Camacho and Carlos Gómez. The Conservatives complained to the

⁷⁷ J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, 1845-1854, p. 186.

⁷⁸ On the nineteenth century Civil Wars in Colombia see: G. Arboleda, A. Tirado Mejía, *Aspectos Sociales de las Guerras Civiles en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1976, A. Valencia Llano 'La Guerra de 1851 en el Cauca' in *Las Guerras Civiles desde 1830 y su proyección en el siglo XX*. Bogotá, 1998. J. C. Jurado, 'Ganarse el cielo defendiendo la Religión. Motivaciones en la guerra civil de 1851', in *Ganarse el Cielo Defendiendo la Religión, Guerras Civiles en Colombia, 1840-1902*, L.J. Ortiz Mesa and others, Medellín, 2005, pp. 237-50.

government, but it supported the two Governors.⁷⁹ Such events were further complicated when parties from these societies, the *zurriagueros*, visited farms to intimidate their owners. In this situation the citizens of Cauca took up arms against the national government.⁸⁰ The province of Antioquia followed the example of Cauca and on 30 June 1851 General Eusebio Borrero with some 800 men took Medellín and deposed the Governor. Borrero then assumed the supreme authority with the title of ‘Civil and Military Chief’.⁸¹

On 20 July 1851 Pastor Ospina led an insurrection with 400 armed men in Guasca, Cundinamarca. This caused alarm in Bogotá, and the government imprisoned Conservatives suspected of being the intellectual leaders of the insurgent movements. Among these was Mariano Ospina Rodríguez. Although the government had defended freedom of the press, those newspapers which opposed the López government, *El Día*, *La Civilización* and *El Filotémico*, ceased publication.⁸²

The Conservative Party, which had taken up arms in the southern provinces, in Antioquia and in the vicinity of Bogotá, as well as with minor guerrilla actions in the Northern provinces, was soon defeated.⁸³ According to Gilmore, ‘Conservatives justified the rebellion based on the socialist attacks against religion, family and

⁷⁹ J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, Bogotá, p. 167.

⁸⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 193.

⁸¹ *Ibíd.*, p. 194.

⁸² *Ibíd.*, p. 195.

⁸³ According To Fernán Gonzáles, the Civil War of 1851 was a ‘series of uncoordinated events, with limited military resources, led by civilians with no military experience.’ Armed uprisings took place between July and October for various motives in the different regions. In the Cauca, the issues concerned manumission, the anti-slavery movement, and the fear of social unrest. Concerns in Antioquia were mostly about ‘the proposal to divide the province, which would alter the electoral balance and fracture patronage networks, along with the risk of the excesses of *los zurriagueros* extending from Cauca to Antioquia, and the impact of the expulsion of the Jesuits who had a school in Medellín.’ See: F. González, *Partidos, Guerras e Iglesia en la construcción del Estado Nación en Colombia, 1830-1900*, Medellín, 2006, pp. 51-3.

property. The crime wave in Bogotá, the atrocities in Cauca, the legislation that affected the Church'.⁸⁴ In addition, according to Conservatives in Antioquia another cause was the government's refusal to establish a federal government capable of safeguarding their interests and protecting the province from the chaos that prevailed in the rest of nation. Again, the issue of the Jesuits came up in the Liberal press. Although expelled from the country, they were accused of responsibility for the uprising through their intrigues.

Expulsion of the Archbishop

Two days after the election of President López, Archbishop Mosquera had written to Fr Gil, the Superior of the Jesuit Mission expressing his concern over recent political events; he sensed what would happen with the election of López and his team. His intuition was soon justified as the society of New Granada divided into two irreconcilable factions. One result of this polarization was the expulsion of the Jesuits. A further consequence was the removal of his authority over the Seminary. The Archbishop opposed these measures and Congress decreed his expulsion. His premonitions were clear:

Estos días han sido crueles, decía: mi vida, como la de Ospina, Márquez y otros, ha estado en gran peligro. Lo hemos sabido muy de cierto; y los mismos que antes creían que yo recelaba demasiado, me aconsejaron precauciones para evitar el lance. Temo mucho que se encienda la guerra civil, porque la elección del presidente ha sido obra de coacción y puñales. La sociedad fermenta, y no puede menos de hacer explosión. En estos días aparecerá el proyecto contra la Compañía, en las Cámaras: no sé todavía sus términos; pero por los antecedentes creo que sea derogado el decreto de 1842, con declaratoria de que quedan suprimidos los colegios de Misiones, y disponiendo que a los misioneros que vinieron y no quieran quedarse como ciudadanos, se les dé viático para que se vayan. Esto es lo que se deduce de lo que se les oye; bien no falta

⁸⁴ Gilmore, *El federalismo en Colombia, 1810-1858*, vol. 1, p. 212, and see Safford, F. 'Reflections on the Internal War in Ninetenth-Century Latin America'. In Earle, Rebeca., ed. *Rumours of War. Civil Conflict in Ninetenth-Century Latin America*, London, 2000, p. 18, where he refers to some of the motives of the uprising in Antioquia. 'Recent anticlerical measures by the liberal government provoked outrage among many pious antioqueños. Among these acts were the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1850 and various laws affecting the Church in 1851'.

quien proponga una expulsión solemne. También se me ha avisado que otros proyectan quitarme el Seminario. No sé hasta donde vayan, pero las intenciones no pueden ser peores.⁸⁵

Archbishop Mosquera's relationship with the Jesuits between 1844 and 1850 had generated discontent among both the secular and the regular clergy. This is confirmed by a notorious document published by the canon of the cathedral Manuel Fernández Saavedra after the expulsion of the Archbishop on 25 September 1852. Fernández Saavedra was considered an orator of great renown. In 1844, when the Jesuits arrived in Bogotá, he had welcomed them with a panegyric on the Society and its founder, but according to Cotanilla, he subsequently became their enemy. The preaching and the apostolic activity of the Jesuits overshadowed his fame as an orator.⁸⁶ He began to have differences of opinion with Archbishop Mosquera. His pamphlet was published in *El Neo-granadino*. It contains an introduction that accuses the Archbishop of stunting the growth of the archdiocese, and criticizes his belligerent attitude towards the Liberal government. The first part deals with the revolution of 1840 and uses the testimony of José María Obando to argue that Mosquera had authorized the clergy to take up arms to maintain order and religion in the country.⁸⁷ The second part denounces the presence of the Jesuits in the country as unnecessary and refers to the anti-Jesuit literature published in the newspapers: there was no need to have invited the Jesuits back because there was already a virtuous and competent clergy that could have undertaken missions among the indians. Fernández Saavedra emphasizes the missionary work of Fr Benigno Hurtado, a barefoot Augustinian missionary who had served 20 years in the missions of Casanare and had left the region because of the lack

⁸⁵ D. Restrepo. *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia*, p. 190.

⁸⁶ AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol. 2, p. 165.

⁸⁷ M. Fernández Saavedra, *El Arzobispo ante la Nación*, Bogotá, 1952, p. 9.

of financial support from the government.⁸⁸

This document generated a massive response from the clergy of the archdiocese and other dioceses in defence of the Archbishop.⁸⁹ The first reaction came from the clergy of the archdiocese, both secular and regular. On 31 October 1852 the clergy of Bogotá issued a protest to the government against the expulsion of the Archbishop; they reaffirmed their adherence to his authority and orthodoxy. The purpose of the letter was to refute Fernández Saavedra's libel and give testimony to Mosquera's exemplary public and private conduct:

...nosotros, testigos unos y sabedores otros de los hechos que se han desfigurado y tergiversado en el citado folleto, y que, en conciencia, estamos obligados a defender la verdad y la justicia en todas circunstancias, mucho más cuando se interesa la reputación de la digna persona que es cabeza de nuestra Iglesia, cuya buena fama es la de nuestra propia; nosotros tenemos el deber de reiterar como reiteramos nuestro amor y veneración cordial al legítimo Prelado de esta Iglesia, que lo es y lo será mientras exista, en cualquier parte donde se halle; de desmentir como desmentimos los hechos falsos y calumnias que se le imputan, los cuales se están refutando en un luminosa Defensa...⁹⁰

A second response came in *El Catolicismo*. An article accused the anonymous author of presenting false facts, ambition, hatred, resentment, and malice. It also objected to the procedure followed by the López administration in publishing the document and distributing it freely in all public offices of New Granada.⁹¹

A third response, much more elaborate, came from Rufino Cuervo, previously Vice-President of New Granada. His text has two parts and a conclusion.⁹² The first part discusses the Archbishop's legitimate election in 1835 and shows that his brother,

⁸⁸ *Ibíd.*, p. 16.

⁸⁹ V. Restrepo, *Impugnación del Doctor Venancio Restrepo al Libelo Infamatorio titulado: 'El Arzobispo de Bogotá ante la Nación'*. Bogotá, 1952. And A. M. Cruz, *Reflexiones sobre el Panfleto titulado: 'El arzobispo de Bogotá ante la Nación'*, Bogotá, 1852. Anónimo, *Juicio de un Payanés sobre el folleto titulado 'el Arzobispo ante la Nación'*, Popayán, 1852.

⁹⁰ M.M. Mosquera, ed. *Documentos para la biografía e historia del episcopado del Ilustrísimo Sr. Don Manuel José Mosquera, arzobispo de Santafé de Bogotá*, vol. 3, Paris, 1858, p. 83.

⁹¹ *El Catolicismo*, Bogotá, 1 de noviembre de 1852, no. 66.

⁹² R. Cuervo, *Defensa del Arzobispo de Bogotá, u observaciones del Dr. Rufino Cuervo, vicepresidente de la Nueva Granada, al cuaderno titulado 'El Arzobispo ante la Nación'*, Popayán, 1852.

Tomás Cipriano, had no part in it. With regard to the foundation of the Seminary it argues that it was established to prepare future ministers in accordance with the principles of the Christian doctrine. It also offers insight into the events during the War of the *Supremos* and the return of the Jesuits.⁹³ For Cuervo, the invitation to the Jesuits complied with the wishes of an important number of parents who wanted to provide a solid education for their children, but it had been made at a time when the feelings generated by the elections had not yet calmed down; this was extremely dangerous as it could give rise to a new political upheaval.⁹⁴ Like the Archbishop, Cuervo believed that the Jesuits would strengthen the foundations of religion and morality and preserve order, but order had to be in place first. In a letter to Archbishop Mosquera, Cuervo stated that ‘in times of revolution only the voice of the passions and self-interest is heard, and everything is an excuse to deceive and agitate’.⁹⁵ The second part refutes some criticisms of the Archbishop, such as that he had remained silent during the war of 1851 to protect those who took up arms against the constitutional government, and to emphasise the right to protest against the anti-ecclesiastical laws. In his conclusion, Rufino Cuervo explains that he has written this defence motivated by respect for his

⁹³ With regard to the unlawful entry of the Jesuits into the country Rufino Cuervo argued: ‘Desde que este país se independizó de la España y abrió sus puertas a todos los extranjeros sin limitación alguna, quedaron de hecho abrogadas esas leyes de intolerancia y de proscripción sancionadas por la metrópoli. El principio de que una disposición general no deroga una especial sino de una manera expresa y terminante, no es aplicable cuando la especial es odiosa o contraria a la libertad’. As for the law that allowed the return of the Jesuits in 1844, Cuervo argued quite sincerely that he had never been in agreement with the legislation which preceded its enactment. According to him: ‘porque habiendo triunfado el partido del orden y de legitimidad de las facciones de 1840 y 1841, no debía traerse como elemento de conservación un instituto por el cual no manifestaban simpatías muchos miembros de ese mismo partido: que siendo constante que en ningún país, y menos en la Repúblicas hispano-americanas, dura por largo tiempo un partido en el poder, era perjudicial, aun a los mismo Jesuitas, el hacer depender su permanencia en la República, de la duración de los conservadores en el mando; y que por lo mismo que esta Orden ha sido motivo y objeto de disputas y controversias en las naciones en que ha tenido existencia legal, no debían venir los Jesuitas a la Nueva Granada sino *a la sombra de la tolerancia general*, como han sido admitidos y existen en Inglaterra, Francia, y en los Estados Unidos. Yo manifesté estas opiniones desde Quito, en donde me hallaba entonces, y luego las repetí en Bogotá a mi regreso del Ecuador; y por cierto que me valieron agrias censuras de cierto círculo retrógrado y antipático que me ha juzgado con sobra de liviandad’. See: M. M. Mosquera, ed. *Documentos para la biografía e historia del episcopado del Ilustrísimo Señor D. Manuel José Mosquera, arzobispo de Santafé de Bogotá*, vol. 3, París, 1858, pp. 107-12.

⁹⁴ A. R. J. Cuervo, *Vida de Rufino Cuervo y noticias de su época*, vol. 2, París, 1892, pp. 15-6.

⁹⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 16.

friend the Archbishop, vilified in the pamphlet.

Return of the Jesuits at the time of the Granadine Confederation 1858

Much happened in New Granada between the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1850 and the events of 1858. The government of President López radicalized its position toward the Church, leading up to the trial and expulsion of the Archbishop, and the other bishops who could not tolerate such government intervention. The separation of Church and State came with the new government of President José María Obando. During his first months in office, Obando tried to maintain good relations with the Church, but later he too became more radical and broke off relations with the Apostolic Delegate, Mgr Lorenzo Barili, who had protested against the measures that had been taken in relation to the Church. Absolute independence of Church and State was declared on 15 June 1853.⁹⁶

The political situation became increasingly complex during the government of Obando with the issue of the artisans, as they demanded more participation and real reforms in their economic situation.⁹⁷ General José María Melo, military commander of Bogotá, led a coup against the government of General Obando on 17 April 1854. This

⁹⁶ G. Agudelo Giraldo, *Los arzobispos de Bogotá que han marcado nuestra historia 1564-2010*, Bogotá, 2010, p. 795.

