

John Geddes: First Years in Valladolid

The college of St. Ambrose, where the Scots now were, had been a Jesuit institution of considerable renown. The Society established itself in Valladolid in 1543 in the college of San Antonio, which later came to be called San Ignacio; (the church of the college is now the parish church of San Miguel). But, from 1567, San Antonio was exclusively the "Professed House", the residence of the professed fathers, because, about that time, San Ambrosio was set up (on property left to the Society by Da. Maria Ana de la Cuadra y Avellaneda, Sra. de Piña del Valle de Esgueva) and became the "House of Studies", where theology was taught to the Jesuit students. This is the "old part" of San Ambrosio where the Scots were installed and still are; the "newer" part to which the Scots were originally assigned was constructed about 1740 and, in Jesuit times, was a "Colegio Mayor" for teaching younger boys.¹

P. Francisco Suárez, called "*Doctor Eximius*" and eminent as a theologian and jurist, taught in San Ambrosio from 1576 until 1580. Somewhat later, P. Luis de la Puente, who had been a student in the college, returned as spiritual director and rector; he was renowned for his sanctity of life and was reputed to be favoured with private revelations and the power of prophecy and miracle-working; and so the room in which he lived and (in 1624) died was made into a chapel called the reliquary.

Another notable member of the community of San Ambrosio had been the Venerable Bernardo de Hoyos who, during his years as a student of theology in the college (1731-35), revealed how the Sacred Heart had appeared to him on several occasions in the reliquary, in the Capilla de la Congregación (now the college chapel) and probably also in the main Jesuit chapel (later the parish church

1. In the seventeenth century, students of the English College attended classes in San Ambrosio. (*Registers of the English College at Valladolid*, pp. xxiv-xxv.)

of San Esteban and now the Santuario Nacional). The most important of these visions was on Ascension Thursday, 1733, when, de Hoyos recounts, the "Great Promise" of the Sacred Heart was delivered: "I shall rule in Spain and with greater veneration than elsewhere." Ordained to the priesthood in January 1735, de Hoyos left San Ambrosio for the Professed House in September of that year to begin his tertianship, but died at the end of November. It was to a large extent through his efforts that devotion to our Lord's Sacred Heart, already widespread in other countries, became established in Spain.²

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During the early weeks in San Ambrosio, two problems troubled Geddes: shortage of money and the fact that the movable property of the old Madrid College (vestments, sacred vessels, pictures, books, furniture, manuscripts and other documents) was not yet in his possession. As regards the latter problem, Geddes had to draw up and submit memoranda to the Extraordinary Council and gradually, over the next several months, even the things which had been taken to Alcalá found their way to Valladolid.³ But it was some years before he was able to get possession of the charter of foundation of the college.

Geddes and Bustamante, the governor of the city, wrote on 7th May to the Extraordinary Council in Madrid⁴ asking for more money to be remitted to Valladolid as the 20,000 *reals* sent earlier had all been spent. They also asked that, in future, the college administrator in Madrid might be allowed to remit the rent money to Valladolid whenever they asked and without application to the Council each time. In July they wrote again repeating their requests (both of which were granted)⁵ and alleging that the Irish at Alcalá had not only spent 100,000 *reals* of Scots money, but still retained 60-80,000. With access to the college money in Madrid made so much easier, Geddes was able to draw on it in order to pay Perry the expenses of the Scots' accommodation in St. Alban's; the cost, at five *reals* per person per day, came to 10,795 *reals*. In September, Geddes was informed that the exact amount of Scots money still in Alcalá was 81,351 *reals* (about £900) and that the Extraordinary Council had decided to use 60,000 of this sum for transforming the remainder of the college building in Madrid into dwelling houses (which would produce considerably increased revenues for the Valladolid community); moreover, the Council resolved to leave 10,000 with the Irish

2. Cf. *El Santuario Nacional de la Gran Promesa*, Valladolid, 1963. Under the presidency of Cardinal Cascajares, Archbishop of Valladolid, the informative stage of his process of beatification took place in the college chapel between 17th October 1895 and 4th May 1899.

