

THE SALAMANCA ARCHIVES

Regina Whelan Richardson

Honour'd and dear Mr John O'Brien,
Pursuant to your letter dated the 29th of last May, I recommend to you the bearer, R. Mr Robert Stapleton, as a clerk to serve in your house, untill he is well instructed in the art and knowledge of promoting our commerce, which suffers now greatly on account of the bad times. This gentleman is usher'd to me by his landlord, Christopher B[utle]r, as a capable subject and trust in God you will find him so. I have already acquainted you that your good mother is still living and well considering her age. Mr William Carroll and family are also very well in health and triving a pace in wealth. I will endeavour to answer your expectation by supplying you with the deficiency of your number. I'll add no more but that I am with great esteem and regard

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

Tho[mas] L. Hennessy

C[LONME]L AUGUST THE 20TH 1746.¹

Left, p. 113:
Letter from Philip II
of Spain to the
University of
Salamanca, 3 August
1592, requesting
protection for the
students of the new
Irish college.
Lithographic plate
(1912) of the
original letter in the
University of
Salamanca. Block
hand-printed at
Trinity Closet Press,
1994. Legajo S50/5.

This seemingly simple letter of introduction, commending a clerk to the business of an Irish merchant in Spain, masks a clandestine commerce of a unique kind and has been carefully written with possible interception in mind. John O'Brien is the rector of the Royal College of Irish Nobles in Salamanca, Thomas Hennessy is the superior of the Jesuit mission in Ireland, the 'landlord' is the archbishop of Cashel and the 'clerk' one of the thousands of young men who left Ireland to be educated for the priesthood in the Irish colleges in Spain.

Right, p. 113:
A student of the
Irish college,
Salamanca, in
costume, by Rev.
Bradford, engraved
by
I. Clark. Aquatint
with watercolour
wash, 273mm x
195mm; published
by J. Booth,
London, 1809.

In 1592, the same year that Elizabeth I of England chartered Trinity College in Dublin, Philip II of Spain gave his support to the foundation of the 'Regale Collegium Nobilium Hibernorum' in Salamanca, regarded as the first and the foremost of the Irish colleges on the Iberian Peninsula. Elizabeth saw Trinity as 'a college for learning, whereby knowledge and civility might be increased by the instruction of our people there, whereof many have usually heretofore used to travel into France, Italy, and Spain, to get learning in such foreign universities, where they have been infected with popery and other ill qualities, and so become evil

subjects'.² A contemporary Catholic view of the purpose of Trinity College was expressed in a petition to the pope from Irish Catholics in exile as 'the building of a large and magnificent college beside Dublin, the principal city of Ireland, in which Irish youth shall be taught heresy by heretical English teachers. From this college a great danger threatens the Irish'.³ Philip II responded to the problems of Catholic education in Ireland by championing the Irish Catholics and the Counter-Reformation against the English crown and the advance of Protestantism, thus forging a new and important link between Ireland and Spain

Releu, Abuelo, y de la Universidad de Salamanca. Mandose recueto
 los irlandeses que estauan recogidos en un collegio desta villa de yre a que cui-
 para aproparchar mas en sus libros, y lenguas, y en otras cosas para este efecto
 una casa con intento de vivir en ella debajo de la proteccion del collegio de la
 compania de Sena, demas de haueles hecho socorro con una buena limosna,
 he querido acompañarlos con esta, y en cargarlos mucho (como lo hago) los ven-
 gati por muy enmendados, no solo para no consentir que en manera alguna
 sean maltratados, sino para q los amparen, favorecan, y ayuden en todo lo q
 fuere menester, de manera que yn que han dexado su propia tierra, y lo que
 tenían en ella por solo servir a Dios nro S, y porruer en nra S. fee catho-
 lica, y hazen profision de yre despues de enseñados, a predicarla, y predicar
 mantirio por ella, tengan en una universidad el abrigo q con razon se promete
 qo otro cierto que por una parte se lo procuraren, y q se ha de hacer q
 pudierades, de suerte que con el, y el que se de creer lo hata la universidad (a
 quien tambien he mandado cumplir en su recomendacion) y con lo que yo les
 mandare dar, puedan vivir en ella, con el alivio, y conuicio q merecen, y
 el suyo q tengan, y conquirio con ello el fin que se pretende, de Oalla-
 dolid a tres de Agosto 1592 años.

Jo. de Ley

Por mandado del Rey nro S.
 Hiero. Gaspar



which was to last for over three and a half centuries.

This royal intervention came in the course of a long tradition of Irish travellers to Spain, for religious, military, political, educational and commercial reasons. The journey combining religion and education was proscribed by a series of penal laws against Catholics in operation in Ireland from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, which included acts forbidding Catholics to teach in Ireland or to send their children abroad for education, and the banishment of Catholic clergy, specifically foreign-educated priests. Waxing and waning in the severity of their application over the years, at certain times these laws made travel and communication between Ireland and Spain particularly perilous. This was so when they were backed up by orders such as the vice-regal proclamation issued from Dublin Castle in March 1602. Stating that ‘merchants and masters of ships and mariners have, contrary to their duties, carried into Spain and the said King’s dominions where they have traded, not only letters and messages but priests and other seditious persons . . .’,⁴ it required ships’ masters to take an oath not to transport any such cargo to or from Spain, and to deposit a sum of money as surety. The punishment for breaking this law was imprisonment, and the confiscation of the ship and goods; the incentive for informing was one half the fine due. All this prompted the need for dissimulation in written communications, and for the disguise of Irish students, outward bound as ‘clerks’ and homeward bound as ‘sailors’.

Background The story of this Hiberno-Hispanic relationship lies in the archives of the Irish colleges in Spain, which were deposited in Maynooth College on the closure of the college in Salamanca in 1951. The archives comprise over 50,000 documents from the late sixteenth to the mid-twentieth century, mainly from Salamanca but including material transferred there from the other colleges in Alcalá de Henares, Santiago de Compostela and Seville. The archives of the Irish colleges in Spain came to Maynooth mainly in *legajos* or bundles as arranged in the nineteenth century, some tied up with string, some in portfolios of blue marbled paper, and some still as they had been left in the drawers and pigeon-holes of the rectors’ writing desk. Many are written on rag

handmade paper, using ferro-gallic ink, and a variety of paper is evident: fine and coarse, laid and wove, some dyed blue or pink. Watermarked and embossed paper sometimes indicates its provenance (mainly Spain, but also Italy, France, England and Ireland) and date of manufacture. Several volumes are vellum-bound, with leather thongs and clasps, and hand-scripted titles on the cover. Twentieth-century ruled account books and a large collection of receipts, forms and copybooks have their own charm and visual history.

The documents in the Salamanca archives deal chiefly with the administration of the colleges. Among the financial papers are accounts and receipts of many kinds, including merchants' and tradesmen's accounts, butlers' accounts, food and clothing accounts, and grain, olive and wine harvest accounts. Many papers concern annuities and bequests, mortgages and rents, leases of houses and lands; daybooks and books of visitation (by Jesuit auditors) record day-to-day expenditure and events. The students are represented by their papers of admission and ordination, oaths, baptismal certificates and private accounts. Among the many other types of documents are descriptions and histories of Ireland, rules of the colleges, lists of books, rectors' private papers, petitions, prayers and pamphlets. Themes from one sort of document are developed when echoed in another type—thus subjects touched upon in a receipt turn up in an account book, may be referred to again in a daybook, and elaborated on in a letter.

The archives were organised in 1874, during the rectorship of William McDonald, including a collection of over five and a half thousand letters, which were restored, collated and listed by the library between 1987 and 1994. Written predominantly in Spanish, this collection deals largely with college affairs but also covers a wide range of subjects of international, Spanish and Irish interest. Via their varied and numerous correspondents the rectors were kept up to date with the progress of European war and peace, and Spanish affairs such as the candidates for vacant bishoprics, bread riots and court intrigue. The smaller number of letters written in English are more likely to contain news of Ireland and personal matters. Of material in the Irish language very little has so far come to light in the archives, and nothing in the collection of let-

Thomas White,
S.J. (1556–1622),
founder of the
Irish college,
Salamanca.
Photograph of a
painting formerly
in the Irish
college; present
location
unknown.



ters, although some Irish-speaking priests were specifically required for the Irish mission. Although the letters belong to only one side of a correspondence, replies are sometimes included, or recorded elsewhere in the archives.