⁹⁷ 'By 1851, Ambrosio López urged that the Society sever its relations with Gólgotas who pursued reform objectives alien to those of craftsmen, in his pamphlet entitled *El desengaño...* (The disillusioned). In it he claimed that artisans had been led astray from their original intentions and should reassert their authority over the body. Later in 1851, Cruz Ballesteros critically examined the 'theory and the reality' of Liberal policies and Liberal attitudes toward artisans. When Nepomuceno Palacios was executed for the murder of *cachacho* Antonio Paris two years later, Miguel León released a stinging denunciation of the system of 'justice' that would so quickly reach a verdict on an artisan accused of a crime, but allowed a *cachaco* accused of the same act to walk the streets in freedom... Over a five-year span, artisans had internalised their disillusionment to the extent that many craftsmen joined in the 1854 Melo revolt to restore the country to the principles and institutions that they thought served it best. Ten years later, after further reforms and a major civil war, disillusioned craftsmen expressed their thoughts in the pages of *La Alianza*'. See: D. Sowell, *The Early Colombian Labor Movement, Artisans and Politics in Bogotá, 1832-1919*, Philadelphia, 1992, pp. 81-2.

coup was made against the *Gólgotas*, mostly conservative upper-class young people, and against the Constitution of 1853. General Melo represented the Draconian group, made up of professional military men and artisans belonging to the Democratic Society; the latter served as guards and police in the capital.⁹⁸ This coup and the constant infighting among members of the Liberal Party led to the Conservatives regaining power in 1855.

In 1857 Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was elected President. Archbishop Antonio Herrán and the Apostolic Delegate, Mgr. Ledochowski, supported by the government, asked the Jesuit Superior General, Peter Beckx, to send Jesuits once more to New Granada. The Superior General, through Fr Gil who was now his assistant, asked Fr Pablo de Blas to travel from Guatemala to Bogotá to restore the Society in Colombia.⁹⁹ Fr Pablo de Blas left Guatemala on 24 December 1857 accompanied by Frs Luis Segura, Lorenzo Navarrete, and Br Miguel Parés, who died during the journey. According to Pérez, when Fr Blas left for New Granada ‘...the mission of Guatemala was thriving with five houses in which 21 priests and 17 coadjutor brothers worked with tireless zeal, and where 30 novices and students were educated’.¹⁰⁰

Frs De Blas, Segura and Navarrete arrived in Bogotá on 18 February 1858. With the consent of the ecclesiastical authority, a novitiate was opened on 1 May 1858 thanks to the donation by Agustina Fuenmayor of a house for the newcomers. During

⁹⁸ D. Sowell, ‘La Sociedad Democrática de Artesanos de Bogotá’, in *Colombia en el siglo XIX*, Bogotá, 1999, pp. 203-6.

⁹⁹ Manuel Gil had arrived in New Granada in December 1846 as official Visitor with full powers to deal with the difficulties experienced by the Jesuits there. In 1847 he was appointed Superior of the Jesuits until the expulsion by President López. He and his fellow Jesuits went to Jamaica and stayed there for a while, and then went to Guatemala in 1851 where he founded a formation house for Jesuit scholastics. In 1853 the 22th General Congregation appointed him Assistant of Spain, and he spent twenty-five year in this post in Rome and then in Fiésole. According to Revuelta, Gil was an ‘eternal superior’ who witnessed a century of Jesuit vicissitudes, such as the expulsions from Spain in 1820, 1835, 1868, the famous ‘Priest killing’ in Madrid in 1834, the exiles of Jesuits in Spanish America. When the situation finally settled down he is said to have exclaimed: ‘Ya podemos morir’. See: M. Revuelta, ‘Manuel Gil Saénz’, in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 2, pp. 1729-30

¹⁰⁰ R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro América después de la restauración*, vol. 2, Valladolid, 1897, p. 257.

the three years of their stay in Bogotá, some young men who would later be the shapers of the Colombian province joined the novitiate: Mario Valenzuela, Daniel Quijano, Francisco Castañeda, Francisco Urdaneta, Santiago Páramo, Zoilo Arjona, Francisco Barreto, Teódulo Vargas and Javier Junguito, who became Bishop of Panama.¹⁰¹

In 1858 the national government gave the *Colegio San Bartolomé* under lease to Pastor Ospina, brother of the President, and signed a contract with the Jesuits to undertake the direction of the school. A detailed inventory was made.¹⁰² On 8 January 1859 Pastor Ospina signed a contract with the governor and the Secretary of Finance agreeing to take over the school for twenty years. The Jesuits would be responsible for teaching languages, moral sciences, mathematics and physics in this establishment. They made responsible for the internal regulation of the school in accordance with the *Ratio Studiorum*. Other courses such as law and medicine would also be provided under the direction of Pastor Ospina, the contractor.¹⁰³

The Expulsion under President Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera in 1861

Before examining the causes of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1861, it is pertinent to stress that General Mosquera and the Jesuits had seemingly good relations at least until 1850, as can be shown from the documents consulted. We must analyse how the anti-Jesuit attitude of Mosquera originated after the return of the Jesuits in 1858.

From 1843 to 1850 the relations between the Jesuits and General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera were characterized by a certain closeness; he gave full support to their reestablishment in New Granada. He had written from Chile to the Superior

¹⁰¹ D. Restrepo, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia*, p. 226.

¹⁰² Archivo Histórico Juan Manuel Pacheco, Universidad Javeriana. (AHJP), Recepción del Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé, B1. ES2. EN1. Cp. 20. Doc. 05. 12 Folios.

¹⁰³ G. Arboleda, *Historia contemporánea de Colombia*, vol. 5, Cali, 1935, p. 356.

General of the Jesuits in Rome on 13 December 1843, and congratulated him for the growth of the Jesuits in the world. He invited him to send Jesuits to help spread the Catholic religion in South America. Friendship grew between the General and the Jesuits when he brought two Jesuits from Chile to Bogotá. Mosquera approved of the mission houses that made it possible to open the novitiate for the education of future Jesuit missionaries in Popayán. In his letter to the Superior General, Mosquera gave an account of the events in South America and the neglect of religion in the organization of the new republics; the many conflicts forced sensible statesmen to turn to religion, and he asked for the presence of men solidly trained in Christian doctrine to combat impiety, laxity and ignorance. The General asked the Superior to help his brother the Archbishop in keeping the faith of their ancestors pure. He also urged him to assist all the bishops of South America:

Sé que estos son los deseos y sentimientos de V.R., y que yo no tengo ni voz ni derechos para recomendar lo mismo; pero, colocado en un lugar distinguido en la sociedad Sud-americana, me creo también en el deber de contribuir con mis votos, o con mi grano de arena, a levantar el edificio que debe servir para colocar el tabernáculo donde se adore al Dios de la paz y de la caridad; al Dios justo, misericordioso y vengador.¹⁰⁴

In 1845 Mosquera brought two more Jesuits from Chile to reinforce the Mission of New Granada, Fr José Gomilla and Br José Saracco. Fr Gomilla had participated in the Mission of Chile and Argentina, and met the General when he was Minister Plenipotentiary of New Granada in Perú. Fr Gomilla repeatedly asked him about the situation of the Jesuits in New Granada, whether they were to be teachers or missionaries among the natives. Mosquera was honest with the priest, and explained that ‘regarding the purpose of the invitation made to the Society, the decrees were issued calling them missionaries to fool the demagogues; my brother, the Archbishop,

¹⁰⁴R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro América después de su restauración*, vol. 2, pp. 420-1, and D. Restrepo, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia*, pp. 239-40.

needs educators in the seminary and the university. This is why they were invited'.¹⁰⁵ General Mosquera believed that the Jesuits would help to establish order and morality in New Granada. He paid for their journey and took them to his house in Popayán before they travelled to Bogotá. General Mosquera formed a very favourable impression of the two Jesuits during the trip and while they lived in his home.¹⁰⁶ In a letter to Ignacio Gutiérrez of 18 February 1845, he showed his ulterior motives for paying for the trip: 'Creo como V. dice que son los Jesuitas un elemento de orden, y que a un país en donde se ha corrompido la moral se deben esfuerzos sobrehumanos. Sin embargo, no creo que les demos más influjo que el puramente necesario pues nada debe ser obra del entusiasmo'.¹⁰⁷

In March 1845 the Congress met to elect the new president of the Republic and to discuss the issue of the missions. Present at the sessions were the two candidates most likely to win the presidency, Generals Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera and Eusebio Borrero, one of those most opposed to the presence of the Jesuits in the country. After Mosquera was elected President the congressmen who objected to the presence of the Jesuits in Bogotá cited the law of missions and the letters in support of the Society submitted by some citizens that requested the presence of the Jesuits in Medellín, Mompós and other regions.¹⁰⁸ These congressmen insisted that the Jesuits should leave Bogotá and travel immediately to the missions among the indigenous people, the reason for their recall to the country. Nonetheless, the Archbishop asked the Jesuits to take charge of the Minor Seminary while the new missionaries were being educated, a move they criticized. When the Jesuits arrived in Bogota, the government founded a mission

¹⁰⁵ Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro América después de la restauración*, vol.1, p. 81-2.

¹⁰⁶ L.C. Mantilla, *La Guerra Religiosa de Mosquera*, Medellín, 2010, p. 198-9.

¹⁰⁷ I. Gutiérrez, *Vida de Don Ignacio Gutiérrez Vergara y Estudios históricos de su tiempo*, vol. 1, 1806-1877, Londres, 1900, p. 386.

¹⁰⁸ For Mosquera's first administration see: J. L. Helguera, 'The first Mosquera Administration in New Granada, 1845-49', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Chapel Hill, 1958), pp. IV-VII.

school for the education of future missionaries; a Jesuit novitiate also functioned in this establishment.

According to Cotanilla, Mosquera's fraternal relations with the Jesuits were not genuine, and he describes him as encouraging the enemies of the Jesuits in the province of Antioquia:

...él como caballero no los echaría fuera de la República; que no los quería como frailes, y que solamente simpatizaba con ellos como institutores de la juventud y propagadores de las ciencias, tampoco los quería como españoles, y es muy probable que tampoco los quisiera mucho como sacerdotes católicos, vista la vida que entonces llevaba el Presidente Mosquera, a ojos vistos de los antioqueños y de toda la República. Como quiera que esto sea, lo cierto es que su administración fue la que predispuso y alentó a los enemigos de la Compañía a que continuaran trabajando contra ella, y la arruinaran al cabo.¹⁰⁹

The issue of the Jesuits was discussed again in Congress in 1846. This time the congressmen who were opposed to them again urged their colleagues to order the Jesuits to leave Bogotá and travel to the native missions. Despite considerable reservations, the Chamber of Representatives approved the budget that the executive had requested to support the missions, but on condition that it would be used to pay only 'secular or regular priest-missionaries who were natives of New Granada'.¹¹⁰ As we have observed this condition cut off all economic aid to Spanish Jesuits, and was a great blow to the religious community. According to Cotanilla, 'the enemies did not like the fathers of the Society teaching the youth of New Granada, neither did they want them to moralize the people since this could become an impediment to their further plans. Those who supported the Society of Jesus had to work hard to overcome this situation, refuting old slanders against them'.¹¹¹ The Jesuit missionaries and the Secretary of State under President Mosquera expedited the procedure to establish another mission school in Popayán, closer to the mission areas. This action was recorded in the congressional

¹⁰⁹ AHPCSJ, *Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús*, C-92, vol. 2, p. 56.

¹¹⁰ J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, vol. 2, 1845-1854, p. 62.

¹¹¹ AHPCSJ, *Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús*, C-92, vol. 2, p. 54.

record of 1846, where it is stated that in addition to the mission school in Bogotá, set up by the Law of 28 April 1842, the government had decreed on 7 May 1845 the establishment of a mission school in Popayán, and the Jesuit novitiate had been moved to this place.¹¹² This novitiate began to function with the property and income initially assigned to the Convent of San Francisco, which had been re-assigned to the Jesuits for the education of future missionaries because of the absence of the other religious. According to the Decree of 3 July, the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Popayán opened with ten novices and this number was to be raised to twenty Jesuits, with eight priests and five coadjutor brothers.¹¹³ This building was large and had greater capacity than that in Bogotá, where the Jesuits lived in a cramped and dilapidated residence.¹¹⁴ However, this decision provoked a reaction from the Franciscan friars. Five Franciscan friars, who lived in the convent, sent a petition to President Mosquera to persuade him not to implement the decree creating the new school. They implored him not to let the convent be taken away from them and to allow the inhabitants to die in peace there:

Dígnese V.E. recordar también que el convento de Franciscanos de Popayán ha tenido la gloria de contar a muchos de sus hijos entre los mártires que se han sacrificado por reducir los infelices bárbaros a la fe de N.S.J.C. Dígnese V.E. considerar cual será nuestro dolor al tener que dejar la casa en que nos hemos criado, nos hemos educado, y la cual no podemos menos que mirar con respeto religioso; y tenga V.E. algún miramiento por nuestra aflicción profunda: permítanos V.E. acabar en paz los escasos días que nos faltan de nuestra mortal carrera. Si la Providencia hubiese determinado en sus altos decretos ver los claustros del Colegio de Misiones de Popayán para siempre desiertos del hábito de San Francisco, que un tiempo hizo la Gloria del convento, su voluntad soberana será cumplida; pero que los últimos restos de vida de la Orden no se extingan de un golpe! Que su luz se apague, si es necesario pero que se apague lentamente! Que se la deje sentir siquiera su propia agonía.¹¹⁵

¹¹² J.P. Restrepo, *La Iglesia y el Estado en Colombia*, p. 300.

