

The Years in Madrid

A seminary's purpose is the training of future priests and this is a topic that, so far, has hardly been mentioned in this account of the foundation of the Madrid college. In fact, the Jesuit provincial, just a few weeks after the college had been founded, declared that no students ought to be accepted meanwhile, since the institution was so burdened with debt.¹ The first students arrived in the winter of 1632-33, just a few months before the founder's death.² Their names and the principal biographical details known about them are recorded in the Register (Appendix III) but it is to be noted that at least three of them were sent to Madrid from the Scots College in Douai. There were several grounds of relationship between the older establishment at Douai and the new college in Madrid. Not only was Douai in Flanders and so part of the Spanish empire, but Colonel Semple, before setting up his own college, had maintained some students at Douai at his own expense and had been instrumental in securing financial grants from the Spanish crown for the college. Moreover, Douai was ruled and administered by Scottish Jesuits, as the Madrid college also was to be, except for certain periods. In fact, therefore, the great majority of the students of the Spanish college during its Madrid era came from Douai and some of these, plus others who had not been there previously, went to Douai on leaving Madrid.

William Semple lived just long enough to see the first students come to his foundation although, since the property was occupied by him and his wife and by various tenants, the students were lodged, at least at first, in nearby inns, their upkeep being paid from the income of the foundation.

Among the Scots Jesuits in Spain was Hugh Semple (or Sempill), the founder's nephew, and to him was committed the immediate

1. P. Luis de la Palma, 26th May 1627. (Columba House.)

2. Another possible explanation of this delay is that Semple reserved the right, during his lifetime, to revoke the deed of foundation.

direction of the new institution, although he was never given the title of rector. The son of Robert Semple of Craighait (or Craighbet), near Bridge of Weir in Renfrewshire, Hugh Semple was born in 1589 and, before entering the University of Glasgow in 1610, had taken the required Protestant oath. But, after the visit to Glasgow of Father John Ogilvie in 1614, he decided not only to break with Calvinism but also to renounce his property, go abroad and enter the Society of Jesus. His uncle offered to keep him financially if he came to Spain and thus he entered the novitiate of the Province of Toledo in 1615.³ He was later a student at the University of Alcalá de Henares and in time became a professor of mathematics at the Colegio Imperial de San Isidro, the Jesuit college in Madrid.⁴ He retained the post and continued to reside there even when he assumed the direction of his uncle's foundation. On feast days, he offered Mass in the Scots chapel but, on other days, Mass was said there by a priest who also acted as sacristan and opened and shut the chapel at the appointed times.

Associated with Fr. Hugh in some way until he returned to Scotland in 1637 was Fr. John Seton, the Jesuit who had brought the students to Madrid at the end of 1632 and who also lodged at the Colegio Imperial. Moreover, there are occasional references to Semple's "companions", at first a Fr. Carlos and later a series of lay brothers for whose upkeep in the Colegio Imperial the Scots College paid. Until his death in 1642, Don Juan Fernández de Bobadilla was the administrator of the college temporalities, his main and frequently unenviable task being the collection of rents, pensions etc.

Inevitably, much of the scant information available concerning the new college has to do with income and expenditure. Income was received irregularly and after long delays from the pension on the see of Cadiz and from various other sources, especially in Flanders, Lille and Murcia, which had been allocated to the foundation in recognition of Colonel Semple's gallant services to Spain and of the worthy and pious aims of the college. Usually these sums arrived in Madrid somewhat depleted, due to the payment of charges for

3. Cf. John Durkan, art. "The Catholic Survival in the West of Scotland," *St. Peter's College Magazine*, Cardross, vol. XXI, no. 82, (June 1954), pp. 87-89.

4. Hugh Semple was the author of two works on mathematics:—

(a) *De Mathematicis Disciplinis libri duodecim* (Antwerp, 1635);

(b) *Experientia Mathematica, De Compositione et Divisione numerorum, linearum, quadratorum etc.* (Madrid, 1642).

He is also said to have prepared a dictionary of mathematics, containing all that had ever been published on the subject; but death intervened before the work could be published. (Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1890-1960, t. VII, col. 1117.)

(In the college archives, 25/6, there are notes, in Hugh Semple's writing, for a Spanish-Latin dictionary, with quotations from the classics and the fathers to illustrate it. There are also two boxes, nos. 37 and 38, containing undated mathematical and astronomical manuscripts in various languages and various hands.)

the renewal of the grants, for the expenses of their collection and their transmission to Madrid, and for fees and tips to various intermediaries. A fair proportion of the college income (something over one third) also came from the rents of the tenants in Semple's houses.⁵ The average annual income in the early years of the foundation was around 50,000 *reals*.

As far as expenditure was concerned, the first charge was Doña María de Ledesma's annual allowance, set at 8,800 *reals* in the deed of foundation and her husband's will. There was also the upkeep of the Jesuits connected with the establishment, and of the students. Not only the day-to-day maintenance of these latter was seen to, but also their travelling expenses (called "*viáticos*") when they came to Spain and when they left the college. Students who joined the Society had the necessary Jesuit clothes bought for them by the college. Moreover, shortly after the colonel's death, the claims of two men to be his sons were admitted and annual remittances, one of 3,000 *reals* and the other of 2,000, were assigned to them.⁶ As well as Bobadilla's salary, there were various expenses in the Semple building to be looked after, especially the continuation of repairs and alterations, and the running costs of the chapel. Whatever remained of the income could be used in paying off debts contracted by Semple for repairs when he acquired the property and for alterations when he established the college.

In the deed of foundation, Colonel Semple had entrusted the general supervision of his college and the appointment and removal of its superiors to the Father Provincial of the Toledo province of the Society of Jesus. Even during Hugh Semple's tenure of office, the provincial exercised these duties by initiating a custom that was continued until the end of the Madrid era, that of the periodic visitation. These usually took place at three-yearly intervals and were conducted either by the provincial himself or by his delegate; the accounts were examined and checked and a written report made. There is other evidence of the provincial's interest in the college during the early years. He advised, for example, that no more students ought to be accepted until the heavy debts had been paid

5. The principal tenant for many years was the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo y Almonacid, Count of Provera.