In addition to the thousands of original documents we must be grateful to those rectors who copied out other papers relating to the colleges; these contemporary copies have their own vital part in the archives, joining together that which is scattered in other historical repositories, or lost or destroyed. Thus we have both a contemporary paper copy as well as a lithographic plate of the earliest and key document in the setting up of the Irish colleges, which is now in the University of Salamanca. This was written by Philip II from Valladolid, where a small group of Irish students had been established under the guidance of the Jesuit Thomas White of Clonmel. Taking advantage of the presence of the court in that town, White applied to the king to provide them with a suitable college and a fixed revenue. Valladolid already supported an English college, and Salamanca was the choice for the location of the Royal College of Irish Nobles; later St Patrick appeared in the title, while the term 'nobles' was to remain in a figurative sense. Its university, where they were to attend classes, was one of the oldest and most distinguished in Europe. The town had already shown itself favourable to the reception of Irish students, a succession of whom had appealed for and received financial aid for their studies, with recommendations from the famous Spanish poet and writer Fray Luis de León, who lectured at the university. And so Philip II made a personal request to the University of Salamanca to take the Irish students under its wing in this letter written from Valladolid in 1592:

To the Rector, Chancellor, and Cloister of the University of Salamanca: As the Irish youths who had been living in this city have resolved to go to yours to avail of the opportunities it affords for advancement in literature and languages, a house having been prepared for them, in which they intend to live under the direction of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, I will allow them a good annual stipend, and I desire to give them this letter to charge you, as I hereby do, to regard them as highly recommended, and not to allow them to be ill-treated in any way, but to favour and aid them as far as you can; in order that, as they have left their own country, and all they possessed in it for the service of God our Lord

and for the preservation of the Catholic faith, and as they make profession of returning to preach in that country and to suffer martyrdom, if necessary, they may get in that University the reception which they have reason to expect. I am certain you will do this, and become benefactors to them; so that with your subscription and that of the city, to the authorities of which I am also writing, they may be able to pursue their studies with content and freedom, and thereby attain the end which they have in view

I the King⁵

Other colleges soon followed in Alcalá de Henares, Santiago de Compostela, Seville and Madrid, and in Portugal the Irish college of Lisbon. As with Salamanca, it was often the case that a body of students had already been in existence in an informal group, a school or a seminary, without being as yet a college proper, and there is not always a single, definitive date for the foundation of each college. That of Alcalá, dedicated to St George, was founded *c.* 1642 by Baron George Sylveira, a nobleman of Irish and Portuguese descent, who committed £2,000 per annum for the maintenance of twenty students, four masters and eight servants; there is also evidence of a previous college there under the patronage of Juan O'Neill, son of Red Hugh, which seems to have closed for lack of funds. The records of the Irish college in Seville refer to a foundation of Irish students who all died during a plague, probably in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Another group of students had already been brought together by Theobald Stapleton when they were formed into a college some time between 1610 and 1612 under the patronage of Don Felix de Guzmán, archdeacon of Seville, with the support of Philip III. The latter also assisted in the foundation of the college in Santiago in 1605, allotting an annual sum of £100 pounds; with a long tradition as a place of pilgrimage in Europe, Irish students had gathered there to study as well as to pray. The college in the capital functioned as a seminary only from its foundation in 1629 until the end of the century, when Madrid became a centre for Irish students coming to that city to seek their travel expenses home to Ireland. The colleges at Santiago and Seville were incorporated with that of Salamanca in 1769, and Alcalá was merged in 1785. Although the records of the Irish college of Lisbon do not form

part of the archives, some aspects of its relationship with the colleges in Spain occur. As with Seville, two previous colleges had existed in Lisbon before the foundation of 1595, and it shared its first rector, Thomas White, with Salamanca.

Fathers Thomas White, James Archer and Richard Conway together took charge of the new Irish college of Salamanca; Conway minded the house while White and Archer travelled widely collecting money for the college. The account books record details of White's travels and donations collected in Spain, Italy and Portugal, where he was involved in the founding of the Irish college in Lisbon. Archer made more than one trip to Ireland seeking donations, also becoming involved in political events at home. Later Conway was to become rector of Santiago and Seville, as well as procurator-general of the Irish colleges in Spain. From their early days the colleges were under the control of the Jesuits (excepting Alcalá), the rectors being usually Irish Jesuits, but sometimes Spanish; the students, however, were not required to join that order. They attended the local university, or the Jesuit college, as well as receiving instruction within their own Irish college. Numbers of students varied, in Salamanca ranging from the original nine who came there from Valladolid to the 32 students who are seen in a photograph of 1927–8 wearing their Salamanca costume, which originated in the seventeenth century. Although each college had its own distinctive character and history, they shared identical ideals and a similar *modus vivendi*; their object was to educate Irish students for the priesthood, who would return to Ireland to uphold the Catholic religion.

On entering the colleges, students were required to write out formal promises known as 'oaths', which were witnessed and sealed, usually by fellow students. The texts of these oaths shed light on the personal and educational background of the students, naming their parents and dioceses, and giving details of their studies, sometimes including the names of their teachers or hedge-schoolmasters in Ireland.⁶ The most important oath, and *raison d'être* of the colleges, bound the student to take Holy Orders and return to the Irish mission. If this was not carried out, he undertook to reimburse the college for his maintenance, which, along

Students

Signature with flourish of public notary Miguel de Santander on a document concerning property of the Irish college, Seville, 1732. Legajo 36/9.



with his education, was provided free of charge. Other oaths taken promised obedience to his superiors and observance of the college rules. He promised to strive after the perfection of collegiate life and, on becoming a priest, to say masses for the rector's intentions. The two examples below were written in Latin by students entering Salamanca, the first extract being a typical introduction. Richard Tobin wrote out his three oaths on a folded sheet of paper, witnessed by fellow students Patrick Dobbin and Philip Barry, and sealed with a paper seal of St Patrick, under the rectorship of Thomas Briones.

I, Richard Tobin, a student of letters born in Galbally in the province of Munster, my parents being Richard Tobin and Elizabeth Gibbon of the Diocese of Limerick, I studied humanities 6 years under John mac Theig, Maurice Began and John Flahi, and I studied philosophy for 3 years under Rev. Fr Thomas Comerford S.J. in the seminary at Santiago de Compostela. From there I arrived at this Irish College of St Patrick, at the age of 21, on the 10th of March, in the year of Our Lord 1617, led on with great hope that I might be admitted to this college, the which I have humbly entreated and achieved.⁷

The first recorded oath in the archives is unusual and revealing in listing the possessions brought with him by Nicholas Marob of Kilkenny:

Nicolaus Marob, a native of Kilkenny, son of John Marob and Margarita Rian of the same town, educated from boyhood by Catholics, arrived here on the 1st of December, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1595, at the age of 19, and intends to follow the rules of this College, to make an oath according to custom, and to return home when it should seem right and good to his superiors.⁸

Attulit secum. (He brings with him)

duo paria lodicum. (blankets or counterpane)

4 subuculas. (shirts)

4 paria tibialium panni crassi hibernici. (leggings of Irish frieze)

4 paria crurarum faemoralia, quorum duo coriacea, unum panni, et alterum lintei fuerunt. (breeches, two of hide, one cloth, and one of linen)

3 paria calceorum. (shoes)

14 colaria. (collars)

1 cingulum. (belt)

aliquot calamos anserinos. (quill pens)
1 clamidem panni hibernici. (cloak of Irish frieze)
1 galerum. (cap)
1 duploidem et tunicam. (doublet and tunic)
Rethoricam Soares. (Soarez's Grammar)
Dedit patri Acheri Bayoni 14 libras. (He gave Fr Archer £14 at Bayona)
Item attulit huc post expensas 9 regalia (He brought here 9 reales after payments)⁹

The earliest named students were most likely among the group which transferred from Valladolid; these were Victor Bray and William Nogal, who left without completing their studies. They departed on 27 August 1592, the former to become one of the many Irish students to study medicine in Spain.

I Victor Bray, an Irish student, say that it is true that I was amongst those who were first nominated as students of the College founded by order of H. Maj., in the city of Salamanca, and that I was treated with love and charity by my Superiors, like the other students, and that I had no other occasion or disgust for leaving the said College, except that the constitutions of the College do not permit the study of medicine, to which I was more inclined than to be of the Church, and that I was besought many times by Fr. Thomas Vitus [White] and by others to change my mind and he has not prevailed on me, and for the truth of the aforesaid, I sign my name, to-day, the 27 August, 1592¹⁰

The majority of students were ordained and returned to Ireland, as promised, to foster and promote the Catholic religion. Of the first 208 students of Salamanca Thomas White writes: 'Of these, thirty have met holy deaths in Ireland after martyrdom, torments, persecutions and labours. Sixty-eight are actually working in the vineyard of the Lord in Ireland. Twenty-two died in Salamanca, and eighty-one joined various religious Orders'.¹¹ He continues to tell of those who became archbishops, bishops, doctors in theology and other sciences, professors of grammar, rhetoric, arts and theology, superiors of religious orders, vicars-general, authors and preachers. In the nineteenth century a former student and rector of Salamanca, Patrick Curtis, became archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland; another student there was Patrick Everard, who became archbishop of Cashel and was

president of Maynooth College between 1810 and 1812. Some students remained in Spain or on the Continent, joining religious orders or pursuing other careers. In the annals of the Irish college in Seville we are told the fate of those of its students who fulfilled their solemn oaths to the point of martyrdom. Among these were John Bath and Cornelius McCarthy, who were hanged for their faith in the mid-seventeenth century. The man who helped to bring the college into being, Thomas Stapleton, was killed at the sack of Cashel in 1647.

At least two students were taken prisoner on the seas on their homeward journeys. In 1741, Peter Sinnot, having embarked at Cadiz, was seized by the captain of one of the English warships which were then in Spanish waters and at war with Spain. On discovering that he was a Catholic priest, the captain heaped insults on him and sent him to the chief-in-command to be dealt with. But after finding out where he had studied and where he was going, the admiral invited him to dine at his table, and finally sent him back to his ship in the admiral's launch, with a present of two gold pieces. Less fortunate was Luke Dicu, who left the college in 1640 owing to ill-health and died soon after being taken prisoner on board a Moorish ship. Thomas Forstal was a student who led an adventurous life; he had been imprisoned in Ireland for one and a half years before being deported to Gibraltar, from where he made his escape and came to Seville as a student on 8 September 1717. Seven years later he returned to Ireland to carry out his priestly duties.

Matters economic course strongly and ceaselessly through the Archives, reflecting the constant struggle of the rectors to ensure the solvency and survival of the colleges. The royal grants committed to them were not always forthcoming when they were due: reminders had to be written and the royal purse pressed for payment. Likewise, bequests were seldom a simple matter to procure, sometimes involving legal wrangles over wills, taking years before the colleges received the monies left to them by benefactors. The rectors had to have an eye to investments, buying lands, olive groves and vineyards, houses and other properties which would bring in an income on a continuous basis. Spanish kings

Finance

and clergy, Irish people living in Spain and Spaniards of Irish descent all did their duty by the Irish colleges. The Irish military men agreed to assign them a fixed portion of their pay, and Irish merchants undertook to give a certain percentage of the value of their merchandise, including each 'pipe' or cask of wine they exported. One benefactor of Seville was Captain Simon French, a native of Galbally and knight of Santiago, who donated 7,000 reales between 1620 and 1650. The following year he sent a donation from Guatemala of 4,917 reales' worth of merchandise as an offering for 2,454 masses for the repose of the soul of Ensign Luis de Alvarado who had died there. Money from the Americas was sought, and as North America is a source of donations to religious establishments in modern times, South America was the source in earlier days. As far back as 1626, Richard Conway sent a student there to collect donations, and on other occasions collection-boxes and appeals were distributed among the ships of the Spanish navy in South America.

Spanish fishermen made their contribution when special permission was granted to them by the pope to fish, voluntarily, on six Sundays of every year and to give the proceeds of their catch to the Irish colleges. Requests were made for permission to seek alms and exemptions from certain taxes; donations for masses were an ongoing source of income, and sometimes paying guests and boarders were accommodated. Despite their own financial problems, the colleges also responded to requests for aid, such as an annual commitment of 100 reales over five years to a hospice in Salamanca for invalids and orphans in 1753, and special expenditure is entered in the account books for events such as feast days. The college in Seville attached great importance to celebrating St Patrick's Day, and initiated the custom in that city with a large-scale celebration in 1738. Irish priests, Irish men and women in Seville, as well as members of the English college there, were invited to attend the religious ceremonies. The day was brought to a close with a splendid outdoor banquet, and the Irish in Seville decided to celebrate the national feast day at their own expense thereafter.

A vital sum of money was the 'viaticum', which covered the travelling expenses of the return to Ireland of those students who

had completed their course and been ordained. This was a royal grant of 100 ducats and had to be justified by the college, as is evidenced in a letter from Rector Juan O'Brien of Salamanca to the king of Spain, which he recorded in his diary in March 1752. He confirms that Patricio Roche, Pedro Stringer and Augustin Brenock have satisfactorily completed their studies in philosophy, scholastic and moral theology and dogmatics, and have been ordained priests. They have led an exemplary life, are well able to preach, and are now ready to set off for the Irish mission from the port of Bilbao. He formally requests the sum of 100 ducats each as their viaticum. The issue of the viaticum was not always straightforward, and in another letter O'Brien deplores the red tape which delayed his students in Bilbao while the certificate of the captain of their ship was sent to Madrid to be cleared. He complains that Franciscans, Augustinians and Carmelites obtain their viaticum with no trouble while his students must kick their heels in the port for up to four months, wasting money on lodgings. On the other hand, the receipt of the viaticum had occasionally been abused, with some students who had received it remaining in Spain, or going elsewhere instead of returning to Ireland. This prompted King Philip III to decree that the money should be paid *a la lengua del agua*,¹² that is, on the seashore at the place of embarkation.

The papers belonging to the term of rectorship of Juan O'Brien of Salamanca, 1743–60, form a large part of the archives with letters, accounts, and his daybook, which he begins: 'Daybook of the most notable occurrences in this Royal Seminary of Irish Nobles in Salamanca during the rectorship of Fr. Juan O'Brien, native of Co. Waterford. Year 1743'.¹³ Between the covers of this vellum-bound book he writes in brown ink on thick handmade paper, in a small legible hand. He styles himself Juan O'Brien—this hispanicisation of Irish names is common throughout the archives—and writes mainly in fluent Spanish, with occasional entries in Latin or English.

The subject-matter of each entry is indicated in the left-hand margin, with titles such as those on the verso of page 52, which allow us to run our eyes over the events between August and

*Juan
O'Brien's
daybook*

MAYNOOTH LIBRARY TREASURES

'Daybook of gentlemen's accounts', 1876-85, from the Irish college, Salamanca.

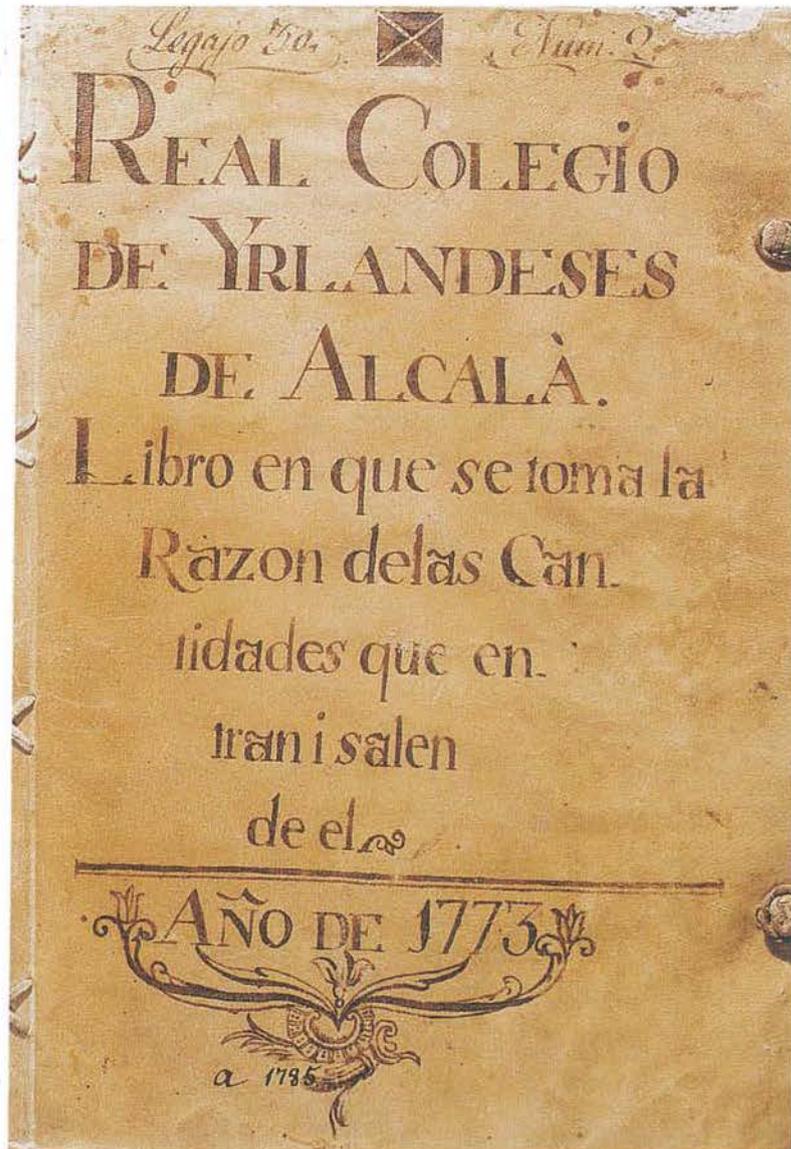
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| Rev. J. Cowan (Private) Rs. Cts. | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1883. Carried forward | 93. 0 |
| June 24 propina a Juan | 4. 40 |
| " 30. Lator's acct. | 40. 0 |
| " " Draper's (Alfaro) " | 59. 0 |
| " " Lator " | 50. 0 |
| " " Shoemaker's " | 66. 0 |
| " " Juan's acct. una fuente de dulces | 26. 0 |
| " " Antonio Vaquer's " | 18. 0 |
| " " Mr. Cowry's return | 198. 20 |
| <u>Ent. in Leger L. L.</u> | <u>Total Rs. 554. 60</u> |
| July 21. By P. S. S. 10/6 to Lill & Lill for "Irish Monthly" 6 | 48. 0 |
| " 22. " Vicente de Paula's Lator | 8. 0 |
| Aug. 13. 3 baths, Monco | 20. 0 |
| " " Expenses to Cashier | 40. 0 |
| " 19. 3 baths Monco | 20. 0 |
| Sept. 26. dress of habit for Agustina | 40. 0 |
| Oct. 1. cash | 20. 0 |
| " 11. Olivero 6 retratos grande, 12 pags. 50 | 110. 0 |
| " 12. Stamps papers & envelopes | 30. 0 |
| " 17. Mr. M. Clouque's 20 tickets | 48. 0 |
| " 25. Rifa de Reloj. Burgon's Sal. bambon | 8. 0 |
| " 31. Fr. M. Cowry's acct. | 115. 29 |
| <u>Ent. in Leger L. L.</u> | <u>Total 507. 29</u> |
| Nov. 2. Cash | 24. 0 |
| " 10. Subscrip. to Virgin of Sorrows | 10. 0 |
| " 27. propina to servants | 40. 0 |
| " 31. Fr. M. Cowry's return | 72. 0 |
| " " Shoemaker's (Rufes) acct. | 60. 0 |
| " " Lator's " | 109. 0 |
| 1884 Feb. 16. J. Alonso, manteloria | 100. 0 |
| " 15. Expenses in Madrid | 64. 0 |
| March 8. alms to little sisters of the poor | 40. 0 |
| " 26. cash for lottery | 100. 0 |
| April 1. Mr. Cowry's return | 551. 40 |
| <u>Ent. in Leger L. L.</u> | <u>Total 1170. 40</u> |

Continued at page 198.

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| 1877 Mr. L. Laaffe Rs. Cts. | |
|--|----------------------|
| Carried forward from page 57 | 68. 56 |
| July 22. Cash | 20. 0 |
| " 25. Lator's acct. | 62. 0 |
| " 28. Perceiras " | 36. 0 |
| Aug. 10. Cash | 20. 0 |
| " 22. Cash | 20. 0 |
| " " Spruce F. Remedios | 5. 45 |
| " 26. 3. llt. y 3 cap. ceillas del 13 pda. | 48 |
| " 27. Tea | 2. 0 |
| Sept. 4. Cash | 40. 0 |
| " 14. paquete | 1. 0 |
| " 16. contrera de baston | 1. 0 |
| " 22. Cash | 10. 0 |
| " 24. 2 paquetes cigarros | 2. 0 |
| " " 1 pant. jaton | 1. 48 |
| " 23. 2 pags. cigarros y Magnesia | 3. 0 |
| " 25. Compuer. reloj y llave | 26. 0 |
| " 26. cuarteron y pectaca | 13. 0 |
| <u>Ent. in Leger L. L.</u> | <u>Total 332. 97</u> |
| Oct. 1. libritos | 1. 42 |
| " 3. cuarteron. cuaderon y lapis | 7. 84 |
| " 5. Spruce | 3. 65 |
| " 15. cash | 20. 0 |
| " 18. cuarteron, jaton etc | 9. 48 |
| " 18. coach to alta | 18. 0 |
| " 22. 1 pulite y 1 panuelo | 38. 0 |
| " 24. cigarros | 3. 0 |
| " 26. fundacion charity | 22. 0 |
| Nov. 7. stamps | 12. 0 |
| " 3. tubs y pancha | 3. 48 |
| " 10. libritos | 1. 48 |
| " 17. Seminary lottery | 6. 0 |
| " " Newry Bazaar | 14. 40 |
| " 11. Spruce for Mr. Kearney | 3. 38 |
| <u>Total</u> | <u>164. 13.</u> |

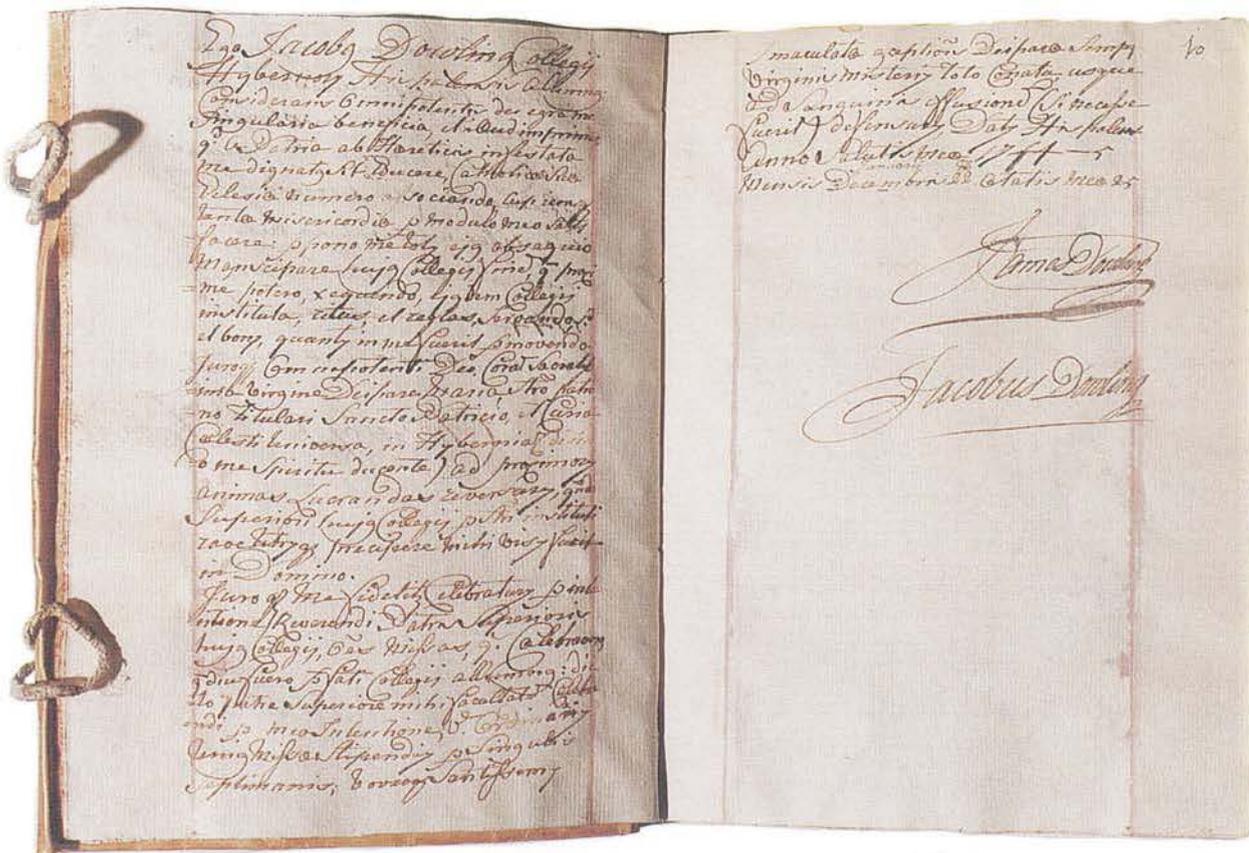


Vellum-bound account book with leather thongs and hand-scripted cover, from the Irish college, Alcalá, 1773. Legajo 30/2.

December of 1752: 'Olive Groves, Exams, Olive Grove, Books, Donation, House, Orders, Land, Chasuble and other supplies, Clock'. On 19 August he bought an olive grove of 44 trees and another of 64, while on 28 August he bought one with 22 olive trees—all of these in a place called Vilvestre, on the Duero River near the Portuguese border. In Aldearrubia, a village about 15 miles from Salamanca, where the students had a summer residence, he bought a house on the following October. On 17 October he spent 605 reales on the purchase of some land in a place called 'Between both waters'; other picturesque local names of places where he bought land were 'The Prior's Meadow',

'Lonely House', 'The Ducks', and 'Horses Island'. Sometimes the purchase of land is described in terms of the amount of ground that can be ploughed in one day by a yoke of oxen, or in terms of the day's work of a labourer. Other purchases were books for the college, a chasuble from Valencia, and an item which he describes in some detail, being a clock which arrived from London, marking the days of the month, hours and half-hours with an alarm repeater, and also an alarm clock for the use of the students. Among this expenditure is noted a gift received from Fr Francisco Rabajo, the king's confessor, amounting to 602 reales and 12 maravedis. On 26 August the following students were examined in First Theology: Patricio Quin, Miguel Hennesy, Nicolas Morris, Gotfrido Keating and Thomas MacParlan. Four of these were ordained to minor orders on 10 October, and Quin and Morris became subdeacons on 19 November. (The departure of Hennesy, Morris, Keating and MacParlan for the Irish mission is recorded on 27 June 1754.)

The amount of correspondence received by Juan O'Brien is extensive; of the letters written by him relatively few originals are in the archives. He copied some of his own letters into his day-book, where they can now be read in the context of surrounding events. Here we can see the juxtaposition of the temporal and spiritual which formed the heavy responsibility of the rectors of the Irish colleges. Shortly before requesting a viaticum from the king he had been engaged in buying vineyards for the college; now he informs him that his students are returning to Ireland as missionaries 'to cultivate that vineyard which is so lacking in evangelical workers'.¹⁴ The following month (April) he is thinking of the spiritual duties of students waiting for the boat in Bilbao and requests permission for them to say mass in that port; he receives a satisfactory reply, conceding them all the powers that they had under the bishopric of Salamanca. He has to act as diplomatic go-between in relation to the number of students to be admitted to Salamanca, writing to the provincial superior of the Jesuits in Spain to request the admission of extra students. This he asks to oblige the superior of the mission in Ireland, who is being pressed in his turn by the Irish bishops to arrange to have their protégés enter Salamanca. He accepts the need to take these extra students, 'which for me will only be an increase in my workload,



Oath of Jacobus Dowling, from a vellum-bound collection dated 1741-68. Legajo XXVI/2.



Wall hanging commemorating St Patrick's mission to Ireland. The Fonseca coat of arms is represented by five stars on a shield, and the city of Salamanca by the bull and bridge over the River Tormes. Presented to the Irish college, Salamanca, by Jacobus F. Cunningham, 1932. Wool appliqué with twisted cord, 249mm x 310mm.



Direction on a letter from José María Manglano, Valladolid, 9 January 1852, to Diego Gartlan (James Gartlan), rector of the Irish college, Salamanca. Legajo XVII/M/55/2.

but in which I consider myself well employed'.¹⁵

Much time must have been spent following up bequests to the college, which were seldom a straightforward matter. He records several notes relating to the bequest of Dermot O'Sullivan Beare (outlined in more detail below), venting his frustration on 12 February to the provincial-general in Madrid and complaining that 'Now we have a new tangle in the affairs of the deceased Count of Birhaven. The new to-do about the settlement of the debts that we have paid for the Count of Birhaven is very annoying'.¹⁶ Another boon for the college, in the form of a bequest from

Captain Thomas Bourke, found O'Brien engaged in much work to ensure that the college finally came into possession of its rightful inheritance. Thomas Bourke was the commandant of the 2nd Battalion of the Irish Brigade's Ultonia Regiment in Spain, and on his death in 1753 he left a large part of his estate to the Irish college in Salamanca. But, as with many of the other bequests, it proved difficult to collect. Eventually the college was successful, but not without a lot of problems, O'Brien having to contend with the obstruction of two members of Bourke's regiment, Trant and Dowdall. After 17 months' delay he ironically writes of Mr Dowdall: 'Why then should he pretend to remit the adjusting of his account to the day of the General Accounts of all mankind, a day perhaps a little busy for his own private accounts?'¹⁷

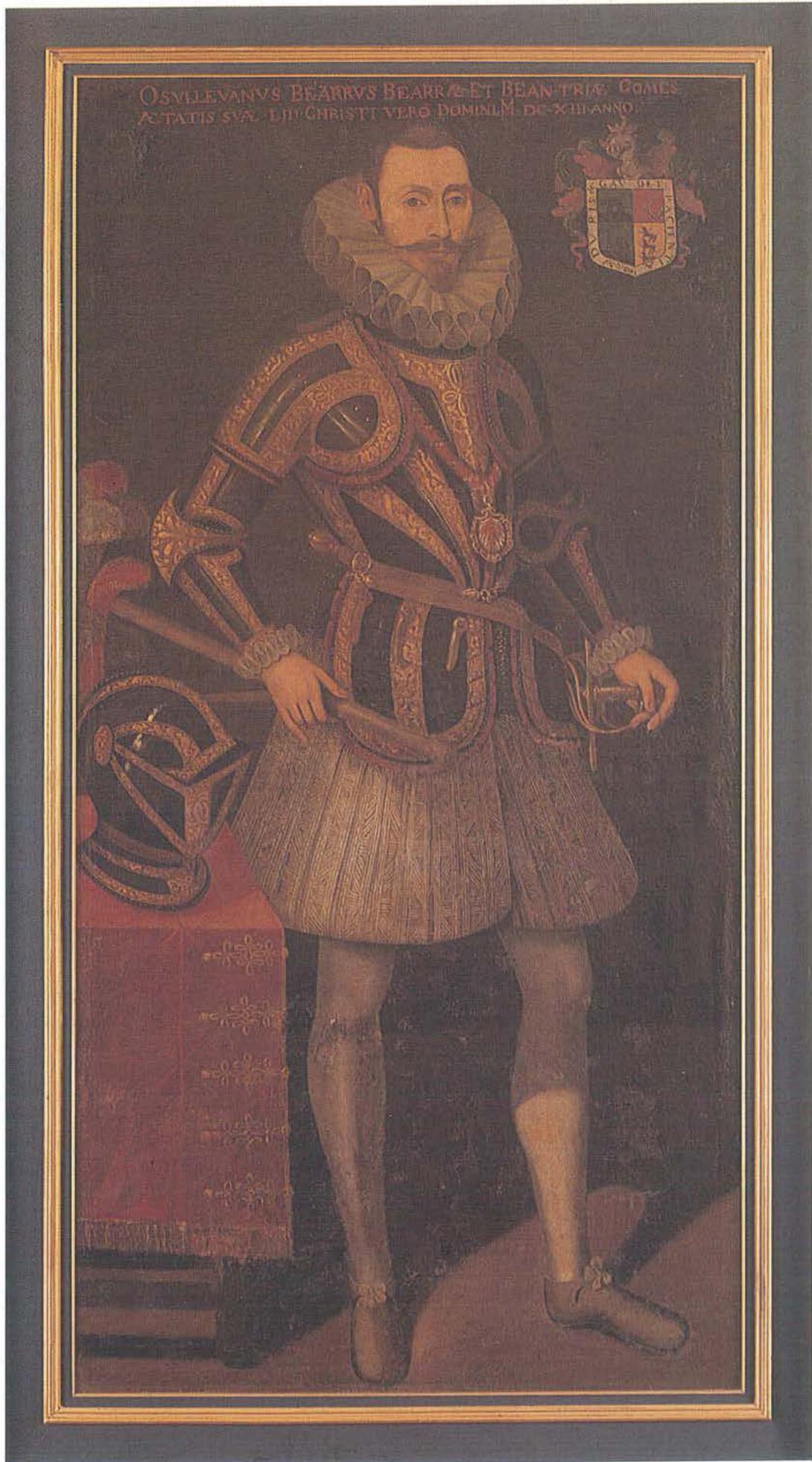
College affairs must have taken up a huge amount of Juan O'Brien's life. Glimpses of his personal life and interests can be found in some of the letters he received, but many of them remain unresearched and may yield up their secrets to future scholars.

A family name which turns up frequently in the archives on a variety of documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is that of O'Sullivan Beare. An imposing portrait of a knight of Santiago in Maynooth College brings to life the famous Irish nobleman Donal O'Sullivan Beare, and the archives record that family's relations with compatriots in the Irish colleges of Santiago and Salamanca. The portrait does justice to the adventurous and romantic background of Donal O'Sullivan Beare, who sought refuge in Spain after a tenacious defence of his lands and a spirited retreat in the aftermath of the Battle of Kinsale. When he arrived in Spain, in 1603 or 1604, he joined the many Irish exiles already seeking protection there, becoming one of a number of Irishmen honoured by the Spanish monarchs with titles and pensions. Philip III conferred on him a title corresponding to his position as chief of his clan in Ireland, 'Conde de Birhaven y Señor de los territorios de Bearra y Beantry', and the prestigious honour of knight of Santiago. He was given a monthly pension of 300 ducats, as well as an annual grant of 1,000 ducats to be paid by the Spanish treasury to himself and his heirs forever.

Soon after O'Sullivan Beare's arrival, Philip endowed an Irish college in Santiago for the education of the sons of these Irish

*O'Sullivan
Beare*

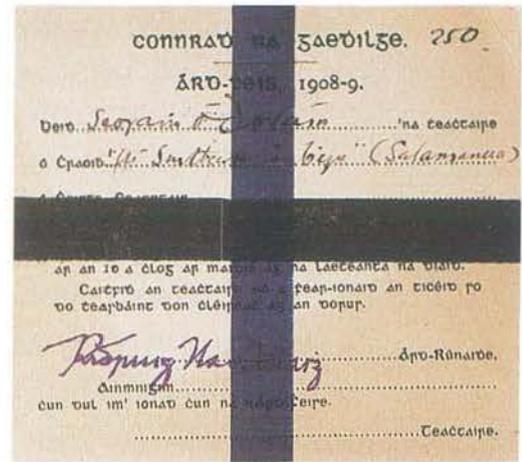
Portrait of Donal
O'Sullivan Beare,
1613, aged 53, with
the legend:
'O'Sullevanus
Barrus Bearrae et
Beantriac Comes
Actatis suae LIII
Christi Vero
Domini MDCXIII
anno'. Oil painting,
190cm x 98 cm.
Maynooth College.



exiles, which differed from the other colleges in its lay character, with no requirement to study for the priesthood. O'Sullivan Beare took a great interest in this college, and when it was proposed by the Irish Jesuits to convert it into a seminary he and his friends clashed with Richard Conway and Thomas White, maintaining that it was founded as a general university college and not as an ecclesiastical seminary. O'Sullivan Beare emphasised the importance of a Catholic education in a Catholic country for Irish noblemen, who would lead and sustain their followers in their faith. Contemporary copies of memorials to the king and letters to the provincial of the Jesuits, written by O'Sullivan Beare and his supporters, and the counter-arguments of the Jesuit fathers remain among the historical records of the college in Santiago.

In 1613 the Jesuits prevailed and took over the college, 'not without much opposition and noise',¹⁸ but O'Sullivan Beare continued to petition the king for the restoration of its lay character. He did manage to win another argument over possession of a house in Santiago to which both he and the now-Jesuit Irish college laid claim. Richard Conway complained that O'Sullivan Beare had ejected the students from the house, and later had the Fathers locked into the chapel, but O'Sullivan Beare's prior claim to the grant of this royal property was upheld. Despite this stormy relationship with the Jesuits, O'Sullivan Beare seems to have enjoyed a good relationship with the Irish college of Salamanca. The account books show sums of money being lent and sent between Salamanca and O'Sullivan Beare, and other financial arrangements, such as the order put through the college by him for some rich cloths embroidered with his coat of arms, Salamanca being a region famous for its embroideries.

Women do not appear very often in the archives; the oaths give the names of mothers of some of the students, and other women appear as widows in the context of wills or requests for assistance. Lady O'Sullivan Beare is one of the few women to appear in the archives in her own right and is recorded in the accounts. While one item shows her owing money to the college in Salamanca,



Admittance card for Conradh na Gaeilge Ard-Fheis, August 1908, in the Rotunda, Dublin. The delegate is Seosamh Ó Doláin, Craobh Uí Shúilleabháin Beara, Salamanca.

another entry credits her in March 1608 with having given 100 reales for masses offered for her intentions. In August 1610 she still had an account with the rector of Salamanca, Richard Conway, and later she presented the college with a valuable chasuble worth 233 reales. She does finally make her appearance as a widow in 1619 when she and her son made an agreement with Conway, who relinquished all claim on the house in Santiago in return for one-half the arrears of salary due to her late husband. On 16 July 1618, aged 56, O'Sullivan Beare had been killed with a sword by John Bath, an Anglo-Irishman and protégé of his, after intervening in a quarrel on the street in Madrid on his way from mass; a likely motive may have been to prevent his return to Ireland to lead a rebellion.

Another female member of his family, his granddaughter, Doña Antonia Francisca O'Sullivan, countess of Birhaven, also figures significantly in the archives. The only child of Dermot, Donal O'Sullivan Beare's son, she inherited the family fortune, which her father had willed on to the Irish college in Salamanca in the event of Antonia dying without children. Her marriages to two Spanish gentlemen resulted in a large part of her inheritance being squandered by her husbands, but without any heirs. Portfolios in the archives hold the details of the subsequent efforts on the part of Salamanca to secure its inheritance under Dermot's will. Eventually Salamanca was successful in inheriting probably about one-third of the amount left by Dermot, about half a million reales, a sum significant enough for the college to regard the O'Sullivan Beare family as its greatest benefactor. As well as the money, the college inherited the title of count of Birhaven, to be borne by successive rectors during their term of office, and the portrait of Donal O'Sullivan Beare, which hung in the refectory of the Irish college and now has its place in the boardroom of Stoyte House in Maynooth College.

Controversies

The histories of the colleges were not without controversies, which emanated from a variety of sources. These could come from without, for example the suppression of the Jesuits and their expulsion from all educational establishments in Spain in 1767; all rectors of the Irish colleges from then onwards were secular priests. Reference to the Spanish Inquisition is scant, though there

are papers showing that some rectors were empowered by the Tribunal of the Inquisition to convert and absolve heretics. Some attest to the recantation of a number of foreign captives, including English, Scottish and Dutch, and are signed by Rectors Joseph Delamar and Gaspar Stafford of Salamanca in the early seventeenth century, who may have been given this task by reason of their ability to communicate in English. More detailed controversies come from within the world of the network of Irish colleges, as in the case of Alcalá, a college founded exclusively for students from the dioceses of Ulster, where the unusual practice of electing its rector by and from among the students led to frequent disorder. This college had successfully resisted coming under the authority of the Jesuits, and in 1785 Charles III ordered its incorporation with Salamanca. William McDonald describes the reaction when Patrick Curtis, as rector of Salamanca, went to take possession:

Father Magennis [rector of Alcalá], and a student named M'Mahon, who had been received in spite of the order of Charles III. to the contrary, some year or two before barricaded the door, and refused to pay any attention to the bell when Dr. Curtis rang. The mayor of the town had to come with a posse of police and a notary to witness the proceedings, and after formally demanding unconditional surrender from the two valiant defenders of the fortress against all the power of the great king of all the Spains, had to break open the door and take the College by storm. This was the last of the restless and disturbed Irish house in Alcalá de Henares.¹⁹

Throughout the histories of the colleges there were problems of discipline among the students, and the rectors had to impose censure on 'them unrul'y sparks'²⁰ for minor offences such as 'repeated frivolous and unbecoming conduct in chapel' or 'bringing in a newspaper and giving it to another student',²¹ but expulsions were not uncommon for more serious insubordination.

A student who later sparked a major controversy is said to have been asked to leave during his time in Salamanca. This was Florence Conry, a Franciscan and afterwards archbishop of Tuam. He accused Thomas White of being biased in favour of his native province of Munster when choosing students for the college, and of discriminating against Ulster and Connaught, Conry's own

province. In 1602 he instigated a memorial which was sent to the king, in the names of O'Donnell and O'Neill, and which reveals much about provincial rivalry in Ireland, historical relations between the Old Irish and Anglo-Irish Catholics, and the suspicion of the former of those inhabiting the towns loyal to the crown. Referring to Thomas White, O'Donnell writes: 'The superintendent of this college [Salamanca] is an Irish Father of the Society of Jesus, born in one of the provinces which are subject to the Queen, and consequently schismatical, who bears no affection towards Connaughtmen or Ulstermen'. Applicants from these provinces are more deserving than those who were 'brought up on bad milk, such as is obedience to the Queen and deep love of all to do with her'; these are not regarded as true Catholics by the writer, 'but ours are "Catholicissimos"²²—the superlative form of Catholics.

Several replies were made to this memorial in the names of various Irish chiefs, hotly defending their loyalty to the Irish cause and their true Catholicism. One of these, written from Valladolid to the king in 1604, declares:

The provinces of Leinster and Munster are so far from being schismatical, that the natives of them of all conditions . . . have suffered innumerable vexations from the heretical governors, because they would not abandon the Roman Church, some suffering confiscation of goods and property, others prison torments and death, and those who least, a pecuniary fine, every time they heard Mass, or performed any Catholic act; to which . . . even the very children can bear witness . . .²³

They name the nobility of Leinster and Munster who took up arms in Ireland for Spain against the heresy of the queen of England, among these

O'Sullivan Beare, who gave up his castles to his Catholic Majesty, lost all his estates, and was compelled, to avoid losing his life to fly to the protection of King Philip . . . All this caused our country men to fly from their native land, and seek a voluntary exile, to the great loss of their property and chattles, of which the memorialist makes very little account, though they were of immense value, but attributes all the glory and losses to two lords, O'Neill and O'Donnell.²³

There had indeed been more students from Leinster and Munster in Salamanca, and the authorities defended this and

resisted the suggestion of a half and half ratio by claiming that the reason there were so few students from Connaught and Ulster was that they were often not suitable by reason of their education and their ungovernable disposition. The king set up an enquiry in 1605, and a succession of three Spanish rectors were appointed in an attempt to resolve the matter. The students did not take kindly to these and matters did not settle down until James Archer prompted a new order from the king with safeguards for Ulster and Connaught, and Irishman Richard Conway was appointed rector in 1608. Nevertheless, correspondence from the mid-eighteenth century shows that provincial representation was still an issue.²⁴

These and other college histories must have generated their own folklore as they were retold over the years. Certainly Rector Ranson's account in 1953 of the 'Tale of the Taylor' begins in typical folkloric style: 'Last Feb- in the year 1751, a vagabond [roving] through Salamanca accidentally called at ye Irish College to beg charity and saying he was a taylor by trade'. Five students applied to the rector for permission to employ him to make their secular clothes for the journey home. Although the choice of a local tailor was permitted for this purpose, the rector refused on this occasion, 'apprehensive of ye dangers of harbouring an unaccountable straggler'. The five then conspired with nine others to hide him in their rooms, maintaining him with food from the refectory for eighteen days. On being discovered, they refused to ask pardon of the rector for acting as 'absolute masters of the house', maintaining that there was nothing criminal in their conduct; they would not accept punishment and in a 'tumultuous and seditious manner' appealed to the rector of the Royal Jesuit College to have their grievances redressed. The result of the involvement of the latter, along with the provincial, the bishop of Salamanca, and six of the 'gravest Fathers of the Royal College', was the imposition of further punishment. This they refused, and in a 'wild uproar' put on their civilian clothes (whether these were the tailor's handiwork we are not told) and stormed out of the college. The outcome was the expulsion of the five ringleaders without the college's recommendation for their viaticum, and their subsequent protests were deplored by the college, which felt that their behaviour had reflected badly on its good name.

Ranson's tale is rounded up in true storyteller fashion when he ends with the fate of the tailor: 'The Taylor who stayed lurking in the town waiting for the collegians, died suddenly on ye road the first evening of his [departure] in their company'.²⁵

*Nineteenth
and twentieth
centuries*

By the end of the nineteenth century most of the Irish colleges on the Continent had been closed, partly because of an improvement in educational opportunities and a more tolerant situation in Ireland. A national seminary for Catholics at Maynooth had been established since 1795, and Catholic emancipation came in 1829. But the Irish college at Salamanca held fast to its position throughout this century.

International events caused an upheaval with the advent of the Peninsular Wars, when the English army defeated the French in a battle at Salamanca in 1812. Students acted as interpreters for Wellington's army, possibly under the direction of the rector, Patrick Curtis, who is reputed to have been pro-British and friendly with Wellington himself. French troops were billeted in the college, destroying the fabric of the building and some of the college archives.

Later the college took up residence in the magnificent College of Archbishop Fonseca, founded in the sixteenth century and one of the most striking buildings in Salamanca. Described as 'the ultimate fruit of Plateresque Art',²⁶ it still displays its Renaissance patio and arches adorned with portrait medallions, and its ornate interior, including the chapel which houses a sixteenth-century altarpiece with paintings and sculptures by Alonso Berruguete. It was formally handed over to the Irish for use as a seminary in 1838, but almost a century later the days of the Irish college in Salamanca were to be brought to a slow close with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936.

The archives for the first 36 years of the twentieth century contain a large number of receipts and accounts, now including dealings with the National City Bank in Dublin as well as banks in Spain, and, as in previous centuries, student documents and administrative papers, and detailed accounts of food and other provisions. In addition to the same kind of administrative papers as in earlier years, the archives of these years also contain items such as photographs (including two football teams), newspaper



Group photograph in the patio of the Irish college, Salamanca, dated 1927-8, with Rector Denis O'Doherty and Vice-Rector Fr Stenson (centre, front row) and students attired in formal costume. *Back row, left to right, surname and diocese:* Quinn (Killaloe); McArdle (Kildare); McDaid (Raphoe); McConville (Dromore); McGirr (Armagh); Sweeney (Dromore); Connolly (Kilmore); Reid (Los Angeles); Hillas (Killala); McGrady (Down and Connor). *Middle row:* Flanagan (Dublin); Dennehy (Kerry); Collins (Ross); O'Hara (Achonry); Glynn (Tuam); Conway (Galway); Howley (Achonry); Ranson (Ferns); McCarthy (Down and Connor); Jomany (Clogher); Cuffe (Meath); O'Grady (Cheyenne). *Front row:* McKenna (Derry); O'Rahelly (Cashel); Newman (Ardagh); Murphy (Armagh); Cummins (Clonfert); Denis O'Doherty, rector; Stenson, vice-rector; Casey (Waterford); Hughes (Ossory); Kelly (Tuam); Enright (Kerry); McClusky (Derry).



Partial view of the patio of the Irish college, Salamanca, with students, early twentieth century, featuring the galleries, well and the cupola of the chapel.

cuttings, and visiting cards. These last trace an interesting succession of callers to the college during the first decades of this century. Among them were clergy such as the archbishops of Glasgow, Seville and Toledo, as well as the Most Rev. Dr Byrne, archbishop of Dublin, and the Most Rev. Robert Browne D.D., bishop of Cloyne, who visited in September 1909. The duke of Berwick and Alba notes his thanks for a journal article, and other members of the nobility who left their cards included Juan O'Donnell, duke of Tetuán and count of Lucena; the duchess of Frias, countess of Oropesa; and the marquis de Lacy. George Gavan Duffy left his card, inscribed 'Envoyé du Gouvernement de

la République Irlandaise', and several diplomats from the British Embassy called, including the ambassador. Among visitors from academic institutions were the rector and the professor of mathematics of the University of Salamanca, Abdul Hamid El Abbadi of the University of Egypt, Hugo Obermaier of the Museum of Natural Sciences in Madrid, and P. J. Merriman of University College Cork, who spent the day in Salamanca on 15 April 1929. Miguel de Unamuno, the Spanish philosopher and writer, who taught at the University of Salamanca, wrote on his card: '[Miguel de Unamuno] greets his friend Dionisio O'Doherty and has the pleasure of giving him the accompanying title which has just arrived'.²⁷

The collection of visiting cards is complete as it was found in the drawer of Rector Denis O'Doherty's writing desk in 1935; the following year the news of the Spanish Civil War reached the college in its summer residence at Pendueles in Asturias. With the help of the British consul the students were evacuated on the *HMS Valorous* from nearby Santander, making their journey to that port on a bus flying the Communist flag and the Union Jack. Returning via Paris they were given 50 francs each for the journey back to Ireland by the Irish consul; this was to be the last 'viaticum', and these the last students of the Irish colleges in Spain. When Rector Alexander McCabe returned to Salamanca the civil war was still raging, and he approached the college half-expecting to find it in ruins: 'I came into the College, and there was dust on my table; I thought that the most marvellous thing!' He remained there throughout the chaos and uncertainties of the civil war and World War II, and resigned in 1949. Joseph Ranson was appointed to the strange position of rector with no students, as the Irish bishops were then coming round to the decision to close the college. Their final decision was based on the availability of places for clerical students in Maynooth and the high cost of refurbishment and maintenance of a building of which they enjoyed the use but not the ownership. There was contention over the disposition of the college's assets, but after much parleying between the Irish and Spanish bishops, and the intervention of General Franco, the fate of the college was agreed on in 1951. Eventually the villa, lands and investments were sold and the monies channelled to the Irish college in Rome; two scholarships

were established for Irish students to study in Spanish universities, which were tenable up to the mid-1980s. The Colegio Mayor del Arzobispo Fonseca was taken over by the University of Salamanca, and has now been renovated as a university residence and cultural centre; it is still also known as *El Colegio de los Irlandeses*. The spirit of the Irish colleges in Spain lives on in the Salamanca archives, which hold an incalculable treasure, as yet only touched upon, of facts, histories, and atmosphere, in such breadth and detail as to beckon many future scholars and delvers into its rich stores.

*Access to the
Salamanca
archives*

The archives are stored in the archive room in Maynooth College; the inventory and alphabetical register of 1874 is available, and a listing compiled in 1993. They may be consulted on application to the college archivist. The collection of letters and the contents of the rectors' writing desk are held in the library. A list of the letters (including the English letters of Legajo XIII from the archive room) is available in print and on computer. These may be consulted on application to the librarian, Russell Library.

Microfilms of the Salamanca archives are in the Spanish National Archives at Simancas, Spain.

NOTES

1. Salamanca archives, Legajo XIII/AA/70. Transcription and identification of personages from Patrick J. Corish, 'Correspondence of the superiors of the Jesuit mission in Ireland with John O'Brien, S.J., Rector of Salamanca', *Archivium Hibernicum* 27 (1964), 87.
2. The queen to the lord deputy, the lord chancellor and council of Ireland, touching the University of Dublin, in J. Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, from the 18th to the 45th of Queen Elizabeth* (Dublin, 1862), ii, 227.
3. 'Articuli quidam cum Supplicatione S. Sanctii nomine Ibernorum Exulum proponendi' [written between 1595 and 1598], in E. Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana seu Ibernorum Societatis Iesu patrum monumenta* (Dublin, 1880), i, 37.
4. A proclamation by the lord deputy and council, Mountjoy, 10 March 1602, in J.S. Brewer and W. Bullen (eds), *Calendar of the Carew manuscripts, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1601-1603* (London, 1870), 437.
5. Salamanca archives. Philip II, king of Spain, to the rector, chancellor, and

- cloister of the University of Salamanca. Contemporary paper copy and lithographic plate of letter in the University of Salamanca. Original in Spanish; translation from E. Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the sixteenth century* (London, 1894), 53–4.
6. Texts of the Salamanca oaths published by D.J. O'Doherty, 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca', in *Archivium Hibernicum* 2 (1913); 3 (1914); 4 (1915); 29 (1922).
 7. Salamanca archives, Legajo I/1/93. Original in Latin.
 8. Salamanca archives, Legajo I/1/1. Original in Latin.
 9. Translation of clothing from D.J. O'Doherty, 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca (1595–1919)', *Archivium Hibernicum* 2 (1913), 7.
 10. Salamanca archives, I/1/[unsorted folder]. Original in Spanish; translation from D.J. O'Doherty, 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca (1715–1778)', *Archivium Hibernicum* 4 (1915), 3.
 11. Thomas White in an introduction to a list of students, April 1611, quoted by D.J. O'Doherty, 'Father Thomas White, founder of the Irish College, Salamanca', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 19 (1922), 596–7.
 12. W. McDonald, 'Irish ecclesiastical colleges since the Reformation. Salamanca. II', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 10 (1874), 457.
 13. Salamanca archives, Legajo S40/3. Original in Spanish.
 14. *Ibid.* Original in Spanish.
 15. *Ibid.* Original in Spanish.
 16. *Ibid.* Original in Spanish.
 17. *Ibid.* Original in English.
 18. Quoted by D.J. O'Doherty, 'Domhnal O'Sullivan Bear and his family in Spain', *Studies* 19 (1930), 125.
 19. W. McDonald, 'Irish colleges since the Reformation', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 9 (1872), 546.
 20. Salamanca archives, Legajo XIII/AA/1/113. Michael Fitzgerald to Juan O'Brien, 10 October 1752.
 21. Salamanca archives. Council book begun by M.J. O'Doherty, 1905, written at the back of Libro de quenta y razon del olivar . . . 1733–1765, Salamanca Desk, Box 6.
 22. Salamanca archives, Legajo 52/1/9. Contemporary copy. Original in Spanish; translation based on that of William McDonald, 'Irish ecclesiastical colleges since the Reformation', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 10 (1874), 363.
 23. Salamanca archives, Legajo 52/1/10. Contemporary copy. Original in Spanish; translation from William McDonald, *op. cit.* in note 22, 366.
 24. Salamanca archives, Legajo XIII/AA/1/72; 83; 95.
 25. Salamanca archives, Legajo S52/1.
 26. Camón Aznar, 'La arquitectura y la orfebrería españolas del siglo XVI', in *Summa artis*, v. XVII (2nd edn; Madrid, 1964), 150.
 27. Salamanca archives, Visiting cards, Salamanca Desk, Box 12.

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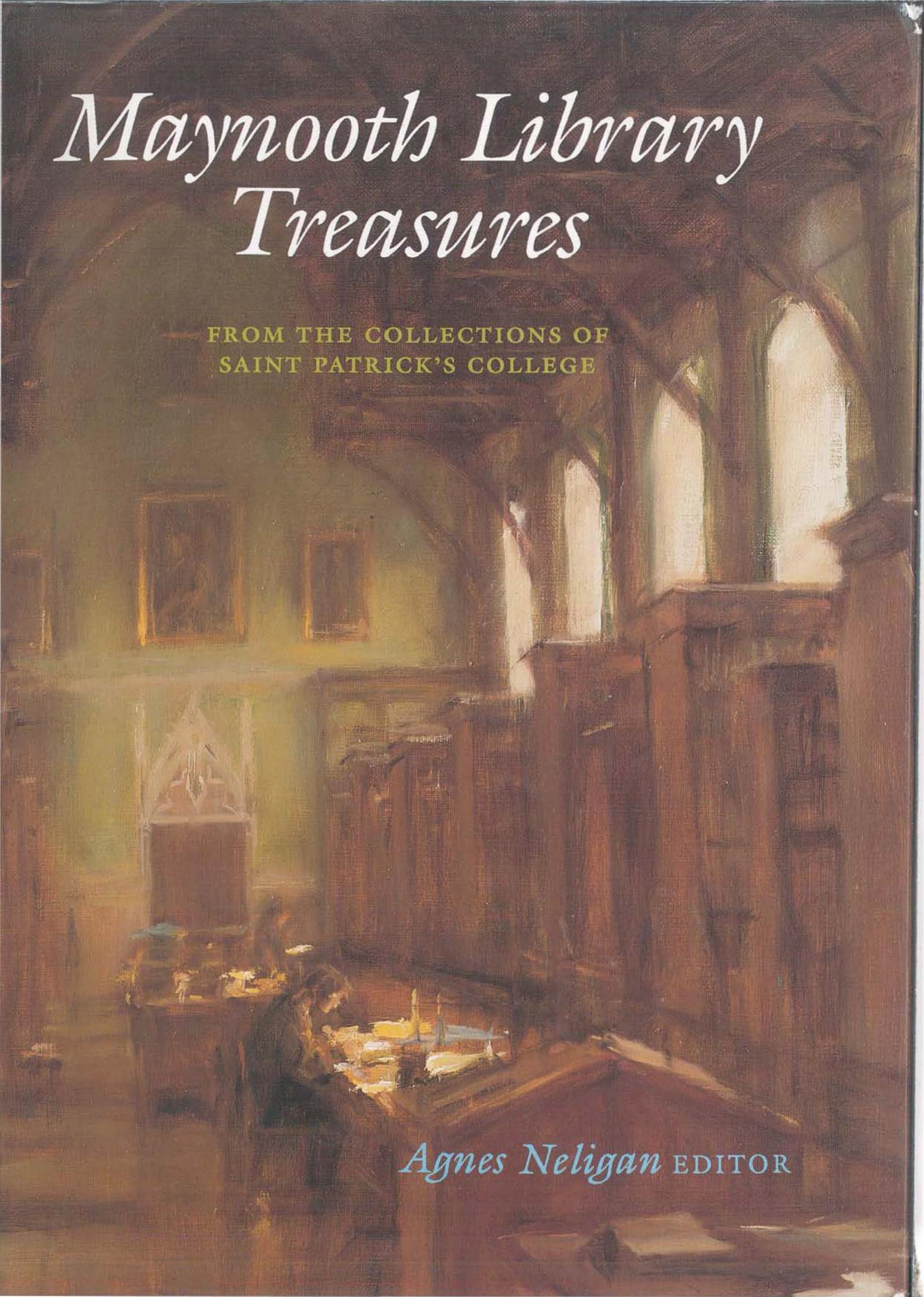
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An oil painting of a library interior. The scene is filled with dark wood paneling and bookshelves. In the foreground, a wooden table holds several books and a small lamp with a lit candle. The background features arched windows and framed pictures on the wall. The overall atmosphere is warm and scholarly.

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FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF
SAINT PATRICK'S COLLEGE

Agnes Neligan EDITOR



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Russell Library, oil on canvas, 50cm x 40cm. Thomas Ryan, RHA. Photograph by Gillian Buckley.

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Missale Romanum, printed in Rome, 1794. Engravings by Carlo Grandi. Bound in velvet with silver threadwork and an embroidered medallion of St Patrick. The missal was in use in the college from its foundation in 1795. Photograph by Gillian Buckley.

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