¹¹³ *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá, 25 de mayo de 1845, no. 742, and *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá, 13 de julio de 1845, no. 749

¹¹⁴ J.M. Restrepo, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*. vol. 2. 1845 a 1854, p. 21.

¹¹⁵ Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Popayán. Legajo 06295, rollo 338, 1845.

In this petition, the Franciscans argued that, according to the laws, the deadline of 16 years given by Congress to leave the mission school had not been met, as the required minimum number of eight members dated from only 1836. The friars noted that Article 1 of Law 8 and Article 4, third part, of the *Recopilación Granadina* applied to all convents of regulars which did not have at least eight religious on the day the law was enacted. However, Article 3 of Law 13 and Article 4, third part, of the *Recopilación Granadina* provided that even if the mission schools of Popayán and Cali had less friars than was required by the law, they could continue to exist for 16 years counting from when the school had less than the expected members. Notwithstanding this petition, the Jesuits received from the Mosquera government the mission school with its income and property for the education of missionaries.

Despite these apparent signs of closeness and benevolence shown by President Mosquera toward the Jesuits, Cotanilla calls them in question in an important description he gives of the statesman. He describes him as a contradictory man who continually upset his brother the Archbishop with his mistakes and blunders. He also argues that his government was responsible for the bills that later led to the abolition of tithes, the sale of the goods and property of the Church, the suppression of the religious communities that refused to submit to the new decrees, and the tolerance of other faiths.¹¹⁶ For Cotanilla, Mosquera continued during his government with a policy similar to that of President Santander and his colleagues, and if he was at one time good to the Church, he stopped being that once he had abandoned the habit of a devotee of San Francisco de Popayán. Cotanilla asserts that Mosquera took the measures he did in

¹¹⁶ According to William Lofstrom, President Mosquera, during his first administration (1845-49), promoted a series of reforms in the tax system, in politics and in education. These reforms were inspired by the advanced Liberal thinking of the period. As a result of these measures, the upper class, to which Mosquera himself belonged, was profoundly split; this división led to the victory of the Liberal party in 1849. See: W. Lofstrom, *La Vida Intima de Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera*, Bogotá, 1996, p. 15.

imitation of certain European nations.¹¹⁷

In May 1850, after being served with the notice of expulsion, the Jesuits from Popayán had travelled to Ecuador. From Guayaquil, Fr Luis Segura one of the Jesuits wrote to thank General Mosquera on behalf of himself and his colleagues for welcoming and helping them during their stay in New Granada. He asked him politely to defend them against all the calumnies that were circulating against them:

...Más como quiera que esto sea, veo por ella, Sr. General su constante y jamás desmentida voluntad de favorecernos y el vivo interés que usted toma ahora como antes por todo lo que toca a nuestro bienestar. Mucho agradezco a usted, y le agradecen todos estos padres su noble y generoso proceder, y todos se encargan unánimemente y de su modo muy particular los padres San Román y Suárez haga a usted presente el singular aprecio que les han merecido sus recuerdos, y con igual empeño me mandan saludar a usted a su nombre. También le damos a usted las gracias por la bondad que ha tenido en comunicar al P. Gomilla noticias relativas a nuestro paso del Istmo que él en Santa Marta creía muy arduo y casi imposible, y a nuestra llegada a Guayaquil que le sorprenderá bastante.¹¹⁸

From all this it can be concluded that at this stage of his life General Mosquera, while appearing to foster a favourable relation with the Jesuits, his reasons were instrumental, whether for diplomatic or political purposes. This may help to explain why later in 1861, he dramatically changed his attitude and expelled them along with the Apostolic Nuncio. On that occasion he sent a letter to Pope Pius IX, deploring the moral decadence and the involvement in political affairs of members of the Catholic Church. The General then claimed that the clergy had forgotten their evangelizing duties.¹¹⁹

Causes of the Expulsion of the Jesuits in 1861

On 18 July 1861 Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera took the capital of the republic

¹¹⁷ AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, vol. 2, pp. 144-5.

¹¹⁸ Segura to Mosquera, 12 November 1850, Archivo del Cauca. Correspondencia Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, Carpeta no. 21-S. Documento 27791, folio 1.

¹¹⁹ L.C. Mantilla, *La guerra de Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera*, p. 199.

with his troops and overthrew the government of President Bartolomé Calvo Díaz and ended the civil war that had begun in 1860. He proceeded with a number of regalistic measures. These included the decree on tuition rights of 20 July, the expulsion of the Jesuits and of the Apostolic Nuncio appointed by Pope Pius IX, Mgr Ledochoski, 26 July, the confiscation of mortmain goods, 9 September, the imprisonment of the Archbishop of Bogotá, Antonio Herrán, 3 November, and the suppression of religious communities, 5 November 1861.¹²⁰ His decrees grew in number day by day, imbued with ever more extreme radicalism and authoritarianism and driven also by the immediate need of his government for resources. Finally, on 7 June 1862 he issued a decree requiring members of the clergy to take on oath to submit to the changes, under penalty of banishment and deprivation of temporal goods.¹²¹ With this drastic anticlerical program he deprived the Church of its wealth and banished all clergy who would not obey his laws. General Mosquera gave two reasons for such measures: interference by the clergy in politics, and the decadence of the clergy, who lacked seminaries to educate future priests, and the moral laxity of the existing priests.¹²²

The return of the Jesuits in 1858 had caused General Mosquera deep disquiet as they were invited back by the Conservative government of President Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, his political rival. In a letter to General Ramón Espina, his principal agent, Mosquera explained how in the State of Cauca where he was President ‘no tenían jesuitas que los dividieran en cuestiones religiosas’; the Bishop Pedro Antonio Torres was a friend who made great efforts to maintain Catholic worship.¹²³ The state had donated 1200 pesos to bring Capuchin missionaries for the missions of Caquetá. He

¹²⁰ *Registro Oficial*, Bogotá, 11 de septiembre de 1861, no. 13, and F. Díaz, *La desamortización de Bienes Eclesiásticos en Boyacá*, Bogotá, 1977, pp. 49-65.

¹²¹ L. Forero, ‘La tragedia religiosa del General Mosquera’, *Revista Javeriana*, no. 226-7, Bogotá, 1956, p. 73.

¹²² *Registro Oficial*, Bogotá, 22 de enero de 1862, no. 39, p. 164.

¹²³ Bishop Pedro Antonio Tórres was the only bishop who supported the administration of Mosquera. The Archbishop of Bogotá and the other bishops were against the Mosquera’s policies.

ends ‘respetando la independencia de la Iglesia, el obra en su esfera y nosotros en la nuestra’.¹²⁴

On another occasion, General Ramon Espina wrote to Mosquera feeding his resentment towards Mariano and Pastor Ospina: ‘el hermano del presidente había rematado el Colegio de San Bartolomé con todas sus rentas, según se asegura para dárselo a los jesuitas. Esto ha causado la indignación que no puede usted suponer, al considerar que don Pastor hace cada vez más lo que quiere y tal colegio que ha estado siempre bajo la inspección del gobierno y ha sido el foco del jacobinismo, venga a representar el otro extremo’.¹²⁵ This letter clearly shows that after losing political control, the Liberals considered it dangerous to give the school to the Jesuits, as this would counteract the measures undertaken in the administration of President López.

Likewise, General Mosquera’s close friends helped fuel the idea of a supposed manipulation by the Jesuits of popular religious feeling. The General now adopted an anti-Jesuit position. In a letter on political parties in Colombia published in 1874 he wrote:

Cuando se sofocó la revolución de 1840, no triunfó el conservatismo con tendencias tradicionalistas, porque entonces no se habían trasladado estas ideas de los partidos europeos a América; pero sí es cierto que al inaugurarse la administración de 1841 se pretendió apoyar el Gobierno en instituciones inadecuadas a una República, trayendo al efecto a los jesuitas, medida que condené cuando lo supe en Cartagena, y manifesté al general Herrán que debía regresar rápidamente a Bogotá antes que el vicepresidente encargado del Poder Ejecutivo fuera a designar para los colegios de Misiones a los jesuitas, a virtud del artículo 3º del decreto legislativo de abril de aquel año.¹²⁶

These words demonstrate that the attitude shown by General Mosquera towards the Jesuits between 1843 and 1850 was motivated by diplomatic and political interest. At this point it is worth considering again the opinion of Cotanilla, when he affirms that

¹²⁴ Mosquera to Espina, 25 January 1859. T. C. Mosquera, *Archivo Epistolar del General Mosquera. Correspondencia con el General Ramón Espina, 1835-1866*, Bogotá, 1966, p. 290.

¹²⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 284.

¹²⁶ T.C. Mosquera, *Los partidos políticos en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1984, p. 50.

the cause of the persecution in 1861 was the war to the death declared by the Masonic lodge to which Mosquera belonged:

...y que por consiguiente la logia es la causa de todos los males que han sobrevenido a aquel desgraciado país. Y siendo verdad, como lo es que después del día 20 de julio de 1861, Mosquera expulsó al representante de la Santa Sede, a los socios de Jesús, o a los Jesuitas, que sancionó y fue el alma de la atea constitución de Rionegro; que expulsó y confinó a los obispos, que echo a la calle a los religiosos y religiosas granadinas, que les robó cuanto era suyo; que desamortizó sacrílegamente los bienes de la Iglesia, que violentó las conciencias de todos los católicos exigiéndoles juramentos contrarios a sus creencias y conciencias, que escribió hojas sueltas cuajadas de mentiras, y tan llenas de injurias a la Santa Sede y al Pontífice Romano, como vacías del tono y de la delicadeza que deben siempre estampar en sus escritos los altos funcionarios públicos, más propias de un ex general, mandando a sus negritos del Cauca, que de un primer magistrado, que se sentaba en el solio de Santander, Hilario López y José María Obando, sus dignos predecesores.¹²⁷

A tone of aggression and intransigence can be perceived in the words of Cotanilla, perhaps because he was expelled twice from New Granada, in 1850 and 1861. His view of the conduct of General Mosquera is nonetheless the one that has prevailed in ecclesiastical history. The recent study of Mantilla on Mosquera and the Church sheds new light on how he saw the Church at that time.

Mosquera certainly tried his best to diminish the role of the Church, employing regalistic measures that caused great resentment among its members. Nevertheless, Mantilla also gives clear examples of a Church that called for a ‘holy war’ to fight the enemies that had seized its property, expelled the religious orders and violently thrown the nuns out of their convents.

The Decree of Expulsion Issued by Mosquera

The decree of 26 July 26, 1861 expelling the Jesuits from New Granada was

¹²⁷ AHPCSJ, Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-96, p. 985. Mosquera was indeed a mason, grade 33, the highest grade.

carefully prepared by Mosquera as was one of his first decrees, drawn up before he took Bogotá. It contained a brief introduction, seven preambles and three articles. The decree reads:

Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, Presidente Provisorio de los Estados Unidos de Nueva Granada, vista la ley de 14 de mayo de 1855, y considerando: 1. Que por lo dispuesto en el artículo 2° de la expresada ley, las respectivas iglesias y congregaciones deben incorporarse conforme a la Ley para tener personería y manejar sus rentas, siempre que guarden las reglas establecidas por la ley para adquirir; 2. Que los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús han venido al país, constituido en sociedad o congregación, y adquirido bienes sin guardar las reglas para adquirir las sociedades o comunidades, por no haber expedido el Poder legislativo la ley respectiva; 3. Que las garantías y derechos individuales son para las personas y no para las congregaciones, mientras estas no hayan recibido la incorporación legal para existir; 4. Que una sociedad o corporación en que sus miembros tienen votos solemnes de obediencia pasiva, no son personas libres para obrar, y tienen que estar sujetos a mandatos superiores que los ponen en contradicción con la obediencia debida a las autoridades;

5. Que en la presente guerra civil han tomado parte los Padres Jesuitas exhortando a los soldados del partido centralista a sostener el poder de los usurpadores, repartiéndoles medallas para persuadirlos que con ellas se salvarían defendiendo al Gobierno General, lo cual nos consta por la exposición de algunos prisioneros hechos en Chaguaní, Subachoque y Usaquén, cuyas medallas presentaron; 6. Que el comandante Gerardo Henao, prisionero y herido en el Rosal, solicitó confesión temiendo morir, y un Padre de la Compañía después de oírle, le declaró que no podía absolverle porque estaba excomulgado por defensor del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, lo cual es una hostilidad incalificable; y 7. Que esta Compañía o Sociedad tiene tendencias contrarias a la paz pública. Decreta: Art. 1. La compañía de Jesús, que no ha podido establecerse sin la ley de incorporación, será disuelta por la autoridad, y ocupados los bienes que ha adquirido sin tener personería. Art. 2. Como medida de alta policía se le hará salir del país inmediatamente, extrañando a sus miembros como infractores de la ley y enemigos del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos. Art. 3. El Jefe Municipal del Distrito Federal queda encargado de la ejecución de este decreto.¹²⁸

This decree shows the antipathy the General felt for the Jesuits, whom he regarded as violators of the law because they had not been legally introduced into the country in 1858 and because they had acquired property without complying with the

¹²⁸*Registro Oficial*, Bogotá, 30 de julio de 1961, no. 2.

laws of the nation. He also objected that the Jesuits depended on mandates coming from a Superior in Rome, which made it impossible for them to obey the laws of the country. Finally, he accused them of being conspirators and disturbers of the peace.

According to Mantilla, Mosquera's sole legal ground for expelling the Jesuits was that they had established a community in Bogotá without the permission required by the Law of incorporation, Article 2 of the Law of 14 May 1855.¹²⁹ He claims that in general Mosquera thought the Jesuits were able and polite priests, but that they had come to the country to hold sway over the government and control its wealth. In the Convention of Rionegro of 1863, Mosquera was nonetheless extreme in his criticism of the Society, saying that his struggle was not so much against Mariano Ospina but against fanatics and the Jesuits. He regarded the latter to be supporters of an ultramontanistism that undermined the foundations of society:

...recomendando la misericordia divina, traen a su confesionario a las mujeres para absolverlas de sus debilidades, haciéndoles un examen de la figura del amante que las ha extraviado, y consolándolas con la gracia que ellos les dispensan a nombre del cielo, y cautivándoles el corazón de esta manera. A los pobres campesinos los intimidan con el infierno o con las penas del purgatorio, de que pueden ser redimidos con una bula de composición a la hora de la muerte. A las casadas les dan máximas para dirigir a sus maridos; y cuando consiguen ser confesores de los reyes, se injieren en la política y forman tiranos como Felipe II. Estos son los hombres más malos de la tierra, y varios de ellos han merecido canonización, para ir a poblar el cielo de los ultramontanos como semidioses y apoyar y ensalzar el oscurantismo.¹³⁰

Mosquera stuck to his opinion about the Jesuits until his death. In 1874, although the Jesuits were not in the country, he repeated that they aimed to seize the consciences of women and establish a theocratic government, to obtain the management of public affairs by identifying the civil power with the religious. He asserted that the traditionalists wanted to impose Jesuit doctrine in all America, seeking to wipe out

¹²⁹ *El Gráfico*, Bogotá, 25 de abril de 1936, no. 1276, p. 31. See: L.C. Mantilla, *La Guerra Religiosa de Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera*, p. 209.

¹³⁰ R. Correa, *La Convención de Rionegro*, Bogotá, 1937, pp. 261-2.

achievements such as popular education, freedom of thought and freedom of the press; once they regained power, they would condemn all natural philosophers, as had occurred in the past with Giordano Bruno.¹³¹

In 1861, the 52 Jesuits who lived in Bogotá, including 17 priests, 12 scholars, 10 novices, 11 coadjutor brothers and 2 jesuit candidates were expelled. Some returned to Guatemala, and some went back to Europe.¹³²

Conclusion

It should be noted that in 1863 Congress approved a political Constitution that led to the division of the Liberal Party between *mosqueristas* and *radicales*. This is the beginning of the period known as the *Olimpo Radical*, which maintained intransigent policies against the Catholic Church. This division among the Liberals and the constant confrontation with the Catholic Church, later led the Liberal politician, Rafael Núñez, President of the Congress during the administration of Julián Trujillo, to formulate the phase that would later be the emblem of his government *Renacimiento o Catástrofe* Regeneration or Catastrophe.

From 1867 the Archbishop of Bogota, Antonio Herrán, began a process of reorganization of the Catholic Church with new guidelines recommended by Pope Pius IX. He convened the first Provincial Council, as he considered it to be the right time to bring together the church hierarchy, since confrontations with the government had temporarily declined.

In 1880 Rafael Núñez was elected President. The Jesuits were allowed to return in 1884. Despite subsequent conflicts, they were not expelled again.

¹³¹ T.C. Mosquera, *Los partidos en Colombia. Estudio histórico Político*, Popayán, 1874, p.68.

¹³² 'Catálogo de los Jesuitas expulsados de la Nueva Granada el año de 1861', See: R. Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro América después de la restauración*, vol. 3, pp. 424-5.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This thesis on the presence of the Jesuits in Colombia in the nineteenth century has shown how their return to the country in 1844 became a highly controversial political issue and how this remained so until 1884, when the national government authorized what was to be their permanent return. The Jesuits were present in the country from 1844 to 1850, and then from 1858 to 1861. These two short sojourns generated significant debate between the Conservative and Liberal parties.

The first return of the Jesuits coincided with the formation of these two political parties and their contrasting proposals for establishing the nation state. After the *Guerra de los Supremos*, where the embryo Liberal Party was defeated and the Conservatives obtained victory, the latter decreed a law on mission schools that allowed the return of the Society and an end to the exile decreed in 1767. The Conservatives recognised that in colonial times the Jesuits had contributed strongly in culture, economics and education. They had shown their leadership in the organization of native communities and in the prosperity achieved in the reductions in the *Llanos de Casanare and Meta*. Their teaching methods would help build civic and moral values among young people and the society of New Granada in general. For Conservative politicians and church authorities, the *Guerra de los Supremos* had been in part caused by the doctrines that were being taught in the universities of the country. The Plan of Studies of General Santander had to be revoked in order to establish order, discipline and respect for the Constitution and government authorities. The Jesuits were considered well qualified to implement a new plan of studies. Several figures made possible the return of the religious order, including Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, Pedro Alcántara

Herrán, and Manuel José Mosquera the Archbishop of Bogotá. These political leaders and ecclesiastical officials were in agreement that the Jesuits were suitable to re-establish and run the missions, and to shape new generations of young people.

The Liberals perceived the law of April 1842 as a tactic used by the Conservative Party to reinforce their political project. When the Jesuits arrived in the country, they started a campaign against them in Congress and in the press. They had been invited back to New Granada by the Conservative government, Liberals considered them their allies and, by extension, the Jesuits were now the target of their political antipathies. This campaign included the local publication of the anti-Jesuit literature of the eighteenth century and of that which began to circulate in nineteenth century Europe, especially in France, after the order was restored in 1814. The Liberals believed or pretended to believe the stories about the order that were disseminated in these contexts. They repeated alleged historical evidence that confirmed that the Jesuits were involved in conspiracies against kings and princes. Other ‘legends’ referred to their education system and its influence; to the economic power they had achieved in the past; to the theological, philosophical and political doctrines that had created deep differences with the secular and regular clergy; and to the contrivances they allegedly used with their followers to encourage them to plot against governments. Similarly, they believed Jesuits excessively influenced women, encouraging them to convince their husbands to take no action against the Church. Their propaganda introduced the idea that the Jesuits had founded the *Sociedad Popular* to conspire against López.

While the main focus of this thesis has been on the hostility of the Liberals against the Jesuits, the thesis has also referred to other factors that played a part in the expulsion of the Jesuits and which would merit further research. First, the fact that the Jesuit Mission in New Granada was entrusted to Spaniards provoked some nationalist

reaction among both politicians and clergy. Again, there was a certain rivalry with the secular clergy, and with other religious orders, as appeared when the Franciscans wrote to President Mosquera to persuade him not to give the Franciscan Convent to the Jesuits in the city of Popayán and when a diocesan priest, Manuel Fernández Saavedra, wrote his pamphlet against the Jesuits. Finally, in his first period of government General Mosquera created a hostile atmosphere in general for the Catholic Church and thus in particular for the Jesuits.

No explicit documentary evidence was found that shows the Jesuits to have favoured the Conservative Party, and no records of any political proselytizing during their meetings. Later, when the Jesuits had settled permanently in the country, given the antipathy expressed by Liberal governments in other countries in the region such as México, Ecuador and Guatemala, the superiors of the order wrote a manual flatly forbidding the Jesuits to adhere to or defend any political party. However, the friendship of the Jesuits with those Conservatives who had made possible the return to the country was a separate matter. Their relationship with such eminent Conservative leaders and their involvement in pro-Conservative organization like the *Sociedad Popular*, exposed them to partisan criticism from the Liberals.

For administrative reasons and due to the ambiguity in the interpretation of the law of 1842, the superior of the Jesuits in New Granada took three years to send three missionaries to the regions of Putumayo and Caquetá. In these regions they were devoted to the study and evangelization of the indigenous tribes. Evidence of this is found in the letters written by José Segundo Laínez and Tomás Piquer, and in the reports submitted to the government of President Mosquera. In his first presidential period Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera passed a law transferring the mission school that operated in Bogotá to Popayán, the nearest city to the mission territory. This was made

in order to quell the criticism raised during the congressional sessions of 1846, which stated that the Jesuits were not carrying out the original agreement for their return, which was based on the re-founding of the missions.

This delay in the strict compliance with the law led Liberals to spread the idea, from various media, that the Jesuits did not want to go to the mission areas because they preferred to engage in the education of the young in the major cities, thus supporting the political project of the Conservatives. The decrees issued regarding the return of the Jesuits are very clear in stating that the religious order was to be assigned to *Colegios de Misiones* and *Casas de Escala* (Rest Residents) in mission territories. However, this law was interpreted in several ways. The first interpretation of this decree was made by the Superior General of the order from Rome, affirming that the return of the Jesuits in New Granada was understood from two viewpoints: the Jesuits returned to the country to found *Colegios de Misiones* and *Casas de Escala*, but they first had to train missionaries for the task. The education and training of the missionaries was long and required time and the foundation of a novitiate where this could take place. While a group of Jesuits would undertake the education of future missionaries, others could be devoted to the work of evangelization in the regions assigned by the ecclesiastical authorities and to the teaching of young people. The New Granadan envoy in Rome in charge of arranging the return of the Jesuits, Eladio Urisarri, personally supported this interpretation. Urisarri was something of an extreme Conservative and no friend of Liberals; in the thirties he scathingly criticized the Plan of Studies and was the author of a ferocious attack on President Santander. He may have misled the Superior General in this respect. In any case, the initial ambiguity about the purpose of the return of the Society was to be exploited by its Liberal enemies.

The ecclesiastical authorities interpreted the law as an opportunity for the Jesuits to establish missions among the indigenous, and also to educate the youth elsewhere. The Archbishop of Bogotá and the Bishops of Antioquia and Popayán asked the government to allow the presence of the Jesuits in their dioceses for the training of clergy and the general evangelization of society. Their pastoral projects included the promotion of vocations, and the education and theological and philosophical training of the scanty existing clergy. They not only financially supported the journey of the Jesuits from Europe, but also requested them to take charge of the seminaries and to conduct missions throughout the vast geographical regions of the Archdiocese of Bogotá and the dioceses of Popayán and Antioquia.

The Jesuits that returned in 1844 did not publish in their own defence. Members of the Conservative Party took on that task. These politicians were criticized by the Liberals in the press during their stay between 1844 and 1850, and after their expulsion in 1850. The criticisms frequently used the word 'Jesuit' to refer to Conservatives: Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was called 'The Jesuit'. They meant to imply not only conservatism, but traditionalism, ultramontanism, bigotry, superstition and retrogression.

The only documents of the order in its defence are the letters written by Superior Manuel Gil, where he defends the actions and efforts of the religious in the country and where he denies the charges against them, arguing that their stay had been respectful of the law and that the members who had taken any public office had been very careful in complying with the law, and that they were far from encouraging hatred between the two parties. Our evidence does show that the Society was scrupulous in obeying the law –a prime example is the reluctance, and eventual refusal, to take on responsibility for a secular teaching establishment in Medellín.

Cotanilla, writing after the two expulsions in 1850 and 1861, refers to the Colombian Liberal Party as a bitter enemy of the Jesuits and of the Church in general. Father Gil however assured President López that if the Liberal Party accused them of being instigators of fanaticism, they even requested permission from the president to stay in the country not as a religious order, but as individuals. He appealed to the guarantees granted by the Constitution to welcome foreigners in the country. López, who was constantly being pressured by his colleagues and Liberal members of the Congress, did not respond to these proposals. The Liberals urged President López to expedite the expulsion, ignoring the reports made by Jesuit missionaries and disregarding the fact that the work of the missionaries had not been properly supported by Congress during 1847. The Jesuits continued to visit native communities.

The presence of the Jesuits in these two short periods must be placed in the context of the intense debate over the relation between Church and State. In 1824 the Colombian government adopted the right of *Patronato* that the Spanish kings had exercised during colonial times. This right was not explicitly recognized by the Pope after the Wars of Independence, but it was in force while an agreement between the Holy See and the Republic was negotiated. In 1835, the Pope recognized the Republic of New Granada and sent a delegate to initiate negotiations for a concordat. However, these efforts met with no prompt success. The first administration of Mosquera sought to clarify the issue of the relations between State and Church. López, his successor, undertook a series of measures to modernize the Colombian State along Liberals lines, including some related to the Church. The expulsion of the Jesuits was one of these early interventionist measures. The López government abolished ecclesiastical rights that had been enjoyed during colonial times, such as the *Derecho de Estola* and the *Fuero Eclesiástico*, which allowed priests to be judged by the laws of the Church, and

provided for the election of priests by the municipal councils. The Archbishop refused to apply these measures, and as result he was subjected to trial and expulsion. The administration of José María Obando went a step further in this debate with a new Constitution that separated the two powers. This Constitution was an innovative measure in that it opened the possibility for other religions to enter the country. Though the Constitution ostensibly guaranteed religious freedom, the Liberals nevertheless showed again their animosity against the Jesuits in an explicit exception, a law that expressly prohibited the existence of the Society of Jesus in the country.

This thesis has described the arguments for and against the presence of the Jesuits in the country. Other studies of this period mention the debate, but do not make their readers aware of its richness or its importance in the understanding of the complex political world of the mid-nineteenth century. Both political parties and all those who could read and follow the press of that period were very well informed of the contemporary debates in Europe. The newspapers of the citizens of New Granada reprinted numerous articles and books that circulated in other countries, both for and against the Jesuits.

The thesis also analyses the state of the secular and regular clergy between 1810 and 1861, the background to the desire of the Archbishop of Bogotá, the Bishops of Popayán and Antioquia, and the papal delegates to increase the number of clergy and religious orders. Although the number of Jesuits who returned to Colombia was not so large, the total of members increased to 76 in 1850 a significant reinforcement in this context. These new members contributed in part to remedying the shortage of clergy of which the ecclesiastical authorities complained.

As we have seen, expelled by President López the Jesuits returned again at the invitation of Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, their leading supporter who had now attained the presidency of the Republic. Their stay was again short, as they were sent into exile again by Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera after his successful revolt against Ospina's government. Mosquera, despite being Archbishop Manuel José's brother and previously not an enemy of the Society, in this juncture adopted extreme anti-clerical measures, including the seizure of all Church property. The Jesuits naturally did not escape.

Given the nature of Colombian society and of the country's politics, where opinion and support could be mobilized around the issue of religion and Church-State relations, however prudent, their behaviours the Jesuits could not avoid being the subject of controversy. The Church-State question was the most constant issue between the two parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives. The first return of the Society coincided with the crucial formative years of these parties. The permanent presence of the Society in Colombia would only be secured by the Conservative reaction of 1886, and the resolute policies of the 'Regeneration' far more comprehensive than the earlier conservative governments of the 1840s and 1850s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Archives

Archives in Rome

Archivum Romanun Societatis Iesu (ARSI).

Archives in Spain

Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Castilla de la Compañía de Jesús (Alcalá de Henares). (AHPCSJ).

Historia de la Misión Colombiana de la Compañía de Jesús, C-92, 4 vols.

Archives in Colombia

Archivo General de la Nación (AGN): Fondo República, sección Curas y Obispos; Fondo José Manuel Restrepo.

Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango. (BLAA).

Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. (BNC).

Archivo Histórico Juan Manuel Pacheco, Universidad Javeriana. (AHJP).

Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Colombia de la Compañía de Jesús. (ARSICOL).

Archivo histórico legislativo del Congreso. (AHC)

Archivo Central del Cauca. (ACC): Correspondencia Tomas Cipriano de Mosquera.

Archivo Arquidiócesis de Popayán. (AAP).

Archivo de la Universidad de Antioquia. (AUA): Fondo Hojas Sueltas.

Archivo de la Familia Ospina Vásquez.

Official Documents

Informe del Secretario de Gobierno de la Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1853.

Informes de Comisiones adoptados por la Cámara, Bogotá, 1850.

Informes y Mensajes. Exposición que el Secretario de Estado, dirige al Congreso Constitucional, Bogotá, 1842.

Memorias de los Secretarios al Congreso, Bogotá, 1849.

Mensaje del Presidente de la República al Congreso de 1849, Bogotá, 1849.

Originales de Actas. Cámara de Representantes, 1849.

Newspapers

Díceres, Medellín, 1844.

El Amigo de los Artesanos, Bogotá, 1849.

El Antioqueño Constitucional, 1846-1848.

El Artesano, Cartagena, 1850.

El Atalaya, Bogotá, 1850.

El Bobo, Medellín, 1847.

El Boletín Oficial, Bogotá, 1860.

El Catolicismo, 1849-1861.

El Católico, Bogotá, 1863-1866

El Censor, Medellín, 1847.

El Censor, Medellín, 1848.

El Clamor de la Federación, Bogotá, 1847.

El Clamor de la verdad, Bogotá, 1849.

El Clamor Nacional, Popayán, 1850.
 El Conciliador Progresista, Cartagena, 1863.
 El Conservador, Santa Marta, 1850.
 El Día, Bogotá, 1842-1850.
 El Filotémico, periódico de la juventud: político, literario y noticioso, Bogotá, 1850-1851.
 El Misoforo, Popayán, 1850.
 El Nacional, Bogotá, 1848.
 El Neo-granadino, Bogotá, 1848-1857.
 El Patriota Imparcial, Bogotá, 1850.
 El Republicano, Bogotá, 1849.
 El Siglo, Bogotá, 1848-1849.
 El Sur-americano, Bogotá, 1849-1850.
 Gaceta de la Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1840-1847.
 Gaceta Oficial, Bogotá, 1848-1861.
 La Voz del Catolicismo, Bogotá, 1864.
 La Bruja de las Nieves, Bogotá, 1847.
 La Civilización 1849-1851.
 La Discusión, periódico político, consagrado a defender la administración del 7 de marzo. Bogotá, 1849-1852.
 La Estrella de Occidente, Medellín, 1850.
 La Noche, Bogotá, 1845.
 La Sociedad Popular de Bogotá, Bogotá, 1849-1850.

Pamphlets and Broadside: BLAA; BNC; ACC.

A la Compañía de Jesús. Oda. Dedicada a todos los amantes de la misma Compañía. Guayaquil, 1852.
 A la Imparcialidad y la Justicia, Bogotá, 1848.
 A la Nación Granadina, Bogotá, 1846.
 A los autores de la reimpresión de la hoja suelta titulada llegada del general Obando a Bogotá, Cali, 1849.
 A los católicos muy republicanos, Popayán, 1846.
 A los Católicos, Bogotá, 1852.
 A los democráticos rojos de Cali, Cali, 1850.
 A los PP. de la Misión de Colombia. Instrucciones sobre los asuntos político-religiosos, Bogotá, 1917.
 Ad Majorem dei Gloriam, Bogotá, 1842.
 Advertencia. Bogotá, 1848.
 Al Católico, del corpus y los Jesuitas, Bogotá, 1844.
 Al público Sensato; a los nobles republicanos, a los hombres que tengan corazón y honor, Bogotá, 1857.
 Alto ahí el Jesuita, Santa Rosa, 1859.
 Antioquia, Bogotá, 1850.
 Arboleda y González, y los Jesuitas, Bogotá, 1848.
 Arquidiócesis de Bogotá, gobierno Eclesiástico, Santa fe de Bogotá, 1853.
 Artesanos Desengañados, Bogotá, 1853.
 Atentados Escandalosos, Bojacá, 1852.
 ¡¡Blasfemia!!, Popayán, 1850.

Breves anotaciones para la historia sobre el suceso del 10 de mayo último, Bogotá, 1853.

Carta 2ª a mi compadre Juancho, Bogotá, 1845.

Carta 3ª a mi compadre Juancho, Bogotá, 1845.

Carta a nuestros amigos políticos, y a todos los amigos de los Jesuitas, Bogotá, 1850.

Carta al Señor doctor José M. F. Saavedra, Bogotá, 1852.

Carta de recomendación que los ex alumnos del Colegio Seminario de Popayán dirigen a los ecuatorianos en favor de los R.R. P.P. de la Compañía de Jesús, Popayán, 1850.

Carta de una carnicera a una comadre frutera, Bogotá, 1846.

Carta décima al M.R.P. Fray Niporestas, Bogotá, 1849.

Carta del Arzobispo de Bogotá a José María Samper, Bogotá, 1857.

Carta n. 2 al Dr. Manuel Fernández Saavedra, Bogotá, 1852.

Carta no. 2 al Ciudadano presidente de la República, Bogotá, 1853.

Carta única al General José Hilario López, ex presidente de la Nueva Granada, Medellín, 1853.

Centenario del Regreso de la Compañía de Jesús al departamento de Antioquia 1844-1944, Medellín, 1944.

Circular Arquidiócesis de Bogotá, Mompos, 1863.

Circular del Obispo de Pasto a los vicarios eclesiásticos, Pasto, 1851.

Circular diócesis de Pasto, Pasto, 1861.

Ciudadano Presidente de la República, Pasto, 1849.

Ciudadanos Senadores y Representantes de la Nueva Granada, Guaduas, 1853.

Colección General de Providencias hasta aquí tomadas por el Gobierno sobre el extrañamiento y ocupación de temporalidades de los regulares de la Compañía que existían en los Dominios de S.M. de España, Indias, e Islas Filipinas, a consecuencia del Real Decreto de 27 de Febrero, y Pragmática-Sanción de 2 de abril de este año, Madrid, 1767.

Colegio de la Unión, Medellín, 1853.

Conspiración Jesuita. Plan Secreto de la orden, descubierto y revelado por el abate Leone, Bogotá, 1853.

Consulta del Pueblo al venerable capítulo metropolitano, Santa fe de Bogotá, 1863.

Contestación del clero de Tunja al folleto titulado: 'El Arzobispo ante la Nación'. Tunja, 1852

Contestación a la Vindicación, Bogotá, 1853.

Contestación que Fr. Mariano Barros da al Seudónimo Flaminio Severo para satisfacer al público, Bogotá, 1861.

Conversaciones entre un cura, un campesino y un indígena, Bogotá, 1843.

Cuestión de elección y Apostasía General, Bogotá, 1853.

Cuestión Eleccionaria, Bogotá, 1853.

Cuestión Obando, Bogotá, 1849.

Cuestión Religiosa, Bogotá, 1853.

Cuestión Religiosa, Bogotá, 1853.

Cuestión religiosa. Circular que un vicario foráneo dirige a las presentes circunstancias, a los párrocos y a los fieles de sus vicarías, Bogotá, 1863.

Declaración, Bogotá, 1853.

Diálogo del Cachaco y el Zapatero, Bogotá, 1847.

Diálogo entre D. Eusebio M. y D. Estanislao, Bogotá, 1845.

Diálogo entre un artesano y un campesino sobre los Jesuitas, Bogotá, 1850.

Diálogo interesante entre un General, un Jesuita, un Canónigo y un Fraile, Bogotá, 1845.

Diálogo. Los caballeros cuantiosos. Bogotá, 1846.
 Documentos Importantes sobre la expulsión de los Jesuitas, Bogotá, 1850.
 Don Diego de Noche, Bogotá, 1845.
 Dos puntos importantes sobre la cuestión Jesuitas, Bogotá, 1846.
 Edicto. Nos Manuel José Mosquera por la gracia de Dios y de la Santa Sede Apostólica arzobispo de Bogotá, Bogotá, 1844.
 El 8 de Junio, Bogotá, 1853.
 El Arzobispo ante la nación, Bogotá, 1852.
 El arzobispo de Bogotá al público sensato de la Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1847.
 El Canónigo Saavedra ante la Nación, Bogotá, 1852.
 El Catolicismo y la libertad. Al clero y a todos, Bogotá, 185?.
 El Catolicismo y la República, Bogotá, 1865.
 El Clero y sus enemigos, Bogotá, 1857.
 El Doctor Amezcuita y el Doctor Saavedra, Bogotá, 1863.
 El episcopado granadino perseguido, Bogotá, 1852.
 El fariseo y los discípulos de Jesucristo, Bogotá, 1850.
 El general Herrera en el Ministerio, Bogotá, 1853.
 El general Obando Chasqueado. Quito, 1853.
 El General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, a los Granadinos, Barranquilla, 1854.
 El Instituto de Cristo, Bogotá, 1853.
 El mal y su remedio o la Religión en la Nueva Granada durante la administración llamada del 7 de marzo, Bogotá, 1853.
 El misionero. Drama tradicional en tres actos. Bogotá, 1850.
 El presidente de la Confederación a los Granadinos, Bogotá, 1860.
 El pueblo contra las tremendas calumnias del seis de marzo, Quito, 1852.
 El Telégrafo. ¡Se trata de Jesuitas! Bogotá, 1846.
 El Telégrafo. Los pueblos quieren Jesuitas, Bogotá, 1846.
 El triquitraque, Bogotá, 1845.
 Elecciones, Bogotá, 1853.
 Ensayo sobre la situación actual de los Estados Colombianos, Bogotá, 1848.
 Ensayo sobre la situación de la República, sus causas y su remedio. Medellín, 1860.
 Este Gallo que no canta, algo tiene en la garganta, Cartagena, 1853.
 Excelentísimo Señor, Bogotá, 1849.
 Exposición Católica a principios y reglas de conducta de los católicos en la Situación Actual de la Iglesia Granadina, Bogotá, 1853.
 Franca Exposición de un religioso, Bogotá, 1853.
 Gracias que unos cuantos campesinos damos al Señor General José Hilario López por las cosas que ha ejecutado en los cuatro años de su gran Reinado, Bogotá, 1852.
 Homenaje a la religión, a la justicia y al mérito, Cartagena, 1853.
 Honorables Senadores y representantes en la legislatura de 1847, Medellín, 1847.
 Honorables senadores y representantes, Popayán, 1848.
 Honorables Senadores y Representantes. Popayán, 1848.
 Impunitas pecandi illecebra. La impunidad es atractivo para delinquir, Bogotá, 1853.
 José Hilario López, Bogotá, 1850.
 José María Melo, General y Comandante en Jefe del Ejército Regenerador, a sus compañeros de armas, Bogotá, 1854.
 La Emancipación de la Iglesia Neogranadina, demostrada por la Filosofía, la historia y el Evangelio, Popayán, 1852.
 La guerra civil, Bogotá, 1849.
 La herejía y la blasfemia, San Antonio del Hato, 1855.

La Mitra de Aqueta y el Sermón de los Pasteles, Bogotá, 1852.
 La Razón en pugna con la fuerza, Quito, 1852.
 La razón, la justicia y la autoridad, Bogotá, 1845.
 La Situación, Bogotá, 1853.
 La virtud ultrajada con el testimonio de la traición, Bogotá, 1853.
 Las Cartas Josefinas, Engativa, 1846.
 Las finanzas y los Jesuitas según el doctor González, Bogotá, Bogotá, 1848.
 Los Jesuitas y Bogotá, Bogotá, 1845.
 Los Jesuitas, Bogotá, 1848.
 Los liberales desmienten con los hechos lo que han proclamado, Bogotá, 1852.
 Los puñales y los cachiporras de los morales, Bogotá, 1849.
 Manifestación al ciudadano presidente, Bogotá, 1850.
 Manifestación y protesta que hacen las R.M. M.M. del Monasterio de Nuestra Señora del Carmen de Santafé de Bogotá al Salir de la Nueva Granada, Cartagena, 1863.
 Manifestación, Bogotá, 1852.
 Monita Secreta de los Jesuitas o instrucción reservada de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús, compuesta por el P. Claudio Acuaviva, Madrid, 1845.
 Nos Domingo Antonio Riaño, Canónigo de esta Iglesia Metropolitana, Provisor, Vicario General y gobernador del Arzobispado, por el Ilmo. Señor Arzobispo Doctor Manuel José Mosquera, Bogotá, 1853.
 Nos Juan de la Cruz Vargas, vicario general del Arzobispado, en ausencia del ilustrísimo y dignísimo Señor Arzobispo doctor Antonio Herrán, Bogotá, 1863.
 Nos Manuel José Mosquera, por la gracia de Dios y de la Santa Sede Apostólica, arzobispo de Bogotá, Bogotá, 1850.
 Nos Manuel José Mosquera, por la gracia de Dios y de la Santa Sede Apostólica, arzobispo de Bogotá. Al venerable clero Secular y regular de Nuestra Arquidiócesis, salud y bendición en N.S.J.C., Bogotá, 1852.
 Nota del delegado Apostólico de la Nueva Granada, dirigida al Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores protestando contra su violenta expulsión de la República, Kingston, 1861.
 Noticias del Sur, Bogotá, 1853.
 Nuestro Voto de Reconocimiento y adhesión al eminentísimo Sr. Dr. Manuel Fernández Saavedra, Bogotá, 1863.
 Nulidad, injusticia y atrocidad de la pragmática de Carlos III, contra los Jesuitas, Quito, 1850.
 Obediencia a la Constitución y a las leyes, Belén, 1863.
 Opúsculo sobre la expulsión de los Jesuitas, Popayán, 1850.
 Para la historia. Señores diputados a la Cámara Provincial. Popayán, 1849.
 Primera Reprimenda al Sr. Doctor José Manuel. Fernández Saavedra, Bogotá, 1852.
 Proclama de un artesano, Bogotá, 1846.
 Prospecto de un colegio particular de educación Secundaria, bajo la dirección del doctor Lorenzo María Lleras, Bogotá, 1845.
 Protesta del General Pedro Alcántara Herrán enviado extraordinario y ministro plenipotenciario de la Confederación Granadina, Bogotá, 1865.
 Protesta que, a nombre de los Jesuitas desterrados de la Nueva Granada, dirige al ciudadano presidente de la República General José Hilario López, el R. P. Manuel Gil de la Compañía de Jesús, Santa Marta, 1850.
 Proyecto de ley sobre emancipación religiosa, Bogotá, 1852.
 Pueblos y Curas, Bogotá, 1844.
 Real Cédula que deroga la pragmática del Rey Carlos III. Expedida el 2 de abril de 1767 extrañando de sus dominios la Compañía de Jesús. Bogotá, 1845.

Refutación de Algunos Errores del Sr. Julio Arboleda sobre los Jesuitas y sus constituciones, Bogotá, 1848.

Réplica al Sermón, predicado en Bogotá, por el Dr. Manuel F. Saavedra, en la fiesta de San Juan Nepomuceno, Bogotá, 1852.

Representación hecha por los que suscriben al presidente de la República. Bogotá, 1846.

Representación que las señoras de la ciudad de Bogotá, dirigieron al presidente de la República, el día 9 de mayo del presente año. Bogotá, 1850.

Representación. Ciudadano Presidente, Bogotá, 1850.

República de la Nueva Granada. Gobierno Eclesiástico. Bogotá, 1853.

Restablecimiento de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada o colección de piezas relativas a la historia de los Jesuitas y a su establecimiento, Bogotá, 1842.

Satisfacción que da, el que suscribe, al Sr. Doctor Manuel Murillo Secretario de Hacienda, Bogotá, 1852.

Segunda Reprimenda al Sr. Dr. José M. F. Saavedra, Bogotá, 1852.

Seminario Menor de San José dirigido por los PP. De la Compañía de Jesús, Bogotá, 1848.

Señor Doctor Manuel Fernández Saavedra, Bogotá, 1863.

Señor General José Hilario López. Bogotá, 1852.

Señores editores de “El Catolicismo”, Bogotá, 1855

Sermón que en la primera fiesta de San Ignacio de Loyola hecha por los PP. Jesuitas, después de su restablecimiento en la Nueva Granada, pronunció el día 31 de julio de 1844, el Señor Canónigo doctoral de esta Santa Iglesia Metropolitana, Doctor Manuel Fernández Saavedra, Bogotá, 1844.

Sesiones nocturnas de los HH del progreso en grados superiores, Bogotá, 1846.

Solemne distribución de premios del colegio dirigido por los PP. De la Compañía de Jesús en Bogotá, celebrada el día 28 de noviembre de 1859, Bogotá, 1859.

Soneto, Bogotá, 1844.

Todos estamos locos o el Diablo detrás de la Cruz, Bogotá, 1863.

Un hecho escandaloso, Pasto, 1853.

Una explicación sobre ‘la perversidad’ (del Liberal no. 12) para perder al General Melo, Bogotá, 1854.

Una Explicación. Bogotá, 1850.

Una Manifestación, Bogotá, 1853.

Vindicación del Doctor Saavedra, Bogotá, 1864.

Pamphlets and Broadside in Archivo Universidad de Antioquia (AUA)

A la opinión Soberana, Medellín, 1846.

A las Madres de Familia, Medellín, 1861.

A los Católicos, Medellín, 1861.

A los hombres sensatos, Medellín, 1856.

A los verdaderos Católicos, Medellín, 1852.

Al público imparcial, Medellín, 1842.

Al público, Medellín, 1846.

Al Señor calumniador de un dibujante de los caracteres morales de una nación ultramontana y de algunas de sus comarcas y diócesis vecinas, Medellín, 1850.

Al Señor diseñador de caracteres morales, Medellín, 1850.

Alerta, Medellín, 1850.

Antioquia y la reacción Ospina, Medellín, 1859.

Axiomas, Medellín, 1851.

Breve Oración. Medellín, 1842.
 Carta a mi corresponsal de Trapizonda, Medellín, 1845.
 Colegio Académico, Medellín, 1850.
 Contestación de Blas a su corresponsal Juan Algarrobo, Medellín, 1845.
 Despedida, Medellín, 1850.
 Despedida, Medellín, 1860.
 Dos Palabras, Medellín, 1849.
 El Chirrión, Medellín, 1845.
 El primero de Agosto de 1850, Medellín, 1850.
 Eusebio Borrero, gobernador civil y militar de Antioquia, Medellín, 1851.
 Fecorías Rojas, Medellín, 1853.
 ¡Gracias! ¡Tiranos!, Medellín, 1853.
 La libertad y el gobierno de la Nueva Granada, Medellín, 1850.
 La situación, Medellín, 1853.
 La usurpación Melo y el gobernador de Medellín, Medellín, 1854.
 Ladrones, Medellín, 1853.
 Las pretensiones de los conservadores, Sopetrán, 1852.
 Los Jesuitas y los Estados Unidos, 1849.
 Los tres candidatos de Antioquia, Rionegro, 1848.
 Manifestaciones, Bogotá, 1853.
 Nos el Dr. Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata por la gracia de Dios y de la Santa Sede Apostólica, obispo de Antioquia. A venerable clero y demás fieles de Nuestra Diócesis, salud en nuestro Señor Jesucristo, que es la verdadera, Medellín, 1849.
 Omnium, Medellín, 1846.
 Otra palabra sobre la situación, Abejorral, 1861.
 Para quienes corresponde velar sobre esto, Medellín, 1845.
 Por ahora, Medellín, 1850
 Programa para el establecimiento de un colegio particular en Medellín, Medellín, 1850.
 Protesta que hace el Clero del cantón de Medellín y el de Amagá, Medellín, 1853.
 Protesta que hacen algunas señoras de Medellín, Medellín, 1851.
 Protesta, Medellín, 1850.
 Señor difamador del cabo calibong, Medellín, 1850.
 Señor NN. Medellín, 1846
 Señores de la sesión central del Instituto de Educación, Medellín, 1850.
 Sr. Amante de la Paz, Medellín, 1851.
 Sufrimientos del Partido Conservador, Medellín, 1851.
 Testamento del General José Hilario López, Bogotá, 1853.
 Un pequeño desahogo, Medellín, 1845.
 Una Manifestación, Medellín, 1853.
 Una voz de alerta a los verdaderos católicos de Antioquia, Medellín, 1861.
 Unión Regeneradora de la fuerza independiente, Medellín, 1851.
 Unos demócratas rojos, condenados por sus propias palabras, Medellín, 1853.
 Viva la Sociedad democrática, Medellín, 1851.
 Vivan los principios democráticos, Rionegro, 1851.

Contemporary Printed Works

Borda, J.J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada*, 2 vols. Bogotá, 1872.

Bonfill, M., *Verdadero retrato al daguerreotipo de la Compañía de Jesús*, Barcelona, 1852.

Boucher, A., *Historia dramática y pintoresca de los Jesuitas*, Barcelona, 2 vols. 1847.

Camacho Roldán, S., *Memorias*, 2 vols. Bogotá, 1946.

Caro, J.E., *Obras Escogidas en Prosa y en Verso, publicadas e inéditas de José Eusebio Caro*, ed. by El Tradicionista, Bogotá, 1873.

Cassani, J., *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, Madrid, 1741.

Cordovez Moure, J.M., *Reminiscencias de Santa fe de Bogotá*, Bogotá, 1979.

Crétineau-Joly, J., *Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 6 vols, Paris, 1844-46.

Cuervo, A., *Vida de Rufino Cuervo y noticias de su época*, 2 vols. París, 1892.

Cuervo, L. A., *Epistolario del Dr. Rufino José Cuervo*, 3 vols. Bogotá, 1918-22.

Galindo, A., *Recuerdos Históricos de Aníbal Galindo, 1840-1895*, Bogotá, 1900.

Gioberti, V., *Il Gesuita Moderno*, 5 vols. Napoli, 1848.

Gómez, J., *Lágrimas y Recuerdos de las damas bogotanas o Justificación del dolor de las bogotanas por la expulsión de los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús*, Bogotá, 1850.

González, F., *Memorias*, Medellín, 1973.

Groot, J.M., *Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada*, 5 vols. Bogotá, 1890.

_____, *Refutación de algunos errores del Señor Julio Arboleda sobre los Jesuitas y sus Constituciones*. Bogotá, 1848.

Gutiérrez, I., *Vida de Don Ignacio Gutiérrez Vergara y Estudios históricos de su tiempo*, vol. 1, 1806-1877, Londres, 1900.

Henrion, M., *Historia general de las misiones desde el siglo XIII hasta nuestros días*, Barcelona, 1863.

Mantilla, L.C. ed. *Mitra y Sable: Correspondencia del Arzobispo Manuel José Mosquera con su hermano el General Tomás Cipriano, 1817-1853*, Bogotá, 2004.

Molina, J. J. ed. *Artículos Escogidos del doctor Mariano Ospina Rodríguez coleccionados por Juan José Molina*, Medellín, 1884.

Mosquera, M.M., ed. *Documentos para la biografía e historia del episcopado del Ilustrísimo Sr. Don Manuel José Mosquera, arzobispo de Santafé de Bogotá*, 3 vols. Paris, 1858.

Mosquera, T.C., *Archivo Epistolar del General Mosquera*, 3 vols. Bogotá, 1972-78.

_____, *Archivo Epistolar del General Mosquera, Correspondencia con el General Ramón Espina, 1835-1866*, Bogotá, 1966.

_____, *Los Partidos en Colombia. Estudio histórico Político*, Popayán, 1874.

Ravignan, *De la existencia del Instituto de los Jesuitas*, Bogotá, 1845.

Restrepo, J., *Emiro Kastos. Artículos Escogidos*, Londres, 1885.

Restrepo, J.M., *Diario Político y Militar: memorias sobre los sucesos importantes de la época para servir a la historia de la Revolución de Colombia y de la Nueva Granada, desde 1819 para adelante*, 4 vols. Bogotá, 1954.

_____, *Historia de la Revolución de la República de Colombia*, 6 vols. Medellín, 1969.

_____, *Historia de la Nueva Granada*, 2 vols. Bogotá, 1963.

Restrepo, J.P., *La Iglesia y el Estado en Colombia*, Londres, 1885.

Restrepo, V., *Impugnación del doctor Venancio Restrepo al libelo infamatorio titulado: El Arzobispo de Bogotá ante la nación*, Bogotá, 1852.

Rodríguez, M., *El Marañón y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas, y reducción de naciones, trabajos malogrados de algunos conquistadores, y dichosos de*

otros, así temporales como espirituales, en las dilatadas montañas, y mayores ríos de la América, Madrid, 1684.

Samper, J.M., *Apuntamientos para la historia política i social de la Nueva Granada desde 1810, y especialmente de la administración del 7 de marzo*, Bogotá, 1853.

_____, *Historia de un alma*, Medellín, 1971.

_____, *Los partidos políticos en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1873.

Ortiz, J.F., *Reminiscencias de D. Juan Francisco Ortiz, 1808-1861*. Bogotá, 1914.

Ospina, M., *Arboleda, González y los Jesuitas, Reflexiones para servir de comentario a los Jesuitas del Sr. J. Arboleda*, Bogotá, 1848.

Pío VII, *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, Roma, 1814.

Pío IX, *Encíclica Quanta Cura y Syllabus*, Roma, 1864.

Pío IX, *Syllabus o Compilación de los errores del mundo moderno*, Roma, 1864.

Solano, Vicente, *Los Jesuitas o lo que han dicho los amigos y los enemigos de la Compañía de Jesús*. Cuenca, 1847.

Urrisari, E., *Cartas contra Santander. Replica a las memorias del 'Hombre de las Leyes'*, Bogotá, 2000.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books

Agudelo, B., *Los Hijos de San Juan de Dios en Nueva Granada*, 5 vols., Bogotá, 1983.

Agudelo Giraldo, G., *Los arzobispos de Bogotá que han marcado nuestra historia 1564-2010*, Bogotá, 2010.

Aguilera, M., ed. *José Eusebio Caro*. Bogotá, 1949.

Aljure Chalela, S., ed. *Escritos Histórico- políticos de José Eusebio Caro*, Bogotá, 1981.

Arango Jaramillo, M., *Libertad y tolerancia, la Masonería Colombiana en los inicios de la República, 1810-1960*, Bogotá, 2008.

Aranha, P., *Il cristianismo Latino en India nel XVI secolo*, Milano, 2006.

Arboleda, G., *Historia Contemporánea de Colombia*, 6 vols. Bogotá, Cali, 1918-35.

_____, *Diccionario biográfico y genealógico del antiguo departamento del Cauca*, Bogotá, 1962.

Arboleda Llorente, J.M., *Vida del Ilmo Sr. Manuel José Mosquera, Arzobispo de Santafé de Bogotá*, 2 vols., Bogotá, 1956.

Arias, R., *El Episcopado colombiano, Intransigencia y Laicidad, 1850-2000*, Bogotá, 2003.

Ariza, A., *Los Dominicos en Colombia*, 2 vols. Bogotá, 1993.

Astrain, A., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, 7 vols. Madrid, 1912-1925.

Ayape de San Agustín, E., *Fundaciones y Noticias de la Provincia de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*, Bogotá, 1950.

Bangert, W., *A Bibliographical Essay on the History of the Society of Jesus. Books in English*, St. Louis, 1976.

Barreda, G., *La educación positivista en México*, México, 1978.

Bateman, A., *Manuel Murillo Toro*, Bogotá, 1978.

Bentué, A., y otros, *Historia del Cristianismo*, vol. 4, *El mundo contemporáneo*, Madrid, 2010.

Boff, L., *Iglesia Carisma y poder*. Bogotá, 1982.

Borges, P., *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas*, 2 vols. Madrid, 1992.

- Buenaventura Ortiz, J., *Historia de la Diócesis de Popayán*, Bogotá, 1945, pp. 369-410.
- Buitrago Trujillo, R., *Memorias Biográficas de la Provincia de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de la Orden de Recoletos de San Agustín 1663-1963*, Bogotá, 1965.
- Bushnell, D., *The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia*, Newark, 1954.
- Cacua, A., *Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, fundador del conservatismo colombiano 1805-1885*, Bogotá, 1985.
- Camargo de la Torre, P.P., *El Capítulo Metropolitano de Santafé y el Grito de Independencia*, Bogotá, 1959.
- Caro, V., and Gómez Restrepo, A., ed. *Obras completas de don Miguel Antonio Caro*, 8 vols. Bogotá, 1918.
- Castrillón Arboleda, D., *Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera*, Bogotá, 1979.
- Cavelier, G., *Las relaciones entre la Santa Sede y Colombia*. Bogotá, 1988.
- Centro de Historia de Antioquia. *El Excmo. Y Rvdmo. Dr. D. Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata 1793-1850*, Antioquía, 1936.
- Cerutti, F., *Los Jesuitas en Nicaragua en el siglo XIX*, San José, 1984.
- Clavijero, F.J. *Historia Antigua de México*, 1945.
- Colmenares, G., *Haciendas de los Jesuitas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, Siglo XVIII*, Bogotá, 1969.
- _____, *Partidos Políticos y Clases Sociales*, Bogotá, 1997.
- Correa, R., *La Convención de Rionegro*, Bogotá, 1937.
- Cortés, A.L and others., *Historia del Cristianismo*, vol. 3, *El mundo moderno*, Granada, 2006.
- Cruz Santos, A., *José Hilario López o El Soldado Civil*, Bogotá, 1970.
- Cubitt, G., *The Jesuit Myth. Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France*, Oxford, 1993.
- Cuervo Márquez, C., *Vida del doctor José Ignacio de Márquez*, 2 vols. Bogotá, 1917.
- Cushner, N.P., *Why Have you come here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America*, Oxford, 2006.
- Deas, Malcolm., *Vida y opiniones de Mr. Williams Wills*, vol. 1, Bogotá, 1996.
- Decorme, G., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la República Mexicana durante el siglo XIX*. Chihuahua, 1959.
- _____, *La obra de los Jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572-1767*, México, 1942.
- Díaz, F., *La desamortización de Bienes Eclesiásticos en Boyacá*, Bogotá, 1977.
- Di Stefano, R., *Ovejas Negras. Historia de los anticlericales argentinos*, Buenos Aires, 2010.
- Domínguez, J.M, and O'Neill, C., ed. *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. Biográfico-Temático*, 4 vols. Roma, 2001.
- Duarte, J., *Florentino González, Razón y sin Razón de una lucha política*. Bogotá, 1971.
- Dueñas, A.J. *El Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo Señor Doctor Manuel José Mosquera dignísimo Arzobispo de la Arquidiócesis de Santafé de Bogotá, 1800-1853*, Bogotá, 2004.
- Duhr, B., *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, 4 vols. Freiburg, 1907-28.
- Echeverry, A., *Santander y la Instrucción pública, 1819-1840*, Bogotá, 1989.
- Egido, T., *Los Jesuitas en España y en el mundo hispánico*, Madrid, 2004.
- Escobar Rodríguez, C., *La revolución liberal y la protesta del artesanado*, Bogotá, 1990.

- Fabre, P.A. and C. Maire, *Les Antijésuites, Discours, Figures et Lieux de l'antijésuitisme a l'époque modern*. Rennes, 2010.
- Fajardo, J., *Biblioteca de escritores jesuitas neogranadinos*, Bogotá, 2004.
- _____. *Bio-bibliografía de los Jesuitas en la Venezuela Colonial*, Caracas, 1995.
- _____. *Catedráticos Jesuitas de la Javeriana Colonial*, Bogotá, 2002.
- _____. *Denis Mesland amigo de Descartes y maestro javeriano 1615-1672*, Bogotá, 2002.
- _____. *El aporte de la javeriana colonial a la cartografía orinoquense*, Bogotá, 2003.
- _____. *El Colegio San Francisco Javier en la Mérida Colonial germen histórico de la Universidad de los Andes*, Mérida, 2003.
- _____. *Jesuitas, libros y política en el Real Colegio Mayor y Seminario de San Bartolomé*, Bogotá, 2004.
- _____. *La enseñanza de la humanidades en los colegios jesuíticos neogranadinos 1604-1767*, Bogotá, 2005.
- _____. *La biblioteca colonial de la Universidad Javeriana comentada*, Bogotá, 2008.
- _____. *Los Jesuitas en Antioquia 1727-1767 aportes a la historia de la cultura y el arte*, Bogotá, 2008.
- _____. *Los Jesuitas en Cartagena de Indias 1604-1767*, Bogotá, 2004.
- _____. *Misiones Jesuíticas en la Orinoquia*, San Cristóbal, 1992.
- _____. *Virtud y letras en el Maracaibo hispánico*, Caracas, 2003.
- _____. *Los Jesuitas en Venezuela*, Caracas y Bogotá, 2006-2007.
- _____. *Vida, obra y pensamiento del maestro javeriano Juan Martínez de Ripalda (1641-1707)*, Bogotá, 2007.
- _____. *Una utopía sofocada, reducciones jesuitas en la Orinoquia*, Caracas, 1998.
- _____. *Un sueño educativo frustrado los jesuitas en el Coro Colonial*, Caracas, 2005.
- Fernández, J., *Jesuitas, masones y universidad*, Montevideo, 2007.
- Ferrer Benimeli, J.A., *José Pignatelli, 1737-1811*, Bilbao, 2011.
- Figuera, G., *La Iglesia y su doctrina en la Independencia de América*, Caracas, 1960.
- Frías, L., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en su asistencia moderna de España*, 2 vols. Madrid, 1923-44.
- Furlong, G., *Los Jesuitas y la cultura rioplatense*, Buenos Aires, 1946.
- _____. *Historia del Colegio del Salvador y de sus irradiaciones culturales y espirituales en la ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1617-1943*, Buenos Aires, 1944.
- García Benítez, L., *Reseña histórica de los obispos que han regentado la diócesis de Santa Marta*. Bogotá, 1953.
- García Saavedra, B., *El hijo de la Providencia*, Bogotá, 1973.
- Ganuzza, M., *Monografía de las Misiones Vivas de Agustinos Recoletos (Candelarios) en Colombia Siglo XVII-XX*, 3 vols., Bogotá, 1921
- Gilmore, R. L., *El federalismo en Colombia, 1810-1858*, 2 vols. Bogotá, 1995.
- Gómez Barrientos, E., *Don Mariano Ospina y su época*, 4 vols. Medellín, 1913-27.
- _____. *La Compañía de Jesús en Antioquia y el Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, 1885-1910*, Medellín, 1910.
- Gómez, F.J., *Resistencia y Misión. La Compañía de Jesús en la América del siglo XIX*, Madrid, 2007.
- González, F., *Partidos, guerras e Iglesia en la construcción del Estado Nación en Colombia, 1830-1900*, Medellín, 2006.
- _____. *Poderes Enfrentados. Iglesia y Estado en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1997.

Gutiérrez Jaramillo, C., *José Hilario López, Un hombre de su siglo*, Bogotá, 1997.

Gutiérrez, J., *Jesuitas en México durante el siglo XIX*. México, 1972.

Gutiérrez Sanín, F., *Curso y discurso del Movimiento plebeyo 1849-1854*, Bogotá, 1995.

Healy, R., *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany*, Boston, 2003.

Hensel Riveros, F.D., *José María Samper: escritura autobiográfica y conocimiento histórico*. Bogotá, 2009.

Herrero, J., *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario español*, Madrid, 1987.

Horgan, T.B., *El Arzobispo Manuel José Mosquera, Reformista y Pragmático*, Bogotá, 1977.

Inglot, M., *La Compagnia di Gesù nell'Impero Russo, 1772-1820, e la sua parte nella restaurazione generale della Compagnia*, Roma, 1997.

Ivereigh, A., ed. *The Politics of Religion in an Age of Revival*, London, 2000.

Jouanen, J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Republica del Ecuador, 1850-1950*, Quito, 2003.

Klaiber, J., *Los Jesuitas en América Latina, 1549-2000, 450 años de inculturación, defensa de los derechos humanos y testimonio profético*, Lima, 2007.

Lacouture, J., *Jésuites: une multibiographie*, 2 vols., Paris, 1991-2.

Leite, S., *Suma histórica da Compahnia de Jesus no Brasil. Assistencia de Portugal, 1549-1760*, Lisboa, 1965.

Leturia, P., *Relaciones entre la Santa Sede e Hispanoamérica*, vol. 2, *Época de Bolívar*, Roma, 1959, pp. 4-14.

Lighthart, C., *The Return of the Jesuits, The life of Jan Philip Roothaan*, London, 1978.

Loaiza, G., *Manuel Ancízar y su época. Biografía de un político hispanoamericano del siglo XIX*. Medellín, 2004.

Lofstrom, W., *La Vida Intima de Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera*, Bogotá, 1996.

Londoño, P., *Religión, Cultura y Sociedad en Colombia*, Bogotá, 2004.

Loor, W., *Cartas de Gabriel García Moreno, 1846-1854*, Quito, 1956.

_____, *Los Jesuitas en el Ecuador: su ingreso y expulsión, 1850-1852*, Quito, 1959.

López, A., *Gregorio XVI y la reorganización de la Iglesia hispanoamericana. El paso del régimen de patronato a la misión como responsabilidad directa de la Santa Sede*, Roma, 2004.

López Domínguez, L.H., *Obra educativa. La querella benthamista 1748-1832*, Bogotá, 1993.

López Vargas, C., *Cuatrocientos años de hospitalidad. La Orden hospitalaria en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1997.

Loyola, I., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary norms. A complete English Traslation of the oficial Latin Texts*, Saint Louis, 1996.

Loyola, I. *Obras Completas*, Madrid, 1997.

Mantilla, L.C., *Cali y su Convento de San Francisco documentos inéditos: Homenaje de los Franciscanos de Colombia a Cali en sus 450 años*, Bogotá, 1986.

_____, *Crónicas de viaje del jesuita español José Segundo Laínez al Caquetá y al Putumayo en 1847*, Bogotá, 2007.

_____, *La guerra religiosa de Mosquera*, Medellín, 2010.

_____, *Los Franciscanos en Colombia*, 3 vols., Bogotá, 1984.

_____, *Los Franciscanos en la Independencia de Colombia*, Bogotá, 1995.

Martínez, F., *El Nacionalismo Cosmopolita. La referencia europea en la construcción nacional en Colombia, 1845-1900*, Bogotá, 2001.

Martínez de Codes, R.M., *La Iglesia Católica en la América Independiente. Siglo XIX*, Madrid, 1992.

- Matute, S., *Los Padres Candelarios en Colombia o Apuntes para la Historia*, Bogotá, 1900.
- Mejía, Germán y otros, eds. *Colombia en el Siglo XIX, Ensayos de Berquist, Bushnell, Earle, Gilmore, Jiménez, Linch, McFarlane, Murray y Sowell*, Bogotá, 1999.
- Mejía, S., *El Pasado como Refugio y Esperanza. La Historia eclesiástica y civil de José María Groot, 1800-1878*, Bogotá, 2009.
- Mesanza, A., *Apuntes y Documentos sobre la Orden Dominicana en Colombia, 1680-1930*, Caracas, 1936.
- Mercado, P., *Historia de la Provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito de la Compañía de Jesús*. Bogotá, 1957.
- Minamiki, G. Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy. From its beginning to Modern Times*, Chicago, 1985.
- Molina, G., *Las ideas liberales en Colombia, 1849-1914*, Bogotá, 1971.
- Ocampo López, J., *Historia de las Ideas de Integración de América Latina*, Tunja, 1981.
- O'Malley, J.W., *The First Jesuits*, London, 1993.
- _____, *The Jesuits. Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, Toronto, 1999.
- Orden Agustinos Recoletos, Provincia de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, <<http://www.agustinosrecoletos.com/estaticos/view/49/104>>, [accessed 16 March 2011] (para. 11 of 32).
- Ortiz Mesa, L.J y otros, *Ganarse el Cielo Defendiendo la Religión, Guerras Civiles en Colombia, 1840-1902*, Medellín, 2005.
- Otero Muñoz, G., *Mariano Ospina Rodríguez ensayo biográfico*, Bogotá, 1949.
- _____, *Semblanzas Colombianas*, 2 vols. Bogotá, 1938.
- Pacheco, J.M., *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, 3 vols. Bogotá, 1957-89.
- _____, *Historia Eclesiástica*, 5 vols. Bogotá, 1971.
- Padberg, J., *For matters of greater moment. The first thirty Jesuit general congregations*, St. Louis, 1994.
- Palacios M. y Safford, F., *Colombia, País fragmentado, Sociedad dividida. Su Historia*. Bogotá, 2002.
- Pastells, P., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia de Paraguay*, Madrid, 1912-33.
- Pattee, R., *Gabriel García Moreno y el Ecuador de su tiempo*, México, 1962.
- Pavone, S., *The Wily Jesuits and the Monita Secreta*, Saint Louis, 2005.
- Pérez, A., *La hacienda Caribabare estructura y relaciones de mercado 1767-1810*, Yopal, 1997.
- Pérez, M.I., *La Compañía de Jesús en México: cuatro siglos de labor cultural, 1572-1972*, México, 1972.
- Pérez Gómez, J., *Provincia Agustiniense de Nuestra Señora de Gracia en Colombia: Ocaso y Restauración*, 3 vols., Bogotá, 1993.
- Pérez, R., *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro- América*, 3 vols. Valladolid, 1896-98.
- _____, *La Compañía de Jesús restaurada en la República del Argentina y Chile, el Uruguay y el Brasil*, Barcelona, 1901.
- Pinilla Cote, A.M., *Del Vaticano a la Nueva Granada, La Internunciatura de Monseñor Cayetano Baluffi en Bogotá, 1837- 1842. Primera en Hispanoamérica*, Bogotá, 1998.
- Poliakov, L., *La causalidad diabólica. Ensayo sobre el origen de las persecuciones*, Barcelona, 1982.
- Polgár, L., *Bibliography of the history of the Society of Jesus*, Rome, 1967.

- _____. *Bibliographie sur L'Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus 1901-1980*, Roma, 1990.
- Posada-Carbó, E y others, *Elections before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America*, London, 1996.
- Posada, E., y Ibáñez, P.M., *Vida de Herrán*, Bogotá, 1903.
- Ramírez, U., *Historia de la Diócesis de Medellín*, 2 vols. Medellín, 1922-24.
- Ramírez, F., 'La filosofía y sus libros en la Javeriana Colonial', in *La biblioteca colonial de la Universidad Javeriana comentada*, ed. by J. Fajardo and M. Marín, Bogotá, 2008, p. 331.
- Restrepo, D., *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1940.
- Restrepo Posada, J., *Arquidiócesis de Bogotá. Datos biográficos de sus prelados*, 3 vols. Bogotá, 1961-3.
- Revue, M., *Memorias del P. Luis Martín, general de la Compañía de Jesús 1846-1906*, Roma, 1988.
- _____. *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, Madrid, 2006.
- _____. *La Compañía de Jesús en la España Contemporánea*, 3 vols. Madrid, 1984-91.
- Rico, H., 'La Gran diócesis de Pamplona, 172 años', <http://www.arquipamplona.org/contenidos/historia.htm> [accessed 16 March 2011] (para. 5 of 13).
- Rivero, J., *Historia de las Misiones de los Llanos de Casanare y los ríos Orinoco y Meta*, Bogotá, 1883.
- Rodríguez, F., *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, 7 vols. Porto, 1931-50.
- Rodríguez, G.H., *Ezequiel Rojas y la Primera República Liberal*, Bogotá, 1970.
- Rueda, J., *Relaciones Interétnicas en los Llanos de Casanare y Meta 1767-1830*. Bogotá, 1987.
- Sáez, J., *Los Jesuitas en la República Dominicana*, 2 vols. Santo Domingo, 1988-90.
- Salazar Cáceres, C.G., *Ezequiel Rojas, Vida y Pensamiento*, Tunja, 2006.
- Samper, J.M. y otros, *Orígenes de los Partidos Políticos en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1978.
- Santos, A., *Los Jesuitas en América*, Madrid, 1992.
- Saranyana, J.I., *Teología en América Latina. De las guerras de Independencia hasta finales del siglo XIX, 1810-1899*, Madrid, 2008, p. 230.
- Sariego, J., *Aquellos tenaces misioneros proscritos. Los jesuitas en la Centroamérica Moderna 1842-1896*, Guatemala, 1999.
- Sowell, D., *The early Colombian Labor movement: artisans and politics in Bogotá, 1832-1919*, Philadelphia, 1992.
- St. Clair Segurado, E. M., *Expulsión y Exilio de la Provincia Jesuita Mexicana, 1767-1820*, Alicante, 2005.
- Stella, A., *Episcopologios de las actuales Arquidiócesis y Diócesis Colombianas*, Bogotá, 2002.
- Tacchi, P., *Storia della Compagnia de Gesù in Italia*, 2 vols. Roma, 1930-50.
- Thomsom, G., ed. *The European Revolutions of 1848 and the Americas*, London, 2002.
- Tirado Mejía, A., *Aspectos Sociales de la Guerras Civiles en Colombia*, Bogotá, 1976.
- Tisnés, R.M., *Historia Extensa de Colombia, El Clero y la Independencia en Santafé 1810-1815*, 24 vols. Bogotá, 1964-86.
- Toro, I.D., *La diócesis de Medellín 1868-1902. Actuación y Formación del Clero*, Medellín, 2004.
- _____. *El pensamiento de los Católicos Colombianos, en el debate ideológico de la 'crisis de medio siglo' (1850-1900)*, Medellín, 2005.

- Torres, J.C., *Manuel Murillo Toro. Caudillo Radical y Reformador Social*, Bogotá, 1984.
- Uribe-Urán, V.M., *Honorable Lives, lawyers, family, and Politics in Colombia, 1780-1850*, Pittsburgh, 2000.
- Urrutia M. and M. Arrubla, *Compendio de Estadísticas históricas de Colombia*, Bogotá, 1970.
- Vargas, P., *Historia del Seminario Real de Popayán*, Popayán, 1945.
- Vargas, R., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú*, 4 vols. Burgos, 1963-5.
- _____, *El Episcopado en los tiempos de la emancipación sudamericana*, Buenos Aires, 1945.
- Villegas Botero, F., *La Saga inquietante, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez 1805-2005, Política, Religión y Riqueza* Medellín, 2005.
- Wize de Gouzy, D., *Antología del pensamiento de Mariano Ospina Rodríguez*, 2 vols., Bogotá, 1990.
- Wright, J., *The Jesuits. Missions, Myths and Histories*, London, 2004.
- Young, J.L., *La Reforma Universitaria de la Nueva Granada, 1820-1850*, Santafé de Bogotá, 1994.
- Zupanov, I.G., *Disputed Mission. Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-century India*, Oxford, 1999.

Articles in Magazines, and Chapters of books

- Castro, E., 'La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia', en *Juventud Ignaciana*, Medellín, no. 44, 1944.
- Cacua, A., 'Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, maestro, periodista y magistrado', *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, no. 748, Bogotá, 1985.
- Colmenares, G., 'Los Jesuitas: Modelo de empresarios coloniales', *Boletín cultural y bibliográfico*, no. 2, Bogotá, 1984.
- Cordovés, J.M., 'Cautividad de don Mariano Ospina', *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, no. 34, Bogotá, 1906.
- Cortés, J.D., 'La expulsión de los Jesuitas de la Nueva Granada como clave de lectura del Ideario Liberal Colombiano de Medios del Siglo XIX', *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, no. 30, Bogotá, 2003.
- Fajardo, J., 'Los jesuitas en las raíces de la colombianidad', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 709, Bogotá, 2004.
- Forero, L., 'La tragedia religiosa del General Mosquera'. *Revista Javeriana*, no. 226-7, Bogotá, 1956.
- García, M., 'Jesuitas, Masones y Conspiradores: Dramas Bogotanos a mediados del siglo XIX'. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, no. 23, Bogotá, 1996.
- E. Giménez, 'La extirpación de la mala doctrina. Los inicios del proceso de extinción de la Compañía de Jesús (1767-1769)' in *Expulsión y Exilio de los Jesuitas Españoles*, ed., E. Giménez. Alicante, 1997.
- Gómez, F.J., 'Las Misiones del P. José Segundo Láinez, SJ., en el Putumayo (1846-1848)', *Mar Oceana*, no. 3, Madrid, 1999.
- Gómez, L., 'Manuel Ancizar', in *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 10, Bogotá, 1994.
- González, F., 'La otra verdad de una expulsión: El mito anti jesuítico', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 509, Bogotá, 1984.

- Jaramillo Uribe, J. 'Entre la Utopía y el Estado Tecnocrático. El pensamiento Político y Social de José Eusebio Caro' and 'José Eusebio Caro y la reacción antibentamista', in *El Pensamiento Colombiano en el siglo XIX*, Bogotá, 1964,
- Molina, L.F., 'José Eusebio Caro' in *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 9, Bogotá, 1994.
- Múnera, A., 'Secularización y Ética Cívica', in *Colombia una casa para todos*. Santa fe de Bogotá, 1991.
- Rueda, J., 'El Complejo Económico-administrativo de las Antiguas Haciendas Jesuitas del Casanare', *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico*, no. 20, Bogotá, 1989.
- Pacheco, J.M., 'Monseñor Manuel José Mosquera'. *Revista Javeriana*, no. 124, Bogotá, 1946.
- _____, 'Regreso y nueva expulsión de la Compañía de Jesús', *Revista de la Academia de Historia Eclesiástica*, no. 32, Bogotá, 1974.
- _____, 'El sesquicentenario del restablecimiento de la Compañía de Jesús', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 307, Bogotá, 1964.
- _____, 'Monseñor Manuel José Mosquera', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 126, Bogotá, 1946.
- Prieto, V., 'El Concordato de 1973 y la evolución del derecho Eclesiástico colombiano. Situación actual y perspectivas de futuro'. *Revista General de Derecho Canónico y Derecho Eclesiástico del Estado*. no. 22, Bogotá, 2010.
- Restrepo, C., 'Doctor Mariano Ospina', *Boletín de historia y Antigüedades*, no. 87, Bogotá, 1912.
- Restrepo, D., 'Centenario de la Restauración de los Jesuitas en Colombia, 1844-1944', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 105, Bogotá, 1944.
- Safford, Frank. 'Reflections on the Internal War in Ninetenth-Century Latin America', in *Rumours of War. Civil Conflict in Ninetenth-Century Latin America*, ed. by Earle, Rebeca. London, 2000,
- Smorlarski, D., 'The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum, Christopher Clavius and the Study of Mathematical Science in Universities', *Science in Context*, no. 15, Santa Clara, 2002.
- Valencia Llano, A., 'Gustavo Arboleda. Cronista de la historia Política y social'. *Credencial Historia*, no. 115, Bogotá, 1999.
- _____, 'La Revolución de Melo en las Provincias del Cauca', in *Las Guerras Civiles desde 1830 y su proyección en el siglo XX*, ed. by Museo Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, 1998.
- Worcester, T. 'Jesuit on the French Monarchy' in *The Jesuits*, ed., T. Worcester, Cambridge, 2008.
- Yarza, J., 'La expulsión de los jesuitas del Nuevo Reino de Granada en 1767', *Revista Javeriana*, no. 188, Bogotá, 1952.
- Zuluaga, F., 'La Guerra de los Supremos en el Suroccidente de la Nueva Granada', in *Las Guerras Civiles desde 1830 y su proyección en el siglo XX*, ed. by Museo Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, 1998.

Theses

- Cortés, J.D., 'Las Relaciones Estado-Iglesia en Colombia a mediados del siglo XIX' (unpublished doctoral thesis, El Colegio de México, 2008).
- Helguera, Joseph León, 'The first Mosquera Administration in New Granada, 1845-1849' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina, 1958).
- Sánchez, F., 'El problema de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada, con énfasis en la expulsión de 1861' (unpublished master's thesis, Universidad Javeriana, 1988).

Turriago, D., 'La expulsión de los Jesuitas en la Nueva Granada, 1850' (unpublished master's thesis, Universidad Javeriana, 1980).

García Rojas, B.I., 'La Compañía de Jesús y su influencia en la educación de la Nueva Granada entre 1842 y 1849'. (unpublished master's thesis, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1980).