3. College archives 19/58-66.71-79.91.94.95. Document 19/94 is the complete inventory of the articles returned by the Irish.

4. *Ibid.*, 19/113.

5. *Ibid.*, 19/114.

of Alcalá "out of a certain Compassion" and would have the rest sent to Valladolid.⁶

Although Geddes had, in letters to Bishop Hay and to Peter Grant in Rome,⁷ repeated the allegation that the Irish had spent about £1,000 of Scots money, he admits in his Memoirs⁸ that he never found out directly the truth of this matter but suspected, from his subsequent knowledge of what the Scots revenues of the time were, that they had taken no Scots money except the 10,000 *reals* awarded them by the Extraordinary Council and the stipends corresponding to the Scots' foundation Masses which they had said for nearly four years. "Whatever may be the Truth of this, Mr. Geddes was thus at last delivered from all further Connections with the Irish, excepting what arises from the general Ties of Charity... and the being engaged in a common Cause; ...and he had the Satisfaction to be always afterwards on the most friendly terms with the Irish in Spain."⁹

Once installed in San Ambrosio, things went reasonably well for the infant community.¹⁰ Perry had suggested changing the name of the college to that of Ss. Ninian and Columba¹¹ and Geddes asked for Bishop Grant's and Bishop Hay's comments.¹² In a letter to Robert Grant, the Douai principal, he had spoken of putting the college under the patronage of the two saints, a plan which Grant approved, especially because they were "both Scotch and Clergymen,"¹³ but the proposal was never properly implemented and eventually was abandoned.¹⁴

In his first letter to Hay after taking possession of the college, Geddes thought that the rector should be changed every five or six years, otherwise he might begin to think that he is "independent and for life" and "sincerely my opinion is that you should at least

6. *Ibid.*, 19/93.

7. To Bishop Hay, 14th June 1771, and to Peter Grant, Rome, 9th November 1771. (Columba House 5-Q.)

8. *Memoirs*, no. 192.

9. *Ibid.*, no. 192.

10. Geddes had engaged four servants: Francisco Barrenechea as major-domo, Francisco Nieto as porter and tailor, Miguel — as cook, and Simon — as kitchen boy. (College archives A/12, p. 32.)

11. *Memoirs*, no. 199. Cf. draft of letter by Dr. Perry in Madrid to Mgr. Stonor, Rome, March 1771: "I take with me [to Valladolid] Mr. Geddes whose 15 loons and two Masters... are for the present stowed with some inconvenience in San Albano, but will be soon removed into the part of the late Padri's Colledge of S. Ambrose, which part is to be Christen'd from the 2 Apostles of the South and Northern Picts, the Colledge of S. Ninian and S. Columba, which last we can trust better than we can some of his countrymen." (English College, Valladolid, archives E.2^o; transcript 2/80.)

12. Geddes to Bishop Hay, 4th February 1771. (Columba House 5-Q.) In a formal letter of 16th March 1771 to the Inquisitor General asking permission to read forbidden books, Geddes described the college as under the patronage of Ss. Ninian and Columba. (College archives 20/1.)

13. College archives 52/4/5.

14. As late as 1775, however, in the annual financial statement, Geddes described the college as "*Real Colegio de San Niniano y de San Columba de Escoceses*." (*Ibid.*, A/12.)

give no handle for such things."¹⁵ Writing on 1st January of that year of 1771, Hay had expressed his confidence in Geddes' abilities as a rector:

"I fear the management of the Temporals must entirely fall on you... But I would not wish that this should hinder you from taking upon you another charge, which I am entirely of opinion that you should have alone; and that is the direction of Spirituals. We already know what abilities God Almighty has bestowed on you for managing young plants, in that respect ... and, as you now are in a field for employing these abilities, I should be very sorry if that field should be given to another. The other two gentlemen will have their hands full with the drudgery of the Studies."¹⁶

In his early letters to Bishop Hay from Valladolid, Geddes gives some interesting glimpses of his students, some of whom were only twelve or thirteen years old.¹⁷ In the letter of 14th June 1771, all the boys were doing well, except that "poor Archy [Macdonald, from the Highland District] is far behind;" "Sandy [MacDonell, who had come from Paris] is not the most promising we have—indeed he was to have been sent home from Paris this summer, had you not desired him to be sent hither." (Henry Ogilvy, too, from Douai, was already giving reason for anxiety, for Robert Grant, his old principal, wrote, regretting that Geddes found him continuing to be childish).¹⁸ Later that same year, on 26th October, Geddes reported to Hay that all were again well, Archy Macdonald and Donald Macdonald (two of the Highlanders) having recovered from smallpox; the Bishop of Valladolid had been kind enough to confirm seven of the boys in his own domestic chapel and "Ranald [yet another Macdonald] begs to be informed of his age exactly;" he asked Hay to prevent his fellow—"physicians" sending further "apprentices" in the meantime, since the revenues at his disposal could not cope with any more for the present; encouraging his friend to keep them informed of any conversions that took place in Scotland, he explained that such knowledge was a consolation to those in the college and of great interest to those outside it.¹⁹

At the end of October the community had "a spiritual retreat of three days."²⁰ The first ordination from the college in Valladolid had already taken place. Since there were between four and five

15. 14th June 1771. (Columba House 5-Q.) Faithfully observing this advice, Geddes was to write to Bishop Grant on 10th January 1778: "You will remember that my six Years are now past; nor need I tell You, I hope, that You may do with me what You please." (*Ibid.*, 6-G.)

16. *Scotichronicon*, p. 74.

17. College archives 19/50.

18. 24th August 1771. (*Ibid.*, 52/4/6.)

19. Columba House 5-Q.

20. Geddes to Bishop Hay, 18th November 1771. (*Ibid.*, 5-Q.) The last three days of October were also spent on retreat in the succeeding years. (Geddes to George Mathison, 21st December 1778. *Ibid.*, 6-G.)

hundred foundation Masses to be said annually, Geddes decided to have John Gordon, the master who had come from Paris and was then still a deacon, ordained to the priesthood. He wrote to Scotland for dimissorial letters, but the Bishop of Valladolid, because of Geddes' recommendation and anticipating the arrival of the letters, ordained him a priest on 21st September in the parish church of Santiago.²¹

Reference has already been made to the fact that the necessary royal *cédula* putting the Scots in definitive possession of the old part of San Ambrosio was not granted until December 1771. Once the ceremony of juridical establishment had taken place the following month, permission was given for the main door on to the street (now the Calle del Santuario) to be opened; until then, the community had been using a small back door (in the present Calle José-María Lacort). For some months even after that, the Scots had to make do with the small chapel near the front door. The official in charge of confiscated Jesuit property in Valladolid had the key of the bigger oratory commonly called the reliquary, and would not allow Geddes entry, not because it was excluded from the *cédula*, but because it contained many pictures and relics about whose future the *cédula* said nothing.²² A compromise was reached in July 1772, by which the Scots were given access to the reliquary on condition that Geddes signed, and handed to the official, an inventory of the pictures and relics there. Mass was offered in the reliquary on 15th July and thereafter the chapel at the front door became the library.

The present college church or main chapel (which is separate from the rest of the college premises) was not given to Geddes by the *cédula* of 1771. At that time, it was called the Capilla de la Concepción, or de la Congregación Mariana, since it had been used by the members of that confraternity for their various devotions. The first public devotions in Spain in honour of the Sacred Heart of Jesus had been a novena held in this chapel in June 1735, organised by Bernardo de Hoyos, with a picture of our Lord's heart, painted according to de Hoyos' directions, exhibited on the altar. But since the expulsion of the Society in 1767, the chapel had lain empty. From the start, "Mr. Geddes had been desirous of getting it" since he considered that "the Chappel would be very proper for the Scotch College."²³ Not until early in 1773 did a suitable opportunity arise of speaking to the bishop and governor about his desire. Both approved his plan of asking the Extraordinary Council for it and, in fact, the

21. College archives 52/3/13.

22. Reliquary chapels were frequently installed in Jesuit colleges in the second half of the seventeenth century, in the wake of the Council of Trent's encouragement of the veneration of relics. The one in San Ambrosio had been transformed from the room in which the Ven. Luis de la Puente lived and died.

23. *Memoirs*, no. 262.

college was given the use of the chapel by a decree of the Council in July of that year.²⁴

Adjoining this chapel is the church which had been the main chapel of the Jesuit community; it never came into the possession of the Scots but, instead, was made into the parish church of San Esteban in 1775, since the existing parish church was in a ruinous condition; but in 1773 it lay empty. During that autumn, Geddes had the communicating passages between it and his newly acquired chapel bricked up, had the front door of the latter reopened and generally got it clean and into good repair again. The first high Mass was celebrated on its patronal day, 8th December, the celebrant being John Gordon. The parish priest of San Esteban (a person of "busy Temper and narrow Views, though he seemed to be a pious Man and to have good Intentions")²⁵ had claimed the right to officiate with his two assistants, on the grounds that the chapel was in his parish; but he desisted after Geddes had gone to the bishop and complained. The parish priest was also "desirous that the Door of the Chappel to the Street should not be opened, imagining that many would chuse to hear Mass rather in it, than in his Parish Church." Geddes reluctantly agreed so that, during his time as rector, the street door was opened only on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, "on which Day the B. Sacrament was always exposed, and there was High Mass sung, and a Sermon preached, with a great Concourse of People."²⁶ (The celebrant and preacher on these occasions were Spaniards.²⁷) These dealings with the parish priest were as nothing compared to the stormy confrontation that was to occur in 1779 but, in the meanwhile, relations became fairly amicable. "The Parish Priest was invited sometimes to Dinner, and came; but he never officiated in the Chappel, excepting by saying a private Mass in it, as any other Priest would have done."²⁸

To add a few details concerning the contents of this newly acquired college chapel: although the Blessed Sacrament was not reserved in it until 1775,²⁹ Geddes had had a sanctuary lamp made in 1773 from three silver lamps brought from the Madrid college; because of its precious material and its fine workmanship, he reckoned its value at almost £100. The three *retablos* of the blessed Virgin, St. Anne and St. Joachim in the sanctuary were already in the chapel, but the silver crowns of the statues had been removed and given to the bishop, who later presented them to the parish priest of San Esteban.³⁰ The altars of St. Francis Xavier and of

24. College archives 19/98.

25. *Memoirs*, no. 264.

26. *Ibid.*, no. 264.

27. Geddes to George Mathison, 21st December 1778. (Columba House 6-G.)

28. *Memoirs*, no. 264.

29. College archives 20/4.

30. Nowadays, the statue of our Lady is adorned with a silver crown, which may be the one

St. Margaret of Scotland were in the Madrid college chapel and were not installed in Valladolid until 1779.

"With regard to the Chappel of the Immaculate Conception, it may be observed that it appeared very well for the Scots that it had that Title; for the Founder of the College had expressly ordered in his Testament that the Church or Chappel of it should have that Name.³¹ The same Founder had ordered that his own Bones and those of his Wife should be buried in the same Church or Chappel. With this Injunction Mr. Geddes had a sincere Desire to comply; but when he enquired in Madrid about these Bones he found that, before he arrived in Spain, when the Church of the Scotch in Madrid was unhallowed, these Bones and all the rest that were in the said Church were carried to the Parish Church of St. Martin's where they were all interred without any Distinction; so that it is now impossible for men to distinguish the Remains of those good Benefactors of Scotland from those of others. This Circumstance will not, or at least should not, make those who reap Benefit from their so commendable Zeal the less attentive to recommend their Souls to the Mercy of God."³²

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As far as the life of the community was concerned, things went well for Geddes and his charges in 1772 and 1773. Early in 1772, he informed Hay: "My Health could not be better. I am even becoming more full than you ever saw me and I can drink a Glass of our good Wine without being hurt... We have a very contented and happy Family here ... the Boys continue to please me much."³³ At the end of the year, he was able to remark that not a single dry word had ever been exchanged among the three priests in the college, and that the students were all very happy and quite undismayed at the prospect of being several years in Spain.³⁴

In the same letter, he defended himself against criticism that he had been allowing the boys to write home too often; the criticism had lost any substance it might have had earlier since the boys, by their own inclination, were now writing less frequently than they had done at first. Hay recognised that Geddes had much more experience of training boys for the priesthood than he had, but nevertheless he felt it necessary to advise his friend: "Make your Pupils humble, submissive, self-denied souls; and let their Studies

brought from the Madrid college; (cf. college archives 19/78). But the other two statues remain crownless.

31. College archives 3/27, fol. 1,v.

32. *Memoirs*, no. 268.

33. 3rd February 1772. (Columba House 5-R.)

34. To Bishop Hay, 29th December, 1772. (*Ibid.*, 5-R.)

consist in what is most for practice here."³⁵ He brought up the subject of Geddes' own future, suggesting that, although he was most valuable in Spain, he might consider coming home since he, Hay, was much in need of help in Edinburgh and only Geddes could adequately fill that post.³⁶ Geddes undoubtedly felt that, for some time ahead, his future lay in Spain and not in Edinburgh, but he repeated that, after six years in Valladolid, he would be quite ready to resign his position if the bishops requested it; and either to return to Scotland or even to become one of the masters in the college.³⁷ He had to ask Hay to get the exact ages of all the boys, since only two were aware of when precisely they had been born;³⁸ later, he wrote requesting Hay to find out if Sandy MacDonell had been confirmed—he thought he had been but wasn't sure.³⁹ He also found time, in one of his letters, to give Hay a long report about the Jesuits and their expulsion; one of the main reasons for the latter had been that the Society was too powerful; nevertheless, the Jesuits had done a great deal of good "nor has the want of them been near to properly supplied to this day, nor will it be for a long time."⁴⁰

For the first couple of years in Valladolid, the Scots students wore an outfit similar to that of the English: a black soutane and sash, and a loose gown, closed at the neck but otherwise open down the front and having long narrow "wings". The students had frequently begged their rector to be given a distinctive dress and had made various suggestions. The uniform in Madrid had been a brown gown, a red *beca* (a garment something like a stole, worn back to front) and a square woollen cap—but this had the disadvantage of being very hot in summer. A St. Andrew's cross on the breast of the soutane was an obvious suggestion, but it had undesirable connotations—"those who are in Penance for Judaism or Heresy in Spain wear such a Cross";⁴¹ and any other type of cross might have seemed a usurpation of the dress of the military orders of the country.

At all events, in May 1773, Geddes wrote to the Cámara of Castile (which, about this time, assumed the responsibilities of the Extraordinary Council towards the college) for its permission to have a change of uniform. That body replied by commissioning the president of the high court of Valladolid, the bishop and the governor of the city to meet with the two rectors, discuss the matter and submit a report. The commission duly met and decided to recommend to the Cámara that the distinctive mark of the Scots' dress be that,

35. 12th February 1773. (*Scotichronicon*, p. 107.)

36. 14th June 1773. (*Ibid.*, p. 108.)

37. 23rd August 1773. (Columba House 6-B.)

38. 29th December 1772. (*Ibid.*, 5-R.)

39. 23rd August 1773. (*Ibid.*, 6-B.)

40. 15th October 1773. (*Ibid.*, 6-B.)

41. *Memoirs*, no. 272.

instead of the English "soprana", they should have the full cloak called a *manteo*; the students of both colleges continuing to wear a three-cornered hat.⁴² "In the Beginning, Mr. Geddes imagined that these Cloaks might have been made of less Cloth than is commonly put into them, for they make them in the Form of a perfect Circle; but both the Students and the Taylor differed from him, maintaining that the full Circle was the only decent Make of the Cloaks; and perhaps they had reason. Be that as it will, he thought proper to yield."⁴³

There was a long delay before the new dress was authorised, by royal *cédula* of 27th September 1774,⁴⁴ but Geddes, in the meantime and anticipating that official consent, had gone ahead and introduced the change of garb. In fact, Perry had been against having recourse to the *Cámara* in the first place, "because he thought, not without Reason, that this gave them an Opportunity of giving Trouble to those of the Colleges by their intermeddling, more than might be convenient."⁴⁵

"And on this Subject there occurs little more to be added, than that the Collegians sometimes go out with their Waistcoats only under their Cloaks. The more seldom this is done, the better; and when it is done, it should be recommended to them to cover the Shortness and Bareness of their Dress before, as much as they can. The wearing a Waistcoat only under their Gown, at home, is more allowable."⁴⁶

Another innovation of this early period was the mission oath. The bishops had reminded Geddes that such an oath (to return to one's country after ordination, in order to place oneself at the disposal of one's bishop) was taken by the Scots students in Rome, Paris and Douai. The English students in Valladolid also took the oath and his own students were keen to see it introduced for them. So, the *Cámara's* approval for the innovation having been sought and received,⁴⁷ eight of the students who were thought sufficiently mature took the oath on 15th August 1773, employing the formula used in the English College. Geddes judged it better not to administer it to the students who were either still in rhetoric (i.e., not yet ready to begin philosophy) or who were less than seventeen or eighteen years old. In addition, he decided to postpone giving the oath to Henry Ogilvy, one of the two students who had come from Douai and whom Geddes suspected of being unsettled concerning his future.

42. Cf. draft letter on subject by Geddes and Perry to the king, 24th September 1773. (College archives 30/6.) (In this document, for the first time Geddes describes the institution as the *Royal Scots College*.)

43. *Memoirs*, no. 274.

44. College archives 30/7. This *cédula* also speaks of the "Real" *Colegio* and "Real" *Seminario de Escoceses*, although the title of Royal was not formally conferred on the college until 1778.

45. *Memoirs*, no. 273.

46. *Ibid.*, no. 275.

47. College archives 30/5.

In fact, Ogilvy seems to have actually left the college earlier that year and been readmitted,⁴⁸ but he finally departed in October of the same year, 1773, the first student to leave the college since its re-establishment. When he reached London, he sent Geddes an account of his voyage from Bilbao and some frank comments on the captain of the ship: "Nothing gave him, as he said, more *gusto* than to see us eat heartily, but he gave us very few opportunities of showing him our skill in that regard. He told us before we went on board that he had got a dozen of hens for us. But he despatched them himself."⁴⁹ Ogilvy remained in London to work and, despite Geddes' low opinion of his character, the two kept up an irregular correspondence for some years, Ogilvy making himself available to help Scots students passing through the city *en route* to or from Valladolid.⁵⁰

Work on transforming the remainder of the old college buildings in Madrid into dwelling houses did not begin until a year after Geddes left for Valladolid. The Extraordinary Council had decreed that 60,000 *reals* of the money that had been taken to Alcalá be used to pay for the work;⁵¹ the capital of almost 20,000 *reals* that had been left to the college in 1655 by the Scots priest, Dr. John Hamilton, for Masses to be offered annually in perpetuity was also expended (the college assuming the obligation to say the one hundred and thirty annual Masses even though, in future, there would be no stipends for them).⁵² As still more money was needed, another 88,000 *reals* was borrowed at two and a half per cent interest, the property itself being given as collateral.⁵³ To complete the work, another 6,200 *reals* were required but this was paid from rent money collected at the time.

In the midst of these problems of the adaptation of the building and raising the necessary cash, D. Martin Joseph de Zarragoitia, the administrator of the college property in Madrid, who had been appointed by the Extraordinary Council before Geddes came to Spain, died (7th October 1772). There were immediately many applications for the vacant post but Geddes rightly considered that, as the position was one of great trust, its holder should not only be conscientious and capable, but wealthy as well, so that he could pledge a large sum of his own money as surety for his honesty. In the event, