

# THE IRISH COLLEGE OF ALCALÁ DE HENARES (1630-1785) FROM AN EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE. A guideline to the Irish Colleges on the Continent: A Counter-Reformation cultural consequence

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## RESUMEN

El principal objetivo del presente artículo es el establecer las diferentes relaciones entre Irlanda, el Continente -y particularmente España- dentro de un común y decisivo contexto: **la Contrarreforma europea**. En este sentido, el trabajo contiene cuatro partes bien diferenciadas: primero, una referencia al crecimiento en Irlanda y entre la comunidad irlandesa en el exilio de una ideología "nacionalista" basada en una religión común -la Católica- y una misma patria; la segunda parte es un intento por determinar los factores decisivos y etapas en la fundación de los Colegios Irlandeses en el exterior y una referencia a los principales seminarios en el Continente; en tercer lugar, atenderemos a la conexión hispano-irlandesa y su importancia en el establecimiento de colegios irlandeses en Salamanca, Lisboa, Santiago, Sevilla y Madrid; la parte final, dedicada al propio Colegio de los Irlandeses de Alcalá de Henares tratará de clarificar su fundación, consolidación, administración y futuro de esta institución hasta su unión con Salamanca en 1785.

## SUMMARY

The main object of the present study is to establish the different relationships between Ireland, the Continent -and particularly Spain- in a common and decisive background: **the european Counter-Reformation**. In this way, the work contains four different parts: Firstly, a reference to the growing in Ireland and among the Irish community in the exile of a 'nationalist' ideology based on a common Catholic religion and fatherland; the second part is an attempt to determine the decisive factors and stages towards the foundation of the Irish Colleges abroad and a reference to the main Seminaries on the Continent; thirdly, we will attend to the Spanish-Irish connection and its importance to the establishment of Irish Colleges at Salamanca, Lisbon, Santiago, Seville and Madrid; the final part, on the Irish College of Alcalá de Henares itself, tries to clarify its foundation, consolidation, administration and future of this institution until its union to Salamanca (1785).

## 1. IRELAND BACKGROUND: TOWARDS EUROPE AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

In 1542 Fathers Alfonso Salmeron and Paschal Broet of the newly founded *Compañía de Jesús* landed in Northern Ireland. The mission: to confirm the fidelity of the leaders of the territory to the papacy and to catechise the local people. Broet and Salmeron spent several fruitless weeks awaiting an official reception by the provincial chiefs, Conn O'Neill and Manus O'Donnell. After four months the two priests were forced to withdraw to Scotland. In their report to the general of the *Compañía* they expressed their conviction that the northern chiefs were committed to king Henry VIII of England as head of the church in Ireland and that the entire country was on the point of being lost to the Roman Catholic Church<sup>1</sup>.

Unlike most European countries where, consequent to the German experience, the Protestant message met either with an enthusiastic reception or an abrupt disapproval, the initial reaction from Gaelic Ireland -the Ireland relatively free of English influence and under the control of Gaelic lords who generally refused to accept the authority of the kings of England- was one of indifference or incomprehension. With few exceptions -the educated orders in Gaelic society- were so unconscious of what was occurring in England, much less Continental Europe, that they do not seem to have been able to distinguish between the deluge of critical abuse being hurled at their society by *New English* Protestant aggressors and that which had been levelled at the Gaelic polity by Catholic spokesmen from the English Pale<sup>2</sup> -the area around Dublin belonging to the kings of England-; outside the Pale were also the *Old English* feudal lords, descendants of the Norman conquerors of Ireland, they were virtually king in their own lands<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Lennon, Colm, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest*, in *New Gill History of Ireland* 2 (Dublin, 1994), p. 303. I wish to express my sincerest gratitude to the Department of Modern History of St Patrick's College as a whole, and particularly, my warmest thanks to Dr. Colm Lennon for his constant interest and confidence on my work through the academic year 1994-95. I am grateful likewise to Dr. O'Connor, coordinator of my project *The Irish College of Alcalá de Henares in an European Perspective. A Guideline to an Irish Educational Establishment in Spain from the Salamanca Archives, St Patrick's College (Maynooth)*. Finally I should like to thank to my ECTS-History coordinator in Spain, Dra. Dolores Cabañas and also I am in debt with my friend M.A. Pizarro Pérez for his inestimable assistance from Spain.

<sup>2</sup> See Canny, Nicholas, 'The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1580-1750', *Past and Present*, n. 95 (May 1982), pp. 91-116.

<sup>3</sup> Warren, John, *Elizabeth I: Religion and Foreign affairs* (Great Britain, 1993), p. 118.

By contrast, the reception of the Jesuit mission to Ireland in 1596 was enthusiastic: in a few years, a Jesuit residency had been established, and soon seminary-trained priests and bishops, both secular and religious, were engaged in reorganising the Catholic Church in Ireland<sup>4</sup>.

So, what had happened between the apparent disinterest from Gaelic Ireland towards the religious affairs on the Continent and the new impetus of change by the end of the century?

At the end of the 1570s occurred a sequence of events in Europe which brought to an end the exercise and toleration of easy-going church-papistry. The background was the international tension arising from Pope Pius V's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth of England in 1570, relieving her Catholic subjects of the duty of loyalty, and the outbreak of politic-religious conflicts in northern Europe<sup>5</sup>. Thus, in the mid-Elizabethan period the crisis of the revolts in the name of religion with links to the Continent and the subsequent convulsions caused a defining of ideological positions among all groups in Ireland: for the *New English* a radical model of Protestantism tied to a colonial mentality tended to gain ascendancy by the later years of the century; the *Old English* opted for a religious position which was, they felt, compatible with loyalty to the Crown, though their leaders were to deploy their ecclesiastical benefits in favour of the Counter-Reformation; finally, the *Gaelic leadership* was prepared to canvass Spanish-backed Catholic militancy based on an ideology of faith and fatherland.

So, from Elizabeth's reign and above all from the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century a sustained contact made by individuals from Gaelic Ireland with Continental Counter-Reformation Catholicism acquired a new dimension<sup>6</sup>: with the English repression, many Gaelic lords then saw no option to seek a pension from the Spanish Habsburgs and they were accompanied to the Continent by many poets, clergy, genealogists and lawyers who, having previously articulated moral support for

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<sup>4</sup> Lennon, Colm, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest*, pp. 303-304.

<sup>5</sup> See Silke, J.J., 'Ireland and Europe 1559-1607' in *Irish Historical Series* n. 7 (Dublin, 1966).

<sup>6</sup> Jones, F.M., 'The Counter-Reformation', in Corish, P.J. (ed.), *A History of Irish Catholicism* (Dublin, 1967), iii, fas. 3, esp. pp. 35-53. Also the greater Gaelic contact with the Continent after the Nine Year's War (1594-1603), is evident from Brendan Jennings (ed.), *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders* (Dublin, 1964).

resistance to English authority, now saw no place for themselves under the new order. Particularly, the defeat of the Irish and Spanish forces at Kinsale in 1602 marked in fact the end of any immediate hope of ridding Ireland from the English occupation<sup>7</sup>. However, it also made a new vision of Ireland as a political and national identity, rather than as congeries of alliances and mutual hatreds among the diverse parts of Ireland itself. If the end of Elizabeth's reign marked the beginning of modern Ireland, that different historical configuration took its profile and dynamism from the need to preserve, and where necessary to restore, the Catholic faith<sup>8</sup>. As believed by Brendan Bradshaw<sup>9</sup>, the Counter-Reformation was 'the modernizing influence that provided the impetus under which Gaelic Ireland groped towards a nationalist ideology of faith and fatherland'<sup>10</sup>.

Thus the early years of the seventeenth century witnessed not only the exodus from Ireland of despairing lords and disbanded soldiers, who found ready employment in the Spanish army in the Netherlands<sup>11</sup>, but also the departure of some Gaelic scholars, many of whom found refuge in Catholic seminaries on the Continent<sup>12</sup>, the real instruments of the European Counter-Reformation in Ireland<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Silke, John J., Kinsale: *The Spanish Intervention in Ireland at the End of the Elizabethan Wars* (Liverpool, 1970).

<sup>8</sup> See Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community and the Conflict of Cultures* (London, 1985), pp. 319-20; Brendan Bradshaw, *The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 228-29; Nicholas P. Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565-76* (Hassocks, Sussex, The Harvester Press, 1976), p. 153.

<sup>9</sup> Brendan Bradshaw, 'Native Reaction to the Westward Enterprise: A Case-Study in Gaelic Ideology', in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650*, ed. by Andrews, K.R., Canny, N.P. and Hair, P.E.H. (Liverpool, 1978), pp. 65-80.

<sup>10</sup> Canny, however, maintains that there was already after 1570 an earlier emergence of a nationalistic Gaelic consciousness (Nicholas Canny, 'The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1580-1750', pp. 92-3).

<sup>11</sup> See Gráinne, Henry, *The Irish in the Netherlands* (Dublin, 1992).

<sup>12</sup> Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X. and Byrne, F.J. (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, III (Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691)*, pp. 187-386, 560-633.

<sup>13</sup> Hammerstein, Helga, 'Aspects of the Continental Education of Irish Students in the Reign of Elizabeth I', in Williams, T.D. (ed.), *Irish Historical Series*, viii (Dublin, 1971), pp. 137-53; Cregan, 'Social and Cultural Background of a Counter-Reformation Episcopate, 1618-60' in Cosgrove, A. and McCartney, D. (eds.), *Studies in Irish History Presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin, 1979), pp. 85-117.

## 2. THE IRISH COLLEGES ON THE CONTINENT

Three factors proved decisive in the establishment of the Irish continental colleges from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth I: Firstly, the decree of Trent in July 1563 establishing diocesan seminaries for the training of secular clergy<sup>14</sup> -the reply to both Luther's German universities<sup>15</sup> and Calvin's seminary at Geneva<sup>16</sup>. Secondly, the emphasis on educational reform by the Jesuits<sup>17</sup> and, finally the prohibition on Catholic schools in the Queen's dominions from early in Elizabeth's reign. If seminaries had to be set up, and it was impossible to do so in Ireland, there was no way out but to set up Irish seminaries abroad<sup>18</sup>.

Before ever the education of Catholics was proscribed in Ireland, there is evidence of Irish students frequenting foreign universities. In fact, many of them had studied in Oxford, especially during the middle ages. In Ireland itself there was an important centre of education at Dublin from 1592: Trinity College<sup>19</sup>. However, for the first two hundred years of its existence Catholic

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<sup>14</sup> Twenty-third session, cap. 18, *De reform.* (15 July 1563).

<sup>15</sup> The German universities were noted for producing preachers who were appointed to serve in the Imperial cities and the many small towns which could provide substantial audiences. Not all preachers became Protestants, but many did, and their sermons were often the decisive stage in the spread of the Reformation in Germany. Thus, the real work of conversion was carried out by preaching, reading the Bible and catechism practise (see Hannemann, M., *The Diffusion of the reformation in South-Western Germany, 1518-34* (1974), p. 150).

<sup>16</sup> From Geneva pastors were sent out to other congregations in the west, especially in France. Thus, 'Geneva's influence was greatest in the development of French Calvinism, much less in that of the Dutch, and paled into relative insignificance in Germany and eastern Europe' (Bonney, R., *The European Dynastic States 1494-1660*, Oxford, 1991, p. 56).

<sup>17</sup> Foundations of school and universities to train an elite of young men who would be dedicated to the faith and to restore the prestige of theological studies proved decisive in the spread and impetus of Catholic seminaries through Europe.

<sup>18</sup> Cathalsus Giblin OFM, 'The Irish Colleges on the Continent' in L. Swords, *The Irish-French Connection 1578/1978* (Paris, 1978), p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile the educational policies of other European countries under the impact of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation was very important: in the Holy Roman Empire, in England and specially in Spain (see Richard L. Kagan, 'Universities in Castile 1500-1700', *Past and Present*, n. 49 (November 1970), pp. 44-71) the foundation of Trinity College was too late for Ireland: the first detailed university plan for Ireland was developed in 1547 and it was followed by several other equally abortive projects, all of them put forward after revolts (according to Maxwell, C., *A History of Trinity College, Dublin*, Dublin, 1946, pp. 3-4); in 1570 an urgent appeal from Robert Weston,

students were not allowed to graduate there. In fact, it was a Protestant establishment for the education of those professing the Protestant religion. The statutes of the college laid it down that no student could be accepted unless he first made a profession of faith in accordance with the Protestant formula.

So, from the time that Catholic schooling became almost impossible over much of Ireland in the sixteenth century small groups of Irish students began to appear in university towns in Spain, France and the Spanish Netherlands<sup>20</sup>.

In 1577 English spies already had noticed the presence of such men abroad and, on 20 May of that year, Sir Henry Sidney -Queen Elizabeth's Lord Deputy in Ireland- wrote to the Queen that 'there be some principal gentlemen that have sons in Loain, Doole, Rome and other places where Your Majesty is rather hated than honoured'; around 1580 English officials in Ireland leave the impression in their reports that there was a constant stream of priests from the Continent who co-operated with local priests in knitting the country in revolt; so in 1583 a proclamation forbade any to pass out of Ireland into England without passport and in the following year another decree ordered the return of Irish fugitives in foreign parts within six months. In 1593 the High Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes authorized their officials to search the ships and even the houses of merchants and others suspected of importing vestments, chalices, books and a close inspection was kept at all the seaports for suspected priests and students who return from the Continent universities. Even in a memorial presented to the Spanish king expressed that merchants were forbidden under severe penalties to carry priests to Ireland or to bring students from the Peninsula. They could lose ship and goods and even the imprisonment for life or guarantee not to repeat the offence.<sup>21</sup>

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the Protestant lord chancellor of Ireland, asked to the Queen for the erection of grammar schools and a university in Ireland for the preservation of English rule and for a thorough religion conquest (Hammerstein, Helga, 'Aspects of the Continental Education of Irish Students in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I').

<sup>20</sup> According to Helga Hammerstein 'the imposition of a restrictive policy had coincided with an increase in Irish commerce with north-west Europe and Spain so students were almost exclusively the sons of merchants. Towards the end of the century, however, under the influence of the counter-reformation, proper educational institutions were established on the continent with papal and Spanish help to prepare Irish students for missionary activity' ('Aspects of the Continental Education of Irish Students in the Reign of Elizabeth I', pp. 137-53).

<sup>21</sup> See Brady, John, 'The Irish Colleges in Europe and the Counter-Reformation', *Proceedings of the Irish Catholic Committee* (1957), pp. 6-7.

From the birth of the Irish College, Paris, in 1578 on, more than thirty Irish colleges were set up throughout Europe before the end of the seventeenth century.

The Spanish Netherlands originally had five towns with Irish colleges: Louvain (which had three: Franciscans, 1607; Pastoral, 1623; and Dominicans, 1626), together with one each in Antwerp (1600), Tournai (1616), Lille (1610) and Douai (1594). Lille and Douai were in the Netherlands until the Wars of Louis XIV in the second half of the seventeenth century, and Douai had three Irish colleges at different times. That made nine Irish colleges in five towns of the Spanish Netherlands<sup>22</sup> during part of the seventeenth century, but the number was reduced by the extension of the borders of France to five colleges in three towns for much of the next century. According to Silke<sup>23</sup> factors like proximity, the presence of the Irish regiment<sup>24</sup> and the climate made the Netherlands even more attractive to Irish students than Portugal and Spain.

Nine cities and towns in France had Irish colleges: Paris (1578), Bordeaux (1603), Rouen (1612), Charleville (1620), Poitiers, Sedan, Toulouse (1659), Nantes (1689) and Boulay (1700).

There were five colleges in Italy, four of them in Rome and one in Capranica (1656); the only college in the Empire was in Prague (1631), and an Irish Franciscan college was set up at Vielun (1645) in Poland.

### **3. THE SPANISH-IRISH CONNECTION: IRISH COLLEGES IN THE PENINSULA**

The Irish Colleges set up in Spain and Portugal at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth under the patronage and protection of the Spanish Crown. Six cities or towns in the Peninsula possessed

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<sup>22</sup> 'If, (...) there was for a period an Irish seminary at St Omer, it must have had an evanescent existence' (Silke, J.J., 'The Irish Abroad in the Age of the Counter-Reformation, 1534-1691', in Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X. and Byrne, F.J., *A New History of Ireland III (Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691)*, p. 620).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 620.

<sup>24</sup> For an excellent study about it, see Henry Gráine, *The Irish Military Community in Spanish Flanders, 1586-1621* (Dublin, 1992).

Irish colleges: Salamanca (1592), Lisbon (1593), Santiago (1605), Seville (1612), Madrid (1629) and Alcalá (1630).

They were a product of various forces and tensions: the College of the *Nobles Irlandeses* (Salamanca) owed its foundation and location principally to that city's academic tradition; Seville, Lisbon and Santiago had in common a tradition of long-established trading links with Ireland. Spanish fishermen from the northern ports had for centuries fished in the waters off the south-west of Ireland (*Shanon* and *Great Sole*): during the years of religious persecution such boats could provide a safe passage to Spain, and thereby strengthen the Irish presence in ports such as La Coruña. The English government during Elizabeth's reign was rightly suspicious of the clandestine activities -arms-running, spying, providing escape- of the six hundred and more craft that swarmed up the Irish Channel at the appropriate times of year. And during the period after 1580, when hostilities existed formally between England and Spain, the Irish were able to take advantage of an ancient privilege, that of trading with an enemy during a time of war: in June, 1599 Philip III sent 1,000 arquebuses and 1,000 pikes, with ammunition, to the Irish rebels and again in April, 1600. As a result not only did the Irish-Spanish trade continue, but Ireland became the base for the clandestine trans-shipment of English goods to Spain, and Spanish exports to England. In La Coruña, an already existent Irish colony of sailors, merchants, fishermen, agents, could well have been reinforced as a result of the preparations for the Spanish Armada's invasion of England in 1588.

The 'Calendar of State Papers (Ireland)' contains reports suggesting that in the years of hostility and maximum tension between Spain and England during the last two decades of the sixteenth century, the occasional build-up of naval forces in strategic ports such as Lisbon or La Coruña, ready for a new invasion, was accompanied by the appearance of Irish rebels, keen to take part in the overthrow of English suzerainty. A report by Captain Eduardo Geraldino, datable to 1603, estimated the number of Irish and Scots at court and in other places in the two kingdoms to be upwards of six hundreds.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries bearers of historic Irish names sought admission to the knightly orders of Santiago, Calatrava and Alcántara.<sup>25</sup> Irish sponsors or witnesses testified to the noble ancestry of the

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<sup>25</sup> John O'Neill -first founder of an Irish College at Alcalá- was appointed in May 1632 as Knight Commander of the military order of Calatrava; another example is given by Donnell O'Sullivan Beare, who after his arrival to Spain had some contacts with the Irish College at Santiago de Compostela. He was designated as Knight in the order of Santiago in 1607 (See Gareth Davies, 204

candidates. The list of witnesses is a remarkable cross-section of the Irish diaspora in Spain: officers in the military and naval service<sup>26</sup>, clerics, secular and regular, landowners, merchants, bankers and, even after 1750 skilled foreign workmen were obtained privately for the most part through Irishmen already in the service of the king of Spain. Indeed at each of the great naval bases at Cartagena, Cadiz or Ferrol, there grew up an Irish community<sup>27</sup>.

#### 4. THE IRISH COLLEGE OF ALCALÁ DE HENARES (1630-1785)

##### 4.1. FOUNDATIONS

Since the then Rector of the Irish College of Salamanca, Dr. William McDonall, established the foundation of the Irish College of Alcalá in 1657<sup>28</sup> this date has been followed without any doubt by historians<sup>29</sup>. However, as

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'The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela. Two Documents about its Early Days' in *Catholic Tastes and Times: Essays in Honour of Michael E. Williams* (Leeds, 1981).

<sup>26</sup> See the phenomenal work of R.A. Straddling on this point (*The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries. The Wild Geese in Spain* (Dublin, 1994): in the seventeenth century Spain was weakened by constant war, financial difficulties 'and in terms of manpower by a sequence of subsistence crises and viral epidemics which afflicted the demographic heartland of Castile in 1627-31' (p. 21). Thus, from the early 1630s Madrid had a dramatic impetus to international recruiting: already the Cortes of Castile and most of the towns its delegates represented, stoutly resisted government plans to place their commitment to recruitment and training of the armed forces on a regularized legal basis. So Spanish Monarchy looked to Ireland for needed soldiers because 'all the men of this nation always serve here with the greatest courage'.

<sup>27</sup> Lindsay, J.O., 'The Western Mediterranean and Italy', in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. VII 'The Old Regime 1713-63' (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 269-291.

<sup>28</sup> In his series of articles on 'Irish Ecclesiastical Colleges since the Reformation', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. About Alcalá see vol. IX (September 1873), pp. 544-547: This College was founded in 1657 by Baron George de Paz y Silveira, who gave it the interests of 5,768 pounds, sunk in 'juros' as rent (p. 545).

<sup>29</sup> See Cannon O'Boyle, J., *The Irish Colleges on the Continent*, p. 176; T.J., Walsh, M.A., *The Irish Continental College Movement*: In 1657 at Alcalá de Henares Baron George de Paz y Silveira whose mother was a MacDonnell of Antrim gave a capital endowment of 5,000 pounds towards the foundation of a seminary to serve the northern dioceses of Ireland' (p. 59); Swords, L. (ed.), *The Irish-French Connection 1578/1978* (on Alcalá this work only gives to us the supposed date of foundation of the Irish College: 1657 (p. 14); John J. Silke in his excellent study about the Irish Colleges on the Continent ('The Irish Abroad in the Age of the Counter-Reformation, 1534-1691' in Moody, T.W.,

maintained by Micheline Walsh<sup>30</sup>, it is possible to find an earlier foundation, a precedent establishment to the 'College of San Jorge of the Irish missionaries of the North' founded by the Baron Jorge de Paz y Silveira. According to Walsh, 'there is little doubt that the founder of that earlier Irish College of Alcalá was John O'Neill, third Earl of Tyrone and son of the Great Hugh O'Neill'<sup>31</sup>. The Irish historian found the evidence of Juan O'Neill's patronage of the College in a document entitled *Compendium Constitutionum observandarum in Collegio S. Patritii erecti in Inchyta Universitate Complutensi sub auspiciis Excmi Principis Joannis Magnis Onelli Tyroniae Comitis* ('A compendium of constitutions to be observed in the College of Saint Patrick established in the Illustrious Complutensian University under the patronage of His Excellency the Great Prince John O'Neill Earl of Tyrone')<sup>32</sup>. It is dated on 2 November 1633. Also a clause in his testament (made in Madrid on 18 September 1640) proves that he was helping to maintain the Irish College:

'The financial help which I am accustomed to give to the College of Alcalá shall be continued for one or two years only and I beg His Majesty, who may God keep, to contribute to its upkeep and to further this pious work which is of service to God and to my poor fatherland. I charge my heir to do likewise in as much as possible and to plead this case with His Majesty and his ministers'.<sup>33</sup>

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Martin, F.X. and Byrne, F.J., *A New History of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (also maintains that Alcalá owed its foundation to Count Jorge de Paz y Sylveira (p. 627). However, Silke dates the establishment of the College as early as 1590, even two years before the Irish College of Salamanca was founded in 1592.

<sup>30</sup> See Kerney Walsh, Micheline, 'The Irish College of Alcalá de Henares', in *Sear Ard Mha.*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1985), pp. 247-257. Also María José Arnáiz and José-Luis Sancho in their book *El Colegio de los Irlandeses* (Alcalá de Henares, 1985) they did reference to a first foundation: 'The foundation of the minor college of San Jorge of the Irish missionaries of the North had a precedent in Alcalá, not very known, because 'before the existence of this Irish College there was another in this University, founded in the year 1630 and dedicated to St Peter and St Paul and St Patrick, but when the founder died without leaving properties for its maintenance, it ceased to exist, and because of this the Baron Jorge de Paz established in this University the seminary, dedicated to San Jorge, which exists today' (quoted by the authors from the A.H.N., Consejos, leg. 5432 no. 24). 'Despite of the limitations of this report -we don't know who was the founder of that first college, where it was established, etc.- it is of importance, for it explains in part why the baron jorge de Paz decided to establish his foundation here' (p. 45).

<sup>31</sup> Kerney Walsh, Micheline, 'The Irish College of Alcalá de Henares', p. 249.

<sup>32</sup> Quoted by the author from the *Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, *Jesuitas*, 201, 6.

<sup>33</sup> Kerney Walsh, Micheline, 'The Will of John O'Neill, Third Earl of Tyrone', in *Searchas Ard Mhacha. Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1973), p. 322. The author translated the Juan O'Neill's will from the *Archivo Histórico de Protocolos*, Madrid.

#### **4.1.1. Founder and first establishment of an Irish College at Alcalá: 'The Irish College of St Patrick' (1630)**

John O'Neill<sup>34</sup> was born in 1599 and left Ireland with his parents in 1607. He was educated by the Irish Franciscans at Louvain, served as a page to the Infanta Isabel from 1613 and, after his father's petition, O'Neill was appointed by Philip III as Colonel of the Irish Regiment. When his father died, his succession to the title of Earl of Tyrone was recognised by Spain (*Conde de Tyrone*) and continued as colonel in Flanders. He hoped return to Ireland and renew the struggle against England and on this way he travelled to Madrid in 1621 and 1623 to present petitions to the Monarch in support of an expedition to Ireland, but the commissioners advised the King to await a more favourable occasion. However he was in Madrid again, for the same aspiration, in 1630: according to the document studied by María-José Arnáiz and José-Luís Sancho (see note 3) by this date the first Irish College of Alcalá was founded. John O'Neill remained in Madrid for over three years and in May 1632 he was appointed as Knight Commander of the military order of Calatrava. He returned to Flanders in 1633. In 1638 O'Neill and his regiment were recalled to Spain to fight against France and again when the war started in Cataluña. On December 1640 he had left Madrid and on the morning of the twenty-ninth (January) he was killed at the attack of the hill of Montjuich, Barcelona.

In accordance with Walsh, it is doubtful that, after payment of the debts listed in O'Neill's will<sup>35</sup> his executors would have had enough capital to contribute to the College of Alcalá and, for this reason, it would appear that it ceased to exist some time after O'Neill's death<sup>36</sup>. However, Walsh has found, among the records of Spanish Military Orders, that the college was still in existence in 1644: 'In April of that year, an Irish priest named Guillermo O

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<sup>34</sup> For further information see the excellent work on John O'Neill and his family by Micheline Walsh in *The O'Neills in Spain* (Dublin, 1957), pp. 10-27.

<sup>35</sup> See Kerney Walsh, Micheline, 'The Will of John O'Neill, Third Earl of Tyrone', pp. 322 and 323.

<sup>36</sup> As believed by María-José Arnáiz and José-Luís Sancho, *El Colegio de los Irlandeses*, p.45.

Mostey described himself as Rector of the Irish College of Saint Patrick in the University of Alcalá<sup>37</sup>.

In 1624 a native of Limerick, Richard Goold was regent of studies and professor of theology at the University of Alcalá. He was John O'Neill's confessor: perhaps Goold may have been responsible for bringing the needs of Irish students in Alcalá to the attention of John O'Neill and then, it will be found the Irish College in that city<sup>38</sup>. However, Walsh has founded in the Archives of Simancas (Valladolid) two documents of 1626 and 1627<sup>39</sup>: they are reports of the Spanish Council of State to Philip IV on the memorials of an Irish priest. From these documents it is clear that, by 1627 Irish students at Alcalá were already grouped together as a community under the direction of a rector, named Teobaldo de Burgo. Nevertheless, we are not told the names or the number of the students at this time. Even we don't know exactly where, later on, the 'Irish College of Saint Patrick' it was established in 1630. However it created a precedent in Alcalá: it will be follow by the foundation of Jorge de Paz y Silveira.

#### 4.1.2. The *Baron Jorge de Paz y Silveira*.

Already in a will made in Madrid on 20 March 1642 a rich nobleman of portuguese origin, Jorge de Paz, expressed his wish to found an Irish College. He also declared in the three testaments, from 1638 to 1645, that he was 'legitimate son of Diego López de Lisboa and of Felippa de Paz her wife, already both deceases'<sup>40</sup>. So it is very difficult to prove that Jorge de Paz's mother 'was a MacDonnell of Antrim' as is maintained by Canon O'Boyle, John Silke, T.J. Walsh<sup>41</sup> and others historians: the Baron himself says in his

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<sup>37</sup> Kerney Walsh, Micheline, 'The Irish College of Alcalá de Henares', p. 251.

<sup>38</sup> Before the foundation of the College of Saint Patrick in 1630 many Irish exiles had found their destiny in Alcalá.

<sup>39</sup> *Archivo General de Simancas*, E 2753 and E2754.

<sup>40</sup> '(...) *hijo legítimo que soy de los Señores Diego Lopez de Lisboa y d Felippa de Paz sumuger, ya difuntos*', in his definitive will on 21 December 1645, St Patrick's College, 'Salamanca Archives', *legajo* S29, no. 1: *Alcalá. 21 de Diciembre de 1645. Copia simple del testamento otorgado en dicha fecha en Madrid ante Francisco Frechel, por el Baron Jorge de Paz de Silveira, fundador del Colegio de San Jorge de Alcalá de Henares*, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Canon O'Boyle, J., *The Irish Colleges on the Continent*, p. 176; Silke, J.J., 'The Irish abroad in the Age of the Counter-Reformation, 1534-1691', p. 618; T.J. Walsh, M.A., *The Irish Continental College Movement*, p. 59.

testament that his parents were 'Vezinos y naturales dela Ciudad de Lisboa, en el Reino de Portugal'<sup>42</sup>. In his last testament Don Jorge declared he was 'comendador of the *encomienda* of S. Quintin del Monte Agrazo of the Chirst order, and Knight of the (military order) of Santiago, *Alcaide* ('mayor') of the fortress of Martos village of the Order of Calatrava, *Vezino* ('inhabitant') of this Village of Madrid'<sup>43</sup>.

#### 4.1.3. The Second Foundation of an Irish College at Alcalá (1645).

Already from the beginning of his will, Jorge de Paz declared his intentions to found 'a seminary, or, Irish College (under San Jorge's invocation) in Madrid itself, or outside of it, in another place which I will buy...'<sup>44</sup>. According to the Baron the College should have thirty students from Ireland, but if it was not possible, from England or Flanders. In any case, they have to be Catholics<sup>45</sup>. The students will be in the College no more than seven years, studying Arts and Theology '...and finishing the seven years they have to go to the North to spread our Catholic faith'<sup>46</sup>. The Baron's legacy was followed for the sustention of thirty students each of whom would take a seven year's course.

Jorge de Paz gave to the foundation of the College a total sum of 15,000 *ducados*: 7,500 to buy the place and the rest to build the College itself and his church<sup>47</sup>. Nevertheless, it was not until 1649, shortly after the Baron's death,

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<sup>42</sup> St Patr. Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', leg. S29, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> St Patr. Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', leg. S29, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2. '(...) Item mando se funde un Seminario, o, Colegio que se nombrara la invocacion de S. Jorge en un lugar que determino comprar. Si al tiempo de mi fallecimiento no se hubiere fundado y si no comprare el dicho lugar se funde en esta Villa de Madrid o en un lugar de su partido o hasta ocho leguas en contorno a eleccion de la Varonesa mi muger por si sola y por su muerte a eleccion de los Patronos' (p. 6).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6: '(...) el cual Seminario, o, Colegio ha de tener treinta colegiales los cuales han de ser Yrlandeses y en falta Ingleses, o, flamencos y en falta de ellos podran ser de otras naciones que legitimase lo puedan ser siendo siempre preferidos los yrlandeses y despues de ellos los ingleses y flamencos y han de ser católicos'.

<sup>46</sup> '(...) Item mando que los dichos colegiales y cada uno de ellos no puedan asistir en el dicho Seminario, o, Colegio, más que hasta siete años y en discurso de ellos han de estudiar artes y teologia y acabados los dichos siete años a de ir a predicar nuestra Santa Fe Católica Apostólica Romana a las partes del Norte o, otros Reinos y Provincias de infieles qual ellos quisieren y les pareciere' (*Ibid.*, p. 6).

<sup>47</sup> '(...) Item aplico y dejo para la compra del sitio y obra fábrica y labor del dicho Seminario o Colegio quince mil ducados (...) en moneda de vellón que valen cinco cuentos seiscientos y veinticinco mil maravedises, los cuales se han de

that an appropriate site for the College was purchased by his widow, Doña Beatriz, and the construction of the present building (at Escritorios street). Already from the beginning, the baron asked for a Royal confirmation of his seminary<sup>48</sup>: notwithstanding, as we have been seen before, the economic problem was perhaps the most important dilemma for all of these colleges. Alcalá was not an exception: economical troubles, above all due to the devaluation of annuities, are important factors to explain a lesser number of students. So it was fundamental to the maintenance of these colleges Royal grants: already from the late sixteenth century Spanish university and ecclesiastical authorities often contributed towards the expenses of young Irish priests returning to Ireland on the completion of their studies and Jorge de Paz himself ordained in his will 'twenty *ducados* in cash to each student returning to Ireland'<sup>49</sup>. Yet from the beginning of the seventeenth century this aid was undertaken in a gradually more regular way by the king<sup>50</sup>.

#### 4.2. CONSOLIDATION, ADMINISTRATION AND PROBLEMS (1645-1746)

The first rector of this new Irish College of Alcalá was a priest who signed himself Goffredo Daniel: during 1650 Father Daniel acted as sponsor for three of his compatriots who were admitted to the Spanish Military Order of Santiago and his signature appears on each of his affidavits. The discipline code was approved before 1649 by Father Luke Wadding, J.J., by this time a professor at the University of Alcalá. The students attended lectures in other colleges of the University but they were expected to lead a life of recollection within the

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*distribuir y gastar lo primero en la compra del sitio en la cual no se ha de gastar mas que hasta siete mil quinientos ducados y menos cuanto fuere posible y la restante cantidad se ha de ir gastando en la obra y labor del dicho seminario, o, Colegio y su iglesia con la parte de la renta que luego declararé' (p. 6).*

<sup>48</sup> '(...) Y para que el dicho Seminario, o, Colegio quede con más autoridad y mas seguro y firme lo que acerca del dispongo procuraré en mi vida (...) y siendo el caso que no lo haya hecho al tiempo que Dios me llevare encargo a mis testamentarios que luego con toda brevedad la (...) dicha Real Cedula de Confirmacion del dicho Seminario o, Colegio haciendo para ello las diligencias necesarias y suplico y ruego a su Majestad con toda su (...) me haga (...) de conceder la dicha confirmacion para que el dicho Seminario tenga su autoridad Real la cual (...) espero que su Mejestad me haga en consideración de ser esta obra tan piadosa y en (...) de la (...) Iglesia Católica' (*Ibid.*).

<sup>49</sup> '(...) y al tiempo que salieren del Colegio, o, Seminario para el dicho efecto se les de veinte ducados a cada uno en dineros para sus necesidades y se les compre un vestido a su elección que cueste hasta [...]' (*Ibid.*).

<sup>50</sup> A document of 21 July 1626 mentions that the king had ordered that the *viaticum* -the royal contribution- of 100 ducados be granted every years to three priests from each of the Irish Colleges (*Archivo General de Simancas*, E 2753).

confines of their own institution as much as possible and provision had been made for the employment, within the Irish College, of professors of theology and of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric and logic).

In the earlier years of the College, the rector was elected by the students themselves and, in fact, the superior had to be a student of the community by a period of three years, as Jorge de Paz ordained in his testament<sup>51</sup>. But, by 1740, this was no longer the case and his nomination had become the responsibility of the patrons who, in order to avoid disputes, ensured that the position was occupied, in turn, by a native of each of the four ecclesiastical provinces of Ireland (Ulster, Leinster, Munster and Connacht). According to William McDonall the Irish College of Alcalá 'was the constant scene of disorders from the beginning, and this could not well be otherwise, as the founder ordained that the students should elect their own rector every four years, the outgoing one to be ineligible: the rector should necessarily be one of the present students but sometimes this rule was not strictly observed by the outgoing rectors'. Thus, this was a cause of inevitable disputes and already in 1728 the Crown by a Royal decree dated on 14 October, tried to avoid the disputes between the students in the Seminary<sup>52</sup>.

This was not, however, the only main source of problems of the Irish College of Alcalá: in the Archives of St Patrick's College I have found an interesting document of 1746<sup>53</sup> relating to the constant problems of the institution due to different reasons: on 22 December 1745 Sr Rector Don Santiago Cavanagh was suspended in his rectorship during four months by the Patrons<sup>54</sup>, arguing 'bad Government and Conduct'<sup>55</sup>. In fact, from this

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<sup>51</sup> '(...) que en estando los Colegiales recogidos en el Seminario, o, Colegio ellos eligieran entre si canonicamente Rector que los governe el cual ha de ser uno de ellos mismos y ha de ser el dicho cargo tres años y acabados se hará otra elección y así se ira haciendo cada tres años en la misma forma perpetuamente elección de Rector' (*Ibid.*).

<sup>52</sup> '(...) y en su Real decreto de catorce de Octubre de mill setecientos y veinte y ocho se sirvio mandar que los Colegiales no caussasen discordias al seminario pena de la mas sebera providencia' (in document n. 2, p. 5, see next footnote).

<sup>53</sup> Document no. 2: St Patr. Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', leg. S29 no. 2: 1º de Octubre de 1746. *Real Carta de reposición en el Rectorado del Colegio de Alcalá del Sr Dn Santiago Cavanagh y en otros cargos de varios Señores que habían sido suspensos por los Patronos y diligencias practicadas por el Sr Rector de la Universidad de Alcalá para llevar a efecto lo mandado en dicha Real Carta.*

<sup>54</sup> The Patronato was composed by this time by the prior of Santo Tomas, the abbot of San Martín and the minister of Trinitarios Calzados (*Ibid.*, p. 1).

document we can know that there were some Irish students remained in Alcalá, though they already finished their studies<sup>56</sup>. On the other hand, the College's debt, before Cavanagh's rectorship, amounted more than 20,000 *reales*<sup>57</sup>. By Royal provision Santiago Cavanagh '*devia ser mantenido y restituído a su empleo de tal rector (...) suspendiendo los efectos del acuerdo de los Patronos mandando que en su asunto, el Vicerector, Consilarios Collegiales, no innovasen en manera alguna y le mantubiesen en la posesion en que se hallava de tal rector*'<sup>58</sup>. That is, Santiago Cavanagh had to be reserved in his rectorship by Royal disposition against the *Patronato's* decision, against the then vice-rector, Juan Gallagher and even against some students (Mathias Concamon, Daniel o Siel, Jacovo Manín, Diego Plunquet, Carlos o Shiel and Nicolas Plunquet). However, finally Santiago Cavanagh was reincorporated to his rectorship<sup>59</sup> as well as his *consilarios* Andres O Beirne, Bernardo o Queli and Guillermo o Lonergan in their respective posts.

#### 4.3. CARLOS III AND THE COLLEGE: NEW PERSPECTIVES FOR THE INSTITUTION

Yet the economical problem was the most important. In the Dublin Diocesan Archives I came across one important document<sup>60</sup>, dated on 16 July 1761, a Decree of the king of Spain, Carlos III, taking the Rector and students of Alcalá Irish College under his protection due to the miserable condition of the establishment (in part caused by the extinction of the *jurros* by Royal Decree

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> '(...) Y que algunos Collegiales que havian cumplido y se mantenian en esta villa ocupados voluntariamente, saliesen al Reino de Yrlanda, para la instruccion Educacion y Consuelo de los Catolicos que carecian de el, en aquellas provincias' (*Ibid.*, p. 1).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4. Francisco del Rallo Calderón (member of the Royal Council) was appointed as Protector Judge of the Irish College of Alcalá.

<sup>59</sup> '(...) Mando su Sría. a el dho Dn. Santiago Cavanach se le pusiese lo que enpresenzia desuseñoría, su Comunidad y Colejiales del referido Colexio executto y lavezca sepuso en el Hombro izquierdo, y su Sría. envoz alta, yntelligible Dijo que en muestra dela facultad que se le concedia le reintegrava, a la posesion de su Mantto y veca hechandole sobre el Hombro derecho de un lado deladhaveca, y querespectto deser ya Colejial deel tamvien le reintegrava, en la posesion de la Rectoria del dho Colejio' (*Ibid.*, p. 12).

<sup>60</sup> Dublin Diocesan Archives, Irish College Salamanca 1735-1872, Calendar for file 117/6, no. 2.

in 1749)<sup>61</sup>. So the King ordained that the yearly grant given by his brother and predecessor Fernando VI (27,000 *reales*) be continued (25,000 *reales*)<sup>62</sup> and that his arms be placed over the College door<sup>63</sup>. Now the rector was appointed by direct order of the King; he was nominated himself as *Patrono* of the Seminary. His Privy Council had agreed to this and the Decree was sent to the Rector Dr William Murray.

#### **4.4. THE ROYAL ATTEMPT TO UNITE THE SCOTS COLLEGE OF MADRID WITH THE IRISH COLLEGE: A SOLUTION FOR ALCALÁ?**

By this time an attempt was made to unite the Scots College of Madrid with the Irish College of Alcalá, the revenues of which had become greatly reduced. The recommendation have been done by the Extraordinary Council<sup>64</sup> and it had been accepted by Charles III and had been confirmed by a Royal *cédula*<sup>65</sup>. The union had been decreed on the assumption that the Scottish Catholics were so few in number that they were unable to send masters and students sufficient for the College of Madrid. The Decree contains two very important conditions: firstly, Scots students were to be admitted to the Irish College of Alcalá; secondly, if the Scots should ever be able to send sufficient numbers, the Irish would leave Alcalá to them and remove themselves to the Irish College in

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<sup>61</sup> '(...) y que haviendose declarado nulos, y extinguidos por real Decreto del año de mil setecientos quarenta y nueve todos los jurros pertenecientes á Assentistas, y por consequencia los de el Barón Jorge de Paz, Fundador de dicho Colegio, quedó éste sin Renta, y los Colegiales expuestos á pedir limosna' (*Ibid.*, p. 1).

<sup>62</sup> '(...) hasta que el Rey Don Fernando (...) noticioso del miserable estado de esta piadosa Fundacion, mandó se la socorriera con veinte y siete mil reales anuales, que percibía el Colegio antes de la extincion de sus Juros, aunque sin consignacion fija, hasta que Yo fuí servido de señalarles veinte y cinco mil reales al año, con la calidad de ayuda de costa, y hasta nueva providencia' (*Ibid.*, p. 1).

<sup>63</sup> '(...) mandando se pongan mis Reales Armas en las Puertas del Colegio, ó lo que fe mas de mi Real agrado' (*Ibid.*, p. 1 and 2).

<sup>64</sup> The sub-committee of the Council of Castile, set up to deal with property which had belonged to the Jesuits before their expulsion or which was presumed to have belonged to them.

<sup>65</sup> St Patr. Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', leg. S29, no. 4: Madrid 28 de Diciembre de 1769. Testimonio de la Real Cédula de reunión de las Rentas y efectos del Colegio de Escoceses de Madrid al de Irlandeses de Alcalá: '(...) resolver y estimar por útil la aplicación al colegio de Yrlandeses de Alcala de las rentas del seminario de Escoceses de Madrid que administraron los regulares de la Compañía y en que no había noticia se hubiere educado alumno de aquella nación, extrayendose algunos de sus caudales fuera del Reyno con pretesto deste enseñanza' (p. 2).

Salamanca. The Royal disposition was sent to the then Irish rector, Francisco O'Lean, who had arrived at the beginning of the year to be rector of the Irish College, where he had been a student, as we can see in his testimony of appointment that I have found in St Patrick's College<sup>66</sup>. Perhaps because of the new wealth of his college, he committed himself to accepting an increase in the numbers of students from Ireland. The Scottish (through his superior John Geddes) sent a petition to the Extraordinary Council asked for the annulment of the Royal order uniting the Scots College with the Irish at Alcalá and, for this, he adduced four reasons<sup>67</sup>: 'The Churches of England, Scotland and Ireland, though they have the same temporal Prince, are entirely independent of one another in their Ecclesiastical Government' and for this reason they could not have their subjects mixed in the same house together without great inconveniences; secondly, he observed that it could scarcely be expected that there would be long concord among Irish and Scotch students in the same House, especially as it was well known that the Irish of the different Provinces of their own Island seldom agree among themselves, when they live in the same College; in the third place Geddes objected against the air of Alcalá de Henares as hot and sultry and not fit for the Scotch, 'who are Natives of a cold northern climate to whose complexions Valladolid seemed to be better adapted'; he finally added that the Irish could not be supposed to have the same zeal for the spiritual good of Scotland, 'nor to be so proper for training up missionaries for that Country as the Scots themselves'. The petition then gave an assurance that, in spite of the Irish insinuations, the Scots would be able to send out superiors and students as soon as the decree of union was annulled and a house provided; it asked for an order decreeing that the Irish take no more Scottish property to

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<sup>66</sup> St Patr.Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', leg. S29, no. 5: 29 de Enero de 1770. *Testimonio del nombramiento de Rector perpetuo del Colegio de Alcalá, a favor de D. Francisco O'Lean*: '(...) Don Francisco o Lean: Se nombra de este por Rector perpetuo del colegio de Yrlandeses de Alcalá, librándole el título, o Certificación conduzte; y expidiéndose los avisos necesarios para que pase a regentar este empleo' (p. 3) (...) 'y como se manda por la orden del Supremo Consejo extraordinario su fecha veinte y siete del próximo pasado mes de Henero de este año comunicada por el excelentísimo señor Conde de Aranda Presidente del Real y Supremo Consejo de Castilla, a los Señores Don Antonio Jerez Soler corregidor y Justicia maor. de este referida ciudad y Don Carlos McKiernan Rector actual del dicho Real Colegio: se constituyó en el, y su sala rectoral' (p. 4) (...) 'pusieron en posesion del empleo de tal Rector perpetuo a el excogido Señor Don Francisco Lean' (p. 5) (...) 'se sentó en el puesto correspondiente y después recibió varias llaves de mano de dicho Don Carlos, habrió y cerró algunas puertas, e hizo otros actos de posesión' (p. 5).

<sup>67</sup> The translation of the Spanish original Royal charter by Maurice Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid, 1971), p. 293.

Alcalá and return all the goods and money previously removed there; and requested the Council to decree the re-establishment of the Scots College in the city of Valladolid, where there already existed the prospect of a suitable house.

The union was dissolved by Royal decree of 5th December 1771, re-establishing the Scot College in Valladolid. How this could affect to the Irish establishment at Alcalá in the future? In my own opinion, drastically: possibly the failure in the union of rents and, in consequence, of Royal grants in the future, could be decisive to explain the decline of Alcalá (both in revenues and students and therefore, in importance) and the following fusion of the College of San Jorge to St Patrick's College of Salamanca. Thus, a letter was received from the Royal Camera, announcing that Charles III had been pleased to appoint Dr Don Guillermo Bermingham -rector of the Irish College of Salamanca- as *Visitador real* or Royal visitor and delegate of the Most Rev. Prelates of Ireland to take charge of everything relating to this College as well as to the Irish College of Alcalá de Henares. 'In virtue of this appointment, the Ilmo. Sr. Inquisitor General, Bishop of this city, has now nothing to do with the affairs of this College'<sup>68</sup>. It was the beginning of the end to the Irish College of Alcalá.

#### 4.5. THE INCORPORATION TO SALAMANCA (1778-1785)

In 1778 Charles III by a Royal decree<sup>69</sup> confirmed the appointment of Dr Guillermo Bermingham as rector of the Irish College of Salamanca and visitor both of the Salamanca College and the Irish College of Alcalá de Henares 'to

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<sup>68</sup> Quoted by Denis J. O'Doherty, D.D., 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca', *Archivum Hibernicum*, vol. IV (1915), p. 52.

<sup>69</sup> St Patr.Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', leg. 29, no. 9: *Alcalá de Henares. Varias fechas. Real Cédula, y testimonio de las diligencias de reunión del Colegio de San Jorge de Alcalá al de San Patricio de Salamanca.*

reform (them) and to restore the Good discipline and Studies'<sup>70</sup>. The document also give to us information about disturbs in *St Patrick's College* of Salamanca<sup>71</sup>.

It seems the aim of the union as purely administrative (fusion of rents and students); also the economic factor could be of great importance (difficulties in Alcalá); but, on the other hand, the incorporation of the Irish College of Alcalá to Salamanca was indeed part of the process of fusion of the Irish Colleges in the Peninsula, which started with Seville in 1768 (governed by the Jesuits until 1768, the year after their expulsion), Santiago in 1769 and to follow with Alcalá from 1778. Thus, the expulsion of the *Compañía de Jesús* in 1767 allowed Charles III to assume their property and, consequently, with the fusion in Salamanca, a better control of Irish religious activities in Spain. Indeed, it was part of the policy of *regalismo* as a whole and, particularly, of the reform of the Spanish universities throughout this *ilustrado* period<sup>72</sup>.

In any case, the King commanded by this provision that no more students should be received in Alcalá and that should be incorporated with salamanca when cleared of its existing Rector and students'<sup>73</sup>. The College building, by the Royal decree, should be sold (like Santiago and Seville before)<sup>74</sup>.

The last rector of the Irish College of Alcalá was Don Patricio Magines (from 1773 until 1785), a native of Arthurstown (Co. Louth) and doctor of theology of the University of Alcalá. He was a zealous president and a good administrator, as I have been the opportunity to see from his monthly accounts of the Establishment between 1774 and 1781, 1773-1785 (c. 140 pp.) and 1778-

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<sup>70</sup> '(...) Por quanto vos Dn. Guillermo Bermingham Presbítero Irlandés, y Catedrático de Lengua Griega en la Universidad de Coimbra' (Ibid., p. 1) (...) 'he venido en declararos por bastanteamente autorizado con la Patente, y recomendación de los Arzobispos, y obispos de Irlanda, por Rector del Colegio de Irlandeses de Salamanca, con las facultades de Visitador de el, y del de Alcalá' (Ibid., p. 2).

<sup>71</sup> '(...) todos los antecedentes que había en dicho mi Consejo tocantes a las diferencias, y disturbios experimentados en dichos Colegios de Irlandeses de Salamanca, y Alcalá' (Ibid., p. 1).

<sup>72</sup> About this reform of the universities, see Álvarez de Morales, Antonio, *La Ilustración y la reforma de la universidad en la España del siglo XVIII*, Madrid, 1979; Peset, Mariano y Peset, J.L., *La Universidad Española (Siglos XVIII y XIX: Despotismo ilustrado y revolución liberal)*, Madrid, 1974; *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre "Carlos III y la Ilustración"* (Tomo III: Educación y pensamiento), Madrid, 1989.

<sup>73</sup> '(...) Prohibo que por ahora se admitan Alumnos en dichos Colegios de Irlandeses de Salamanca, y Alcalá, y mando a vos dicho Rector, y Visitador, que así lo prevengais a los Prelados del Reyno de Irlanda, para que no los embien, ni permitan venir hasta que no quede individuo alguno en dichos dos Colegios de los que hoy existen en ellos, y se balle hecho el arreglo que conviene establecer para la enseñanza, y utilidad de las Misiones' (Ibid., p. 2).

<sup>74</sup> '(...) vendiéndose el edificio al modo que se ejecutó con los de Santiago y Sevilla de Irlandeses, hoy reunido al de Salamanca' (Ibid., p.3).

1785 and the College receipts between 1773 and 1779 (c. 301 pp.) and 1781-1782. In fact, during the rectorship of Patricio Magines the economic-administrative information is almost complete<sup>75</sup>.

Nonetheless, the incorporation to Salamanca was inevitable and finally effective in 1785, but it did not without opposition: Don Patricio Magines, rector, and the last student in the College, named Eugenio Macmahon barricaded the main door of the College and refused to pay any attention to the bell when Don Patricio Cortés, rector of the Irish College of Salamanca and Visitor of the Alcalá College, rang. Thus, the mayor of the town had to come with a group of police and a notary to witness the proceedings, and after formally demanding the total submission rector and student to the Royal order, they had to break open the door and take the College by force<sup>76</sup>. Finally,

*‘En la Ciudad de Alcalá de Enares dicho día cinco de octubre de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco y siendo las diez y media de la Mañana pasó el Señor Don Antonio Alarcon del Consejo de S.M. Alcalde de Su Real Casa y Corte a la Casa Colegio de Irlandeses de ella, y estando presentes Don Patricio Magines, y el Colegio Don Eugenio Macmahon por mi el Imfrescripto se les leyó las Reales Cédulas de la Camara, Certificación del Señor Manuel Antonio de Santelices del Consejo de S.M. su secretario, y las últimas ordenes de la Camara, y enterados de todo respondieron estaban prontos a cumplir en todo y por todo las soberanas resoluciones de S.M. y de su Consejo de la Camara, y en prueba de su mas ciega ovediencia el nominado Don Patricio Magines hizo entrega formal de las llaves de la Casa, y sus Oficinas del sello de las Armas Reales que ha usado el Colegio para la expedición de sus Titulos y el Libro en folio donde constan las visitas del mismo Colegio, y el Imbentario de Libros Papeles, y demas Bienes de este y su Iglesia...’<sup>77</sup>*

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<sup>75</sup> St.Patr.Coll., ‘Salamanca Archives’, leg. S30, no. 1 and 3: ‘Monthly accounts of the Irish College of Alcalá between 1774-1781 and 1773-1785’; leg. S32, no. 1 and 2: ‘Receipts of the College of Alcalá between 1773-1779 and 1781-1782’.

<sup>76</sup> ‘(...) y en prueba de su mas ciega ovediencia el nominado Don Patricio Magines hizo entrega formal de las llaves de la Casa, y sus Oficinas del sello de las armas Reales que ha usado el Colegio para la expedición de sus Titulos y el Libro en folio donde constan las visitas del mismo Colegio, y el Imbentario de Libros Papeles, y demas Bienes de este y su Iglesia’ (Ibid., p. 14).

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., folio 13-14.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The Irish Colleges on the Continent formed part of the missionary vanguard of the European Counter-Reformation, specially after the defeat of the Spanish-Irish forces at Kinsale (1602). It marked the end of ridding Ireland by a military way from the English occupation, so both the Pope Clement VIII and Catholic Spain abandoned the military policy as anachronistic in order to explore the possibilities of diplomacy as a means of promoting spiritual renewal. The vigorous promotion and protection of education was clearly a manifestation of this new spirit: after the military failure it was considered necessary to evangelize in order to stem the flow of Protestantism in Ireland. Here, the Continental-trained missionaries recognized the inadequacy of the native clergy in Ireland to defend Catholicism against the Protestant reformers and therefore trained priests became acquainted with the fundamental issues which divided Protestantism from Catholicism.

Ireland established through the colleges a sustained contact with Continental Europe under the impetus of the Counter-Reformation: in fact, Ireland was the only country in Europe where the Counter-Reformation succeeded against the will of the head of state and here the Spanish support was decisive, first through the successive expeditions sent to the island from Philip II's reign<sup>78</sup> and, more effectively, by means of the Irish Colleges.

Finally, the belated establishment of Protestant Trinity College (1592) was the most significant indication of English government's inability to use education in the preservation of English rule and implant its Protestant order in Ireland: on the contrary, it was a *letrado* hierarchy of university-trained jurists which administered, and held together, the Spanish monarchy and empire from sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in America. In fact, as maintained by Richard Kagan,<sup>79</sup> the three main Castilian universities -Salamanca, Valladolid and Alcalá- served as the true *imperial* universities of the Habsburgs for America. Unfortunately, this was not the position of Trinity College in Ireland for English interests: the Irish Colleges on the Continent were able to supply trained priests in the spirit of Trent before Trinity College could provide for the Elizabethan Church.

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<sup>78</sup> On this, see Martínez Cortés, Eva M<sup>a</sup>, *Ireland and Philip II: defence and conservation of the Catholic frontiers*, unpublished minor thesis (National University of Ireland, 1995).

<sup>79</sup> 'Universities in Castile 1500-1700', p. 54.

## 6. APPENDICES

### 6.1. LIST OF RECTORS AT THE 'IRISH COLLEGE OF ALCALÁ'

Ricardo Dhall  
Hugo Fayó

- 1627 In a memorial of D. Theoblado de Burgo to the King, he states that 'he is superior of the students of his nation who live in the manner of a community in the University of Alcalá'.<sup>80</sup> So, by this time and before of the establishment of an Irish college in that city, Irish students were already grouped together.

#### First Foundation: The 'Irish College of Saint Patrick' (1630)

- 1632 Miguel O Gara  
1644 Guillermo Mostey: In April of that year this Irish priest described himself as Rector of the *Irish College of Saint Patrick* in the University of Alcalá<sup>81</sup>.

#### Second Foundation: The 'College of San Jorge of the Irish Apostolic Missionaries of the North' (1645)

- 1649 Goffredo Daniel (Co. Galway): First Rector of this new College of Alcalá.  
1681 Juan Malli  
Ricardo Dhall (Co. Galway)  
Hugo Fayó (Co. Galway)  
1711 Matheo Talbott (Waterford)  
1719 Julio Mackenna  
1728 Carlos Machug  
1732 Miguel O'Gara (afterwards Archbishop of Tuam)

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<sup>80</sup> Madrid, 19 January 1626. Report of the Spanish Council of State to Philip IV (*Archivo General de Simancas*, E 2754).

<sup>81</sup> On the occasion of Hugo Eugenio O'Neill's admission to the military order of Calatrava (Madrid 29 April 1644). *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, 1833.

- 1745 Santiago Cavanagh: on 22 December 1745 he was suspended by the patrons and replaced in his rectorship by Royal provision on 1 Oct. 1746.
- 1746 Juan Gallagher (vice-rector)<sup>82</sup>  
Santiago Cavanagh
- 1760 Guillermo Murrey<sup>83</sup>  
Patrizio Hogan (vice-rector)
- 1770 Carlos Mackieman  
Malachias Keley (vice-rector)
- 1770 Francisco O'Lean: appointed perpetual rector by the Royal Council on 25 January<sup>84</sup>. Nevertheless, before the end of 1771 had resigned and gone due to the problems with the students, whom 'desire nothing more than to get rid of him'<sup>85</sup>  
Patricio Maginess (vice-rector)
- 1780-1785 Patricio Maginess (Arthurstown, Co. Louth): last rector of the Irish College of Alcalá.

## 6.2. ALUMNI OF THE IRISH COLLEGE, ALCALÁ.

- 1711 Francisco Arcbold (Dublin)  
Roberto Esquerret (Galway)  
Christobal Blanco (Navan, Co. Meath)  
Carlos Jordan (Co. Mayo)  
Diego Goold (Galway)  
Diego Barry (Buttevant, Co. Cork)  
Diego Heslenan (Cork)  
Juan De Burgo (Killala, Co. Mayo)  
Reymundo Heneghan (*Elly*, province of Connaught). They testified -as the then rector Don Matheo Talbott and two previous-rectors of the College,

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<sup>82</sup> From St.Patr.Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', *leg.* S29, no. 2: '1 Oct. 1746. Royal letter of replacement in the Rectorship of Alcalá of Señor Don Santiago Cavanagh and other charges of various men who were suspended by the patrons and by the Rector of the University of Alcalá'.

<sup>83</sup> From St.Patr.Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', *leg.* S29, no. 3: '(1760-1784; 1872-77 (-1951). Minute book of chapel meetings and income of scholastics. Includes correspondence from 1872 to 1877, autobiography of Fr Sherlock S.J. (1595-1646) of Waterford and annotations by J. Ranson, Rector'.

<sup>84</sup> St.Patr.Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', *leg.* S29, no. 5: '29 Jan 1770. Testimony of appointment of perpetual Rector of the College in favour of Don Francisco O'Lean'.

<sup>85</sup> From the superior of the Scots College, John Geddes to Bishop Hay on 4 Feb. 1771. Quoted by Taylor, Maurice, *The Scots College in Spain*, p. 66.

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- Ricardo Dhall and Hugo Fayó-when General Count Danio O Mahony was a candidate for the Order of Santiago in 1711.
- 1732 In October of that year, the rector of the College (Miguel O Gara) applied for the *viaticum* for nine students:  
 Baltasar Domingo Boquin  
 Andres Kerwan  
 Juan Concannon  
 Andres Tuite  
 Carlos Machug  
 Francisco Farrel  
 Francisco Chanly  
 Diego Cofy  
 Diego Healy
- 1736 Andrew Campbell (at English College, Seville till 1736. Completed studies at Irish College, Alcalá. Bishop of Kilmore 1753-1769)<sup>86</sup>
- 1745 Guillermo Lonergan
- 1746 Andres O Beime<sup>87</sup>  
 Bernardo O Queli  
 Guillermo O Lonergan  
 Matias Concanon  
 Daniel O Siel  
 Julio Maquena  
 Juan Magmahon  
 Jacovo Manin  
 Diego Plunquet  
 Carlos O Shiel  
 Nicolas Plunquet
- 1760 Guillermo Carigton<sup>88</sup>  
 Thomas Magenise (from 25 Sept. 1751)  
 Guillermo Knaavin (from 2 Aug. 1755)  
 Enrique Barnewal (June 1756)

<sup>86</sup> From Murphy, Martin, *St Gregory's College, Seville, 1592-1767* (Great Britain, 1992), p. 57.

<sup>87</sup> List from St.Patr.Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', *leg.* S29, no. 2.

<sup>88</sup> List from St.Patr.Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', *leg.* S29, no. 3: '1760-1784; 1872-77 (-1951). Minute book of chapel meetings and income of scholastics. Includes correspondence from 1872 to 1877, autobiography of Fr Paul Sherlock S.J. (1595-1646) of Waterford and annotations by J. Ranson, Rector'.

Francisco Lonergan (10 Aug. 1756)  
Pedro Margui (10 Aug. 1756)  
Julio Currin (?) (16 Aug. 1756)  
Lucas Moynagh  
Miguel Rian (1757)  
Gerardo Drake (20 Aug. 1757)  
Thomas (?) (16 Mar. 1758)  
Jn. Costello (25 Sept. 1759)  
Thadeo Diaz (23 July 1760)  
Lucas Hogan (25 Nov. 1760)  
Therenzio O'Brien (19 Jan. 1761)  
Julio (?) Ward (11 Apr. 1761)  
Daniel Phelan (27 Dec. 1761)  
Marcos Brogan (30 Dec. 1761)  
Marcos Macdonell (11 Jan. 1762)  
Patrizio Thery (?) (17 Aug. 1762)  
Ricardo Plunket  
Santiago Doran  
Carlos Mackieman (30 Apr. 1765)  
Francisco Linnan (1 Sept. 1765)  
Juan Agan (1 Sept. 1765)  
Juan Faral (1 Sept. 1765)  
Diego Seehy (1 Sept. 1765)  
Edmundo Shelli  
Malachias Kellty  
Patrizio O'Rian  
Guillermo Eube (?)  
Thomas Whalsh  
Juan O'Reilly  
Guillermo Filzgarald  
Patricio Magenise  
Phelipe Walsh  
Joseph Balfe  
1770 Francisco Linnan (or Sinnan)<sup>89</sup>  
Juan Faral  
Patricio O'Ryan  
Diego Sheehy (or Shehy)

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<sup>89</sup> On the occasion of appointment of Rector in favour of Don Francisco O'Lean (St.Patr.Coll., 'Salamanca Archives', leg. S29, no. 5).

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Edmundo Shelly  
Thomas Walhs  
Guillermo Filzgarald (or Filzgerald)  
Juan O Reyli  
Juan Macdonnoug  
Phelipe Walhs  
Patricio Magenise  
Juan Boork  
Juan Ken (or Keer)  
Juan Murrey  
Diego Linnan  
Domingo Harty (or Hasty)  
Guillermo Mead (or Meade)  
Lucas Noullan  
Julio Green (or Juan)  
Joseph Bolf  
Juan Rian (or Ryan)  
Julio Glisen (or Juan Glisten)  
Walterio Henry (or Walter Henry)  
Julio Sheridan (or Juan)  
Joseph O Faral (or O'Farrall)  
Juan Buckley (or Bucley)  
Carlos Mackieman  
Malachias Kely  
Juan Gren  
Juan Ryan  
Juan Sheridan

**6.3. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE IRISH COLLEGE OF ALCALÁ DE HENARES IN RUSSELL LIBRARY, ST PATRICK'S COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH, 'SALAMANCA ARCHIVES'.**

Legajo S29

- no. 1      21 Dec. 1645. Copy of the will (conceding) Baron Jorge de Paz de Silveira, founder of the College of San Jorge, Irish College in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid (50 pp).

Óscar Recio Morales

- no. 2        1 Oct. 1746. Royal letter of replacement in the Rectorship of Alcalá of Señor Don Santiago Cavanagh and other charges of various men who were suspended by the patrons and by the Rector of the University of Alcalá (32 pp).
- no. 3        1760-1784; 1872-77 (-1951). Minute book of chapel meetings and income of scholastics. Includes correspondence from 1872 to 1877, autobiography of Fr. Paul Sherlock S.J. (1595-1646) of Waterford and annotations by J. Ranson, Rector.
- no. 4        1770. Copy of the royal document dated 28 Dec. 1769 concerning a meeting of the profits and effects of the Scottish College in Madrid to the Irish College in Alcalá (c. 28 pp).
- no. 5        29 Jan. 1770. Testimony of appointment/nomination of Rector of the College in favour of Don Francisco O'Lean (8 pp).
- no. 6        Feb. 1770-April 1772. Duplicate bound volume of Royal orders issued to the Irish College. (Possibly also a minute book). c. 75 pp.
- no. 7        14 Aug. 1777. Appointment/nomination of Director of College Buildings in favour of Dr. Don Andrés González Calderon (3 pp).
- no. [8]      Various dates. Royal documents concerning the visit to the Seminary by Don Guillermo Bermingham, Rector of the Irish College Salamanca.
- no. 9        1785-1790. Royal documents and formalities of union of the College of San Jorge of Alcalá and St Patrick's College of Salamanca (76 pp).
- no. 10      1871-1877. Mc Donald correspondence.
- no. 11      c.1782-1933. Various Rectors' papers (c. 60 pp).

Legajo S30: Irish College accounts

- no. 1        1774-1781. Monthly accounts (c. 62 items).
- no. 2        1773-1785. Book of monthly (income and) expenditure (c. 140 pp).
- no. 3        1770; 1778-1785. Book of monthly (income and) expenditure (c. 127 pp).

Legajo S31: Accounts

- no. 1        June 1771-March 1772. Book of daily expenditure (c. 68 pp).
- no. 2        1726-1754. Book of monthly general expenditure (c. 800 pp).
- no. 3        1759-1770. Book of monthly general expenditure (c. 400 pp).

Legajo S32: Receipts

- no. 1        1773-1779. Receipts of the College of Alcalá (c.301 pp).

- no. 2      1781-1782. Receipts of the College. Signed by the last rector, Don Patricio Magines (24 pp).

-Also there are various documents relating to the Irish College of Alcalá in Dublin Diocesan Archives, 'Irish College of Salamanca Archives'.

## **7. ESSENTIAL SECONDARY SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH COLLEGES AND SPANISH-IRISH RELATIONSHIPS**

### **PART I. IRELAND BACKGROUND: TOWARDS EUROPE AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION**

- Bossy, J., 'The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Ireland, 1596-1641', in T.D. Williams (ed.), *Historical Studies*, viii (Dublin, 1971).
- Bradshaw, Brendan, *The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1974).
- : 'Native Reaction to the Westward Enterprise: A Case-Study in Gaelic Ideology', in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650*, ed. by Andrews, K.R., Canny, N.P. and Hair, P.E.H. (Liverpool, 1978).
- Brendan Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth-Century Ireland: The War of Religions*, in *New Gill History of Ireland 3* (Dublin, 1988).
- Brtendan Jennings (ed.), *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders* (Dublin, 1964).
- Canny, Nicholas, 'The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1580-1750', *Past and Present*, n. 95 (May 1982).
- : *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565-76* (Great Britain, 1976).
- Corish, P.J., *The Catholic Community in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Dublin, 1985).
- Cregan, 'Social and Cultural Background of a Counter-Reformation Episcopate, 1618-60', in Cosgrove, A. and McCartney, D. (eds.), *Studies in Irish History Presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin, 1979).
- Edwards, R.D.W., 'Ireland, Elizabeth I and the Counter-Reformation', in S.T. Bindoff, Joel Hurstfield and C.H. Williams (eds.), *Elizabethan Government and Society* (London, 1961).
- Ellis, Steven, *Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community and the Conflict of Cultures* (London, 1985).
- Gráine, Henry, *The Irish in the Netherlands* (Dublin, 1992).

- Hammerstein, Helga, 'Aspects of the Continental Education of Irish Students in the Reign of Elizabeth I', in Williams, T.D. (ed.), *Historical Studies*, viii (Dublin, 1971).
- James Hogan, 'Shane O'Neill Comes to the Court of Elizabeth', in S. Pender (ed.), *Féil scríbhinn Tórna* (A Festschrift for Tórna), (Cork, 1947).
- Jones, F.M., 'The Counter-Reformation', in P.J. Corish (ed.), *A History of Irish Catholicism* (Dublin, 1967).
- Lennon, Colm, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest*, in *New Gill History of Ireland 2* (Dublin, 1994).
- Silke, J.J., 'The Irish Abroad in the Age of the Counter-Reformation, 1534-1691', in Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X. and Byrne, *A New History of Ireland, III (Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691)*.
- : 'Ireland and Europe 1559-1607' in *Irish History Series* n. 7 (Dublin, 1966).
- : *Kinsale: The Spanish Intervention in Ireland at the End of the Elizabethan Wars* (Liverpool, 1970).

## PART II. THE IRISH COLLEGES ON THE CONTINENT

### 1. General: On the Counter-Reformation in Europe

- Bonney, R., *The European Dynastic Estates 1494-1660* (Oxford, 1991).
- Hannemann, M., *The Diffusion of the reformation in South-Western Germany, 1518-34* (1974).

### 2. On the Colleges

- Canon O'Boyle, J., *The Irish Colleges on the Continent. Their Origin and History* (Belfast, 1935).
- Corish, Patrick J., *Maynooth College 1795-1995* (Dublin, 1995).
- O Fiaich, T., *The Irish Colleges in France* (Dublin, 1990).
- Silke, J.J., 'The Irish Abroad in the Age of the Counter-Reformation, 1534-1691', in Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X. and Byrne, F.J., *A New History of Ireland III (Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691)*.
- Swords, L. (ed.), *The Irish-French Connection 1578/1978* (Paris, 1978).
- : *Soldiers, Scholars, Priests. A Short History of the Irish College, Paris* (Paris, 1985).
- T.J. Walsh, M.A., *The Irish Continental College Movement. The Colleges at Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Lille* (Dublin and Cork, 1973).

### **PART III. THE SPANISH-IRISH CONNECTION: THE IRISH COLLEGES IN THE PENINSULA**

#### **1. General: Spanish-Irish Relationships**

- Gráine, Henry, *The Irish Military Community in Spanish Flanders, 1586-1621* (Dublin, 1992).
- Lindsay, J.O., 'The Western Mediterranean and Italy', in *The New Cambridge Modern History VII* (Cambridge, 1957).
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#### **2. On the Colleges**

- McDonald, William, 'Irish Ecclesiastical Colleges since the Reformation', *Irish Ecclesiastical Records*, vol. IX (Dec. 1872 on Salamanca); (on Seville); (Sep. 1873 on Madrid).
- Edwin Henson, C., *The English College at Madrid 1611-1767*, *Cath. Rec.Soc.*, Vol. XXIX (London, 1929). *Registers of the English College at Valladolid 1589-1862*, *Cath.Rec.Soc.*, Vol. XXX (London, 1930).
- Gareth Davies, 'The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela. Two Documents about its Early Days' in *Catholic Tastes and Times: Essays in Honour of Michael E. Williams* (Leeds, 1981).
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- O'Doherty, D.J., 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca', *Archivium Hibernicum*, vol. II (Maynooth 1913); vol. III (1914) and vol. IV (1915).

### **PART IV. THE IRISH COLLEGE OF ALCALA DE HENARES**

- Amáiz, María José and Sancho, José Luís, *El Colegio de los Irlandeses* (Alcalá de Henares, 1985).
- McDonnall, William, 'Irish Ecclesiastical Colleges Since the Reformation', *Irish Ecclesiastical Records*, vol. IX (Sep. 1873).
- Kemey Walsh, Micheline, *The O'Neills in Spain* (Dublin, 1957).
- : 'The Will of John O'Neill, Third Earl of Tyrone', *Sear.Ard Mha.*, Vol. 7, n. 1 (1973).
- : 'The Irish College of Alcalá de Henares', *Sear.Ard Mha.*, Vol. 11, n. 2 (1985).
- Taylor, Maurice, *The Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid, 1971).



**1. Façade of the Irish College of Alcalá. Photo by M.A. Pizarro.**



**2. Main Door. Photo by M.A. Pizarro.**