6. The two men were:—

- (a) Francis Semple, sometimes called Francisco Fernández; his mother was perhaps Michela Fernández (who, from 1635 to 1640, was also receiving payments from the foundation: college archives 13/48); he married Charlotte Duquesnoy in Brussels in 1637 (*ibid.* 3/33); he lived there and had a large family (*ibid.* 18/6); died c. 1670. The college tried often and vainly to discontinue the allowance; Semple's remonstrations and receipts (in Spanish and French, never in English) are in college archives, box 18;
- (b) Andrew Semple, sometimes called Andrés de Tovar; a priest; lived in Spain, probably in Madrid; a prolific writer on religious subjects; one of his works, *Sermones de Varios Assumptos por el Doctor Don Andres Semple de Tobar, Tomo Primero y Octavo de sus obras*, Madrid 1653, is in the college library in Valladolid (A. M. 3. 15); it includes a list of the subjects to be found both in his previous seven works and in his future projected writings; he died in 1653.

off; (advice that, in fact, was not carried out, at least fully, until years later, when Spanish Jesuits were put in charge of the college).

As early as 1636, the provincial in Toledo is said to have been reminded by the Father General in Rome that the college was not Jesuit property but only administered by the Society. Nevertheless, it must be said that the distinction often seems to have been forgotten or overlooked during the whole of the Madrid period of the college's history. Not only were all the superiors Jesuits (either Scots or Spaniards) but, from the later 1600s onwards, the establishment is usually referred to as the "College of the Society of Jesus of the Scots" or as the "Scots College of the Society of Jesus" and the whole atmosphere of the place was Jesuit. Although, for example, the feast of St. Andrew was for a time celebrated with some solemnity, the two feasts specially observed in the college in later years were those of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier. Most important of all, an overwhelming number of the students who came to the college, excluding of course those who left or were dismissed in a short time, entered the Society. One is only stating facts without wishing to enter the controversy about the comparative effectiveness of Jesuit and secular priests as missionaries in Scotland in those penal times; nor ought one immediately to assume that it was against either the letter or the spirit of Semple's deed of foundation that the students should become Jesuits; he did not lay down that they should, nor did he insist that they should not,⁷ although it can be argued that he envisaged his college as an institution from which students should emerge as priests — and this would not happen if the students were to become Jesuits and therefore left the college to be sent to strictly Jesuit houses. Probably, also, some of those who came had every intention, before arrival, of joining the Society.

There is however, room for more complaint that the aim of the foundation was being thwarted in the fact that, of the students who became Jesuits, so few returned to work as missionaries in Scotland. Be all this as it may, the impression of the Madrid college that one receives, rightly or wrongly, is of a holding post or transit camp where the better prospects were retained for some months or a year or two before passing on to a Jesuit novitiate. The first group of students who came to Madrid is a good illustration of this. Of the seven, two left in 1634; the rest all became Jesuits, two of them at least entering novitiates in 1634.

Not until several years after the founder's death did his college

7. Semple's petition to the king (college archives 3/16, cf. chapter 1, footnote 22) and the deed of foundation both speak of the seminary being established for "*Seglares Escoceses*." "*Un seglar*" normally means "a lay person" as opposed to a cleric; but it is sometimes used to refer to "a secular priest" as opposed to a member of a religious order, e. g., in the royal approbation of the college, 1639. (Ibid. 30/9.)

receive the formal royal approbation. On 3rd November 1638, the Cortes gave its approval and, on 17th January following, Philip IV issued his *cédula* (letters patent) authorising the foundation and making grateful reference to the steadfastness of the Catholics of Scotland and the many gallant services rendered to Spain and to religion by William Semple and so many of his countrymen. The *cédula* noted that the dress of the students was to be a brown cloak and a red *beca* (a long, wide scarf, worn, as it were, back to front) and that they were to attend classes in the schools of the Jesuits.⁸ Formal permission for the establishment was also given, later in the same year, on behalf of the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo.⁹

Bobadilla died in 1642, at odds with Hugh Semple because of his (Bobadilla's) claims of money owing to him and counter-accusations that he had been embezzling the college funds. Thereafter, Fr. Hugh combined the work of temporal administrator with his existing duties, since the reason for Bobadilla's appointment in the first place had been the founder's mistaken impression that the vow of poverty made it impossible for a religious to carry out the duties. Hugh Semple's new post meant occasional long journeys to collect income due to the foundation. One of his first actions as temporal administrator was to buy, from the Conde de Molina, two houses situated in the Calle de la Concepción Gerónima. He paid 27,000 *reals* for them and hoped that, once let to tenants, they would bring in rents of almost 2,000 *reals* a year. His reason for this purchase, rather strange because of the debts with which the college was burdened was the threat of a severe devaluation of money such as occurred from time to time due to the very necessitous circumstances in which the Spanish treasury found itself.

Since her husband's death, Doña María had continued to live quietly in some ground-floor apartments of the college buildings. There is no evidence that she took any active share at all in the affairs of the foundation, but she made several sizable donations for the embellishment of the chapel and in particular for two side altars. She died on 20th December 1646, having survived the colonel almost fourteen years, and was buried alongside him in the college chapel.

In the National Library of Scotland (ms. 5057), there is a vellum manuscript of twenty-two folios, written in Latin and entitled "*Regulae Collⁱ Madritensis Soc. Jesu Scotorum*". From it, we can gain a few glimpses into life in the college in these early days and an idea, perhaps, of what the Jesuits regarded as the college's purpose.

The rule-book has six chapters, the first two dedicated to the procedure for admitting students and the requirements expected of

8. An authenticated copy, made in 1778, is in the college archives, 30/9.

9. *Ibid.* 3/30.

them. Then follow chapters on piety, studies and discipline, and a final one on the manner of comporting oneself with becoming modesty in public. Apart from normal requirements regarding character etc., students had to be Scotsmen, either born in the country or at least with one Scots parent;¹⁰ and ordinarily they were to be between sixteen and thirty years of age (since the subjects they would study were philosophy, which included the various branches of mathematics and the physical sciences, and theology, the former for three years and the latter for four).¹¹ Their purpose in coming to the college was to prepare themselves to work later for the spiritual needs of Scotland¹² and, at a suitable date chosen by the superior, they were to take an oath that they would dedicate themselves to the ecclesiastical life.¹³ There is, of course, nothing in these rules about joining, or not joining, the Society of Jesus but, among the spiritual qualities required in entrants was one that they be "*erga Societatem Jesu bene affecti*."¹⁴

The students were to rise at 4.30 a. m. in the summer months and an hour later in winter and, after half an hour spent in dressing and preparing themselves, they were to devote another thirty minutes to mental prayer. They were expected to be at Mass every day and confession once a week. Bedtime was at 9 o'clock in winter and at 10 in summer.¹⁵

The aim, at least in theory, seems to have been that the students be divided into groups or *cubicula*, the members of one *cubiculum* not normally mixing or conversing with those of the others. Each *cubiculum* had a student-prefect and a vice-prefect, and, every week, these officials were to meet with the superior to give a report on how the rules were being observed and to bring to his notice any requirements, whether spiritual or material, of the students.¹⁶ The students were not to go out of the college without permission; leave to spend the night, or to take a meal, outside was to be given only very rarely and for very serious reasons;¹⁷ and a student might enter another's room only with permission and provided the door be left open.¹⁸

The introduction and conclusion of the manuscript make it clear that this particular copy of the rules was presented, on behalf of the rector¹⁹ and superiors of the college, to the nuncio of Innocent X in Spain, Giulio Rospigliosi, titular Archbishop of Tarsus and the

10. Chapter 1, no. 1.

11. Chapter 1, nos. 2 and 19.

12. Chapter 1, no. 12.

13. Chapter 1, no. 17.

14. Chapter 1, no. 22.

15. Chapter 3.

16. Chapter 5.

17. Chapter 5, no. 8.

18. Chapter 5, no. 16.

19. Only in this Latin document is Hugh Semple called "rector" of the college.



7

Señor. El Coronel Guillermo Semple, que reside por acá me hizo el servicio que sabreis de la entrega de Liza y respues lo continuo en esos estados. Hame suplicado le mandase pagar lo que se le debe del entretenimiento que tiene en ellos que les sirve para su sustento, y pues es justo darle satisfacion, ordenas que se le de sin falta de lo que justamente para su sustento se le debe con la mayor brevedad que se pudiera siendo preferido a otros pues lo merece su persona que de ello recibire mucho contentamiento. Nro Señor es guarde como suerto. De San Lorenzo a XXV de Setiembre 1594. L

Buen tio y her^{no} del A

Yo el Rey

Don Martin de Avila



COLONEL WILLIAM SEMPLE

1546-1633

Founder of the College

(Portrait in college refectory, Valladolid)



DOÑA MARIA DE LEDESMA
(d. 1646)

Wife of William Semple and Foundress of the College
(Portrait in college refectory, Valladolid)

Lo que el p^e Hugo Sempitio
ha gastado por el Seminario
Escocés de Madrid.
Año 1633.

Reales

A 15 de Enero por cinquenta y quatro varas de paño Negro para vestir seis estudiantes del Seminario de manteos y sotanas, y para una sotana del p ^e seton dio mil y sieteientos y ochenta y dos reales	01	U 7 82	
El gasto que hizieron los estudiantes en la primera posada en el mes de Enero hasta 23 del dicho mes fue quatrocientos y sesenta reales		U 4 60	
Dozientos ochenta y vn reales por 105 varas de lienzo para 12 sábanas y almohadas y paños de manos con sus hechuras		U 2 61	
Dozientos cinquenta y dos reales de 12 mantas de camas		U 2 51	
Ciento y cinquenta y dos reales de 29 varas de lienzo de manteos		U 1 52	8
+ Sesenta reales y 29 marv. por seis camas en cor deladas		U 0 60	24
Dozientos quarenta y seis reales de seis colchones		U 2 46	
Cinquenta y tres reales y 24 marvedis por seis esteras de cama, 3 servicios 8 jarros 6 vasos 12 escudillas 3 candelas, escovas, 2 alcuas		U 0 53	22
Setenta y ocho reales de 4 mesas: una para el refitorio, y tres con sus caxones para estudiar		U 0 7 8	
Veintiocho reales de tres sillas de espaldar		U 0 2 8	
Catorze reales y 8 marvedis por recamos de escribir 3 sarteros y pililla de agua bendita		U 0 1 4	8
Cien reales a Ana Lopez que era la ama que quisava de comer a los estudiantes a 22 de Enero para comprar de comer		U 1 0 0	
Summa		345 0 6	28

A page from the first accounts and administration book of the college. The date is 1633, the writing is that of Hugh Semple and the items refer to students' expenses. (College archives A/1.)

future Clement IX. The occasion, no doubt, was a visitation of the college and, at the end of the manuscript, there appear, above the date of 24th January 1647, the nuncio's approval of the rules and his concession to the college of all the papal indulgences, privileges and faculties enjoyed by the English College at Valladolid and the Irish at Alcalá de Henares.²⁰

On 19th February following, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, on the proposal of Cardinal Albornozy, gave its approval to the college but, in spite of the king's request to the contrary, put it under the jurisdiction of the nuncio in Spain.²¹

Two more students had probably arrived in 1643; (it is very difficult to be sure of the numbers and identities of the students and of their dates of arrival and departure). But a much bigger batch, of about ten, came a year after Doña María's death. Some of them had been fetched by Fr. Adam Gordon, who had been sent to Scotland (or Douai) by Hugh Semple for that purpose. These latter arrived by sea at San Sebastián; the others landed at Bilbao. (Occasionally travellers between Douai and the college went by the overland route, but the more usual way was by sea, from Dunkirk or a nearby port to a port in northern Spain or even, in one or two cases, to Cadiz.) In the next few years, there are various references to more students arriving and others leaving.

Of the way of life of these early students, we know very little more than the rule-book of 1647 tells us. When a large group was about to arrive, as in 1633 and 1647, various articles of household furniture (such as beds of wood and cord) as well as provisions were laid in. Cloth was bought for their soutanes and cloaks. But it must be admitted that it is difficult even to know whether the students lived in the actual college buildings or not. The first group spent some months in the inn run by one Ana López but are then said to have transferred to the college. The group of 1647 is said to have been lodged in a house across the street from the college and, a couple of years later, Semple paid for "the renting of the houses where the students of the Scots seminary live";²² yet a cook for the students was on the college payroll. The books that were bought for them were on such subjects as logic, physics, grammar and the Latin classics (Cicero, Martial, Virgil and Horace). The students in all probability attended classes in the Colegio Imperial so that, although there are at this time occasional references to Scottish Jesuits being at the college, these would not be acting as masters or teachers in the seminary. From time to time, there is an

20. Cf. William James Anderson, art. "The Rule of the Scots College, Madrid, 1647," *The Innes Review*, vol. XV (1964), pp. 189-191.

21. Cf. Cathaldus Giblin O.F.M., art. "The 'Acta' of Propaganda Archives and the Scottish Mission, 1623-1670," *ibid.*, vol. V (1954), p. 54, fn. 53.

22. College archives, Administration book A/1, fol. 91 v.

indication of the way in which the students diverted themselves — a day in the country, a trip to the Escorial, the hire of a platform or a balcony to watch the bullfights in the Plaza Mayor.

In 1652, there was another scare, which proved justified, that money was again to be devalued. A large sum due to the college was therefore paid to Semple and he, to avoid being caught with it at the moment of devaluation, bought yet another property — the country estate called Gilimón, situated between the Puerta de Santa Bárbara and the Fuente Castellana and for which he paid 50,000 *reals*.²³ In the grounds was a large house of between twenty and thirty rooms.

By this time, there had already arisen, among Scots Jesuits elsewhere, a feeling that the Madrid foundation should be closed and its funds and students sent to other places. This view was supported by accusations that Hugh Semple was an incompetent, neglectful administrator, more interested in his mathematics than in defending the rights of the college against the rapacity of the Spanish Jesuits.²⁴ It is true that Semple did not associate much, even by correspondence, with that group of Scottish Jesuits who looked after the houses in Douai and Rome and tended the Scottish mission; and no doubt this aloofness was at least one cause of their exasperation.

At the end of September 1652, Fr. John Seton, who had been with Hugh Semple in the years immediately following the founder's death and had, in fact, probably conducted the first students to Spain, returned to Madrid, sent by orders of the Father General. He had re-appeared to complain that the annual allowances, allocated by the king for the support of the missionaries in Scotland, were not being paid. It is also possible that he was in Madrid at the behest of the Scottish Jesuits at home or in Douai, hoping to take over the administration of the college and be in a position to close it and transfer its resources to Scotland or to Douai.

Seton also was most critical of Hugh Semple.

"My being here," he wrote to Fr. Adam Gordon, then rector in Rome, "will auaille little for the redresse of many grytt abuses, which all this whyll that F. Hugh hes had care of these affaires hes bene continowed both by omission and commission to the grytt hinderance of the progresse of this pyous worke, small or no benefite

23. Deed of purchase, 17th June 1652. (Columba House.)

24. In 1649, Fr. William Christie, who had been a missionary in Scotland for twenty years and also rector of the Rome college, wrote to Fr. Andrew Leslie, his successor in Rome: "If that seminary at Madrit be dispat it uare fitt you hade those remanent. The defect their is yat good F. Hugo thocht himself too uise in al thinges and uold neuer follou counsail. I uish that house uare sold and adioined to Douay... this aduise with Father Vicare Gnall uho may help much." (Quoted by M.V. Hay, *The Blairs Papers (1603-1660)*, pp. 165-6.)

to the mission, scandall of all those of the nation who wishes well unto bothe, and many complaints and obloquyes of many of the gravest fathers in this province. And that cheifly which has bene, and still is, most prejudicial to the business is F. Hugh, his profuse, prodigall, and irreligious spending of much moneyes in toyes, triffls and unnecessare things...²⁵

If Seton's mission was indeed to try to wind up the college, he did not succeed, of course. He did, however, make a money-collecting trip to Seville and Cadiz, during which he had the misfortune to break his leg. Little is known of this mission of Seton to Spain, but he never managed to return to Scotland, as he ended his days in the Colegio Imperial in April 1654. Fr. Hugh Semple also died in the same college on 13th September of the same year.

* * *

After Hugh Semple's death even less is known of the college. From 1654 until 1681, the foundation was administered by a succession of five Scottish Jesuits. Andrew Youngson, who had come to the college as a student in 1647 and remained there a short time before he became a Jesuit novice, took over after Semple died, but demitted office a little more than six months later; probably he had never been more than an interim administrator. He was a highly respected professor of theology in various Spanish institutions of learning, especially in the University of Alcalá, and the author of at least one book, a work of controversy, a copy of which is in the present college library in Valladolid.²⁶

He was succeeded by Adam Gordon, who had brought out a group of students to Semple in 1647. He had had a chequered career, having not only been a student in the Scots Colleges in Douai and in Rome, but having also spent some years as a mercenary officer in France. He came to Spain after a spell of three years as rector of the Rome college, probably sent by the Father General at the instance of those Scottish Jesuits who were dissatisfied with the manner in which Hugh Semple had run the establishment and saw, in the latter's death, an opportunity to have things their way in Madrid. William Christie, in particular, welcomed the appointment and hoped that Gordon would enjoy

“good succes in these soe long neglected affaires, for which thir

25. Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

26. *Reverendi Patris And. Junii Caledonii Abernonensis Primarii Quondam Theologiae Professoris in Murciano Societatis Jesu Collegio, eandemque nunc Facultatem Profitentis in Imperiali ejusdem Societatis Collegio Madritensi—De Providentia et Predestinatione Meditationes Scholasticae—Prima Editio Lugdunensis*, Lyons, 1678. (College library A.L.6.6.)

Adam Gordon, who succeeded him as administrator of the college, described Youngson as “ane sweet bot scrupulos man” and “most capable and verve zealous.” (Hay, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 and 173.)

yeares past be uord and urite I used al meanes to redres. F. Gnull did ueale to send F. Adam uith pouer to entromet with al and taking possession facilitat al to F. Fed. Maxuel uho is absolute expedient to reside their, and the other to the mission uhair their be greate nead of some actiue. I suspect they shal haue adoe both in Madrite to saue al out of those harpyes hands."²⁷

Gordon took over the administration in April 1655 and, provided that he could have Brother George Ignatius Blackhall, then in Soria, assigned to him as his assistant,²⁸ "within ane year I shall repayre much of things lossed and haue the College in estait to manteane a prettye number of youthes."²⁹ Nevertheless, he foresaw difficulties, which he attributed to Semple's mismanagement. "I haue not by me actuallye 4 crounes and I am awing actuallye 2000 and 600. I think one who had put himselfe of set purpose to destroye a busines wold not haue doone more then F. Heu."³⁰

From the beginning of his administration, Gordon showed an extraordinary amount of antagonism towards his Spanish brethren and regarded himself as living in the midst of criminals. Although he was optimistic about paying off some of the debts with which the college was burdened, shortage of money was undoubtedly his biggest problem and he had suggested to the General a temporary expedient to try to ease the situation. "I haue written to our F. General the difficulty we haue heer, for not manteaning youths, which is not to be slighted. Ther is no remedye bot one which both I and the English father doe insinuat, which is to call some of our nation and some English and mak one College of both for some tyme untill we can liue separat, bot as I doe signifie to the General it is almost impossible they [the Spaniards] will agree."³¹

Nothing came of the suggestion and, a few months later, harassed by the threat from an official of the court that all income would be stopped if the college did not have some students soon, he was at the end of his tether. "I wold neuer haue beleueed they had been

27. 5th April 1655. (Hay, op. cit., p. 170.)

28. Blackhall arrived at the college in July 1655. (College archives, A/1, fol. 121 r; Hay, op. cit., p. 173.)

29. 1st April 1655. (Hay, op. cit., p. 171.)

30. 17th April 1655. (Hay, op. cit., p. 172.)

A kinder view of Hugh Semple was taken by Fr. Christopher Lowe or Love (*alias* Mendoza), Procurator General of the English Province of the Jesuits in Madrid, in a report which he composed in 1675 on the state of the English College in that city. Writing of the ill-treatment of foreign Jesuits in Madrid by their Spanish *confrères*, he says: "Thus, out of spleen and envy they have turned away suddainly severall persons ... so was Father Hugh Sempil, a brave Scotchman, for beeing in favour with ye King Philip ye 4th so much persecuted that ye Generall Caraffa commaunded him abruptly, by a letter, to change religion and betake himself to some other order, but hee, by ye same favour of ye King Philip ye 4th, stood up against ye Spanish Fathers and gott ye upper hand of all." (Quoted in *The English College at Madrid 1611-1767*, Catholic Records Society, vol. XXIX (1929), pp. 365-6.)

31. 22nd July 1655. (Hay, op. cit., p. 174.)

such as I find them, trewlye I am more weeryed in 6 months tyme than euer I could be for my whol lyfe any other wher... God helpe me and releue me wt all haist."³²

It had probably never been intended that Gordon's stay in Spain was to be a long one, but rather that he should merely put affairs on a proper footing for his successor, Fr. Frederick Maxwell, and then leave for Scotland.³³ At any rate, Maxwell, a former student of the college, arrived in February 1656 from the Scottish mission where he had been working and Gordon, after a tumultuous administration of less than a year, delightedly took his departure.

During these years, the college can hardly be said to have been thriving. The rents and other revenues were not being received even with normal irregularity, the students were few in number and sometimes lacking altogether. The superiors continued to reside in the Colegio Imperial and, at least until 1659, the students were lodged in boarding houses or inns. It is not to be wondered at that efforts were made to have the foundation closed or altered; and its future was in great jeopardy. Fr. Adam Gordon, on his arrival in Scotland from Madrid, and the Jesuit Superior in Scotland explicitly requested the Father General of the Society of Jesus to sell the Madrid college and transfer the money received to Douai.³⁴ At about the same time, determined efforts were being made on behalf of a community of nuns to buy the Semple property, and the Jesuit provincial and most of his consultors thought that such a sale would be advisable, with a smaller house being purchased for the college. Fr. Maxwell resolutely resisted these attempts, declaring that not only would such changes require to be authorised by the Father General or even by the Pope himself, but also that they were plainly against the will of Colonel Semple and the provisions of the charter of foundation; furthermore, they would be contrary to the best interests of the college and of the future students; in a word, they were madness.³⁵ Two new students for the college were brought from Paris in 1656, in order to answer those who claimed that the foundation had ceased to fulfil its purpose.

Frederick Maxwell died at the end of 1659 and he was followed as administrator by another priest, William Grant, who had reached Madrid in 1658 after several years in Scotland. A few years later

32. 7th October 1655. (Hay, op. cit., p. 175.)

33. Cf. William Christie's letter of 5th April 1655, already cited; also Gordon's own letter of 17th April 1655: "I am sorye that F. Maxuels coming will priuate me shortlye of my consolation... F. Junius hath doone very weell how long he hath been in this office. I wish Father Fredrick doe no worse." (Hay, op. cit., p. 172.)

34. College archives 18/51: Letter of P. Goswinus Nickel, Jesuit General, to Frederick Maxwell, 23rd September 1656, saying that he had resisted the proposal: "...Non acquievi, quia videbam rem exigere maturam deliberationem et quia volebam scire iudicium R. Vae. quod accurate explicavit in suis litteris et persuasit ut statuerem nihil immutandum."

35. *Ibid.*, 18/52-61: Notes and draft letters by Maxwell against the proposal to sell the college buildings; in Spanish and Latin. Cf. Hay, op. cit., p. 176.

the Scots Jesuits returned to the attack and this time the interests of the college were defended by Grant.³⁶ In 1664, however, legal advice was sought and received to the effect that, if it remained impossible to fulfil the founder's wishes properly, the Pope and the Jesuit General would be entitled to authorise that the foundation be turned over to some other purpose. This opinion was not implemented because, at about the same time as it was delivered, four new students arrived.

William Grant had a Spanish co-administrator, Brother Luis de la Fuente. In 1660, the college made a loan of the money that formed the principal of a Mass foundation established in it in 1655 by Dr. John Hamilton, a Scots priest; despite constant efforts, the college did not recover the money from the debtor's heirs until 1761. In 1662, the college sold the two houses which Hugh Semple had bought in the Calle de la Concepción Gerónima for a slightly higher price than had been paid in 1642. At about the same time, the country estate purchased in 1652 was also probably sold.

St. Andrew's day was still being specially celebrated by the community, such as it was. The normal daily fare was meat, bread, wine and fruit, but a list of the provisions laid in for 30th November 1663 is still to be seen and savoured in the administration books. It makes remarkable reading, even though the number of those who participated in the banquet is unknown: twenty rolls, ten pounds of mutton, six pounds of beef, four pounds of pork, four hens, sixteen partridges, one game pie (large), one cake, one dozen lemons, two dozen eggs, six pounds of biscuits, six pounds of olives, four pounds of candied fruit, and a quantity of whipped cream. A perusal of the administration books of later in the century shows a wide variety of foodstuffs bought: mutton, beef, pork, cod, salmon, bream, eggs, cabbages, onions, beans, lentils, turnips, garlic, saffron, peppers, marrows, lettuces, tomatoes, radishes, apples, pears, melons, grapes, peaches, oranges, raisins, chestnuts, honey, cinnamon, sugar and cheese.

The last Scottish superior of the series was James Anderson who, after many years on the mission and a period as rector at Douai, took over the administration of the college in 1665. His arrival in Madrid coincided with the accession of Philip IV's son, the half-imbecilic Charles II, who was to live until 1700 and whose reign was marked by even greater poverty, not only for the treasury but also for the ordinary Spanish people. During Anderson's administration, the college remained far from fulfilling its founder's aims. In 1668, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome complained about this and proposed a visitation of the college to

36. Cf. college archives 18/62: Rough copy of letter protesting against suggestion to transfer college to Douai (c. 1660); in Latin.

find out what was going on and why no priests were being sent from it to Scotland.³⁷ Propaganda had an anti-Jesuit outlook and it is to be presumed that William Leslie who, as well as being agent of the Scottish mission in Rome, also held the post of archivist to the Congregation, made his contribution to the call for an investigation.

Whether a visitation was made soon after the 1668 resolution one does not know but, some years later, Propaganda asked the nuncio to carry out a visitation of the college in Madrid. This he did in 1674 but in an informal way, since he knew how delicate his commission was. He discovered that there were no seminarians and that there remained few, if any, vestiges of Colonel Semple's ambitions that his foundation should be of use to the Scottish mission. He thought that the uneconomic manner in which the college was being run, especially in regard to food bills, might be put down to the inexperience of the Scottish superiors; the reluctance of these to be superseded by Spaniards might be overcome by the Father General.³⁸ Nevertheless, even if not properly fulfilling its purpose, the college survived and there is evidence that, for some time at least, money continued to be sent to Douai for the maintenance of twelve or fifteen seminarians there.

James Anderson was the first superior to be called the rector of the college, but this designation really cloaks the fact that, in 1681, the administration was taken out of his hands and given to a Spanish Jesuit. Fr. Anderson was allowed to remain as rector, or nominal head, of the establishment until his death in 1692 but, from 1681 until 1714, the foundation was run by a series of Spanish Jesuit administrators who, after 1692, are also described as rectors. During this period of Spanish administration, the collection of revenues was pursued with more determination and probably with more success than hitherto and, especially during the rectorship of P. Antonio de Rada (1688-1702), the considerable number of debts with which the college had been burdened since the days of its founder and which had not been paid off by Fr. Hugh Semple, was redeemed. P. de Rada was assisted in this achievement by the establishment in the college of several Mass foundations, including that known as the Godolphin-Cathcart chaplaincy. Catherine Cathcart, daughter of a governor of Gerona³⁹ and widow of a native of Antwerp, left her property to the college for this purpose and made William Godolphin, a Cornishman and a former English ambassador in Madrid, the executor of this bequest.

It is doubtful if, at this period, there were any students at all

37. Cathaldus Giblin O. F. M., art. cit., *The Innes Review*, vol. V (1954) p. 75.

38. The letters exchanged between Propaganda and the Nuncio, the latter's conclusions and the rector's answers to 24 questions concerning the college are all in Columba House.

39. William Cathcart, said to have been a nephew of Col. Semple and, around 1668, a tenant of the college.

in the real sense. Nevertheless, it was a time of successful financial retrenchment and, somehow or other, the college remained in existence and with the same purposes, at least in theory, as those for which it had been founded. During this period, the community such as it was (the rector and two lay-brothers, one acting as sacristan and the other as porter) resided in part of the college itself. The rest was let to tenants.

For some reason now unknown, the General of the Society decided to restore the college to the direction of Scots Jesuits and, in view of this, Fr. Thomas Fife arrived in Madrid from Italy in the spring of 1713. After a month which he spent in the Colegio Imperial, he took up residence in the college, in whose books he is referred to as the Scottish guest. A year later, he became rector⁴⁰ and put in hand a complete repair of the premises. The purchase of furniture and household supplies that, eighty years before, had presaged the arrival of students was again put in hand and, in the early autumn of 1715, three students arrived from Douai. Over the next couple of years, a few more came, some left for Jesuit novitiates—and so the college was back to normal again, with the difference that some at least of the students were sufficiently advanced to study philosophy. In 1717, three Scots Jesuits came to reside in the college and when, at the end of the year, Fife was appointed rector at Douai, one of them, Fr. Kenneth (or Francis Xavier) Strachan, succeeded him.

During Strachan's four years' term of office, small numbers of students continued to come and go; normally there were three or four students in residence. Towards the end of his rectorship, he borrowed about 24,000 *reals* from various British residents in Madrid, presumably to have repairs and alterations done to the college; the money was repaid a couple of years later. The rector had his staffing troubles too. On one occasion the cook, Alonso Martínez by name, was full of complaints that his monthly salary of thirty-five *reals* was very inadequate; the rector, having searched in vain for another cook willing to work for the salary offered, was forced to increase Alonso's salary to fifty *reals* a month. That was in October 1720; by April of the following year, Alonso has disappeared from the administration books and Antonio Pérez, until then the buyer of goods for the college at thirty-five *reals*, has become the cook-buyer at sixty. Other remarks in the books of the period illustrate the perennial problem: "X left on 26th August—he served very badly;" "On the said day, Y was sacked and we were left in peace."

Strachan resigned in September 1721 but remained in the college

40. The English College in Madrid remained under the direction of Spanish Jesuits and, in fact, Fr. Fernando Cortés, having handed over the administration of the Scots College to Fife, was made rector of the English College.

as one of the masters for a further three years, before returning to Douai. His place as rector was taken by William Clerk who, having been rector of the Scots College in Rome for the previous nine years, had arrived in Madrid a few months before assuming office in October 1721. During the five years of Clerk's time as rector, the number of students in the college rose spectacularly, so much so that, in 1724, there were twenty-four. At that time, the community numbered thirty-four, there being five priests, four servants and the personal *valet de chambre* of two of the students, the sons of the Marquis de los Trujillos. In many ways, therefore, the college was, perhaps for the first time, in a flourishing condition, but the high numbers had been achieved at the expense of turning a blind eye to the provisions of the deed of foundation. Many of the students were aristocratic and well-to-do Spanish boys paying fees of 140 *reals* a month, for at this time the college and the Scots Jesuits were acquiring a reputation in Madrid as excellent teachers. In fact, Philip V intended to found a college at Getafe, a few miles south of the capital, for the sons of upper-class families and to place it under the direction of the Scottish Jesuits, but the plan, in the end, was not carried out, due probably to the hostility of the Spanish Jesuits.

The community had the custom at this time of spending three weeks each September in the country at Leganés, a few miles south of Madrid, but for the rest of the year all were lodged in the college. Occasionally there would be a day-trip to the country, with the parents of some of the boys going along. Most of the boys, including the Scots, were in their teens and at an age to study the classics. The Scots students were all, in theory at least, destined for the ecclesiastical state, either as Jesuits or in some other form, and therefore wore clerical dress—all except Andrew Colgrave, aged seven or eight, for whom, as the account book informs us, the rector bought a military outfit "since he was so small and such a child that he could not yet dress as a student."

On the insistence of Isabel Farnese, Philip V's wife, and of the influential Count von Königsegg, the new Imperial Ambassador in Madrid, the king dismissed his chief confessor, Bermúdez, and replaced him by Fr. Clerk. The latter therefore gave up the rectorship of the college and devoted the rest of his days to his new post—one of considerable influence but one also of some fatigue, since the king was not only devout and superstitious but suffered mental aberrations from time to time and was a continual prey to scruples of conscience. He is said to have had the practice of confessing twice daily and, on occasions, to have felt the need to call on his confessor's ministrations in the middle of the night.

Clerk's successor, Fr. William MacGill, had been a master in the college since 1717 and continued Clerk's policy of admitting Spaniards

as students, although not in the same numbers as had Clerk. The total number of students in residence at any given time during his eight years as rector (1726-1734) was usually between ten and twenty, but unfortunately he did not bother to note the names in the administration books. One notices, moreover, that frequently his financial additions in these books required scorings-out and corrections. Whether this is indicative of a less meticulous and conscientious nature, one cannot judge, but it was observed, during one of the visitations which were made by the provincial or his delegate every few years and during which the college accounts were inspected, that MacGill was always late in compiling these. Be that as it may, the Jesuits in Scotland received, during these years, remittances of more money and with more regularity than previously. These remittances of college revenues were made by instruction of the Father General and, for example, in the four years from 1729 to 1733, reached the total of 21,000 *reals*.

Several chests of books, perhaps second-hand and mostly of Latin classical authors, were sent from Douai on more than one occasion; in 1731, the consignment comprised a history of Rome in French (in sixteen volumes), dictionaries, works on the history of the Church and the history of religion, and the works of Bourdaloue (the last, to be read in the refectory). A departure from tradition was made in 1733 when two non-Jesuits were engaged as teachers in the college, at a salary of three *reals* per day; but this occurred only a short time before the closure of the foundation, at least as a college.

For reasons not fully clear to us now (perhaps because of pressure from the Scots Jesuits at Douai and probably also because the Scots in Madrid were weary of the hostility of the Spanish Jesuits around them),⁴¹ the General decreed in 1734 that all of the Scots students at Madrid were to be transferred to Douai, the college in Spain henceforth having to send money there sufficient for the maintenance of twelve and, later, eighteen students. The decision must have been a sudden one, for Fr. Ernest Leslie, who had been a student in the college and at that time was teaching in France, was actually on his way to Madrid to take up his appointment as MacGill's successor when word reached him of the countermanding of the order.

Thus the period during which the college had, relatively speaking, prospered, drew to a close. But not before an event, partly farcical and wholly tragic, had occurred on the very eve of the departure for Douai. The rector, Fr. MacGill, narrates the disaster as follows: "On

41. In a letter to Bishop Grant in Aberdeen, dated 13th March 1772, John Geddes, then in Spain, quotes people whom he had met in Madrid and who could recall this period. They gave the second reason as the explanation of the Scots' departure. (Columba House, letter rack, 5-R.)

10th October 1734, while we were all in the refectory having dinner, thieves gained entry to my room by a false key; there can be no other explanation, since I am certain that the door was locked. Among other things, they took almost eighty thousand *reals* in gold doubloons and about six thousand in silver..."⁴² This loss represented almost two years' expenditure at the time and, since all were leaving for Flanders the following day, poor MacGill had to make the round of his friends and borrow 9,000 *reals* for the expenses of the journey. Fr. Clerk, the king's confessor and former rector, was able to give him more than half of the amount required. And so, the following day, 11th October, the nine Spanish students went home, while the Scots of the community (two priests and seven students) set out, with their luggage, in four carriages for Bayonne, *en route* to Douai. The Madrid college had always been closely linked with Douai and one cannot therefore be very surprised either by the fact of the merger or by its terms.

* * *

For the next thirty-three years, the foundation in Spain, still known as the Scots College, was kept in quasi-existence by a skeleton staff of Spaniards—a succession of rectors-administrators, each with a small group of assistants. Their main purpose and duty was to collect the revenues of the foundation and to send remittances to Douai sufficient for the upkeep of twelve and, from 1744 onwards, eighteen Scots seminarians. In spite of frequent complaints by the Douai rectors (among them, Fathers Strachan and Fife, both former rectors in Madrid) that the money was not being sent as it should, it seems that the Spanish rectors did probably carry out their duties in this respect fairly well, although with the apparently inevitable delays. On one occasion in 1745, John Riddoch, who taught in the Madrid college in the 1720s and was now rector at Douai, wrote to the Madrid rector and threatened that, if the latter did not send a remittance soon, he would write to the General in Rome, seeking his permission to send a dozen of the Douai students to Spain.

During these years, income from all sources, including house rents, increased to anything between 70,000 and 100,000 *reals* a year. An annual average of about 28,000 *reals* was sent to Douai,⁴³ and much of the rest of the money was spent on the maintenance of the small community in the college, on the five hundred foundation Masses that had to be said every year, and on the expenses of the chapel, which was kept in use and open to the public.⁴⁴ From 1747, the Confraternity of the Rosary of Our Lady de Soterraña de Nieva

42. College archives A/6, fol. 367 v.

43. Ibid. 42/56 and A/11 *passim*.

44. Cf. *ibid.* 39/40: Poster announcing a novena in honour of St. Francis Xavier, to be held in the college chapel (1765).

had its headquarters in the college chapel and the confraternity's statue of her was erected on one of the altars.⁴⁵ A certain amount of money was also spent on repairs to the property, on expenses involved in collecting the revenues and in various loans made. There is no evidence of funds being transmitted to the Society, with the exception of 2,500 *reals* sent to Rome on one occasion and a donation of 3,000 *reals* to the Colegio Imperial to help defray the cost of the celebrations held at the time of the canonisation of St. John Francis Regis. On the other hand, the college, in 1759, acquired ownership of an estate near the village of Pinto, a few miles south of Madrid, and a considerable amount of money was spent on this between 1759 and the expulsion.

For some considerable time, antagonism towards the Jesuits had been building up in several European capitals and Madrid was no exception. It was claimed there that the Society was becoming too powerful, was meddling in politics and was a danger to the well-being of the nation. Finally, at the end of February 1767, Charles III signed an order authorising the Count of Aranda, President of the Council of Castile, to expel all Jesuits from the kingdom. This measure Aranda proceeded to organise with great efficiency, ruthlessness and secrecy. In March, the governor of each Spanish city received a sealed letter from him, to be opened at the beginning of the following month, when its instructions were to be put into immediate effect.

Thus all Jesuit houses throughout Spain were surrounded at midnight and the inmates were given only an hour or two to get ready, before being escorted under guard to the seaports and expelled from the country. Most of the Madrid Jesuits were taken to Cartagena and banished from there. It is no wonder, therefore, that the administration books of the college contain no reference to this event. The conclusion of the Madrid period of the history of the college is marked only by abrupt interruption of all information, followed by blank pages—silent but eloquent testimony of what had happened.

During its one hundred and forty years of existence in Madrid, the college can hardly be said to have been a brilliant success or a great help in the work of the conversion of Scotland. The evidence is that a maximum of seventeen of its students returned to work, at least for a time, as priests in Scotland. This number includes one or two who may not have returned at all and others who, although they had been in Madrid, were perhaps not members of the college. Of the seventeen, twelve were Jesuits and five were secular priests. Of the latter, two, Thomas Johnston and Charles Fountain, did not remain long in Scotland, and one, Allan Macdonald, may not have

45. Cf. *ibid.* 34/1/21: Various papers pertaining to the confraternity; and 39/29: Printed letter from the confraternity inviting the patronage of Da. Isabel Tellez y Enriquez, lady-in-waiting to the queen.

been truly a student of the college. Alexander Irvine was a student in the college for a short time but did the bulk of his studies in Douai and Paris. The one and only person in all this time who was certainly a student of the college for any length of time (1664-73) and then spent the rest of his life working on the Scottish mission as a secular priest was George Innes.

On several occasions during the Madrid period, the college seemed too weak to be able to survive; yet somehow, and with a struggle, it remained alive. However, in 1767, it must have seemed, to anyone who knew and cared, that life was finally extinct — but, in fact, hardly anyone in Scotland knew and even fewer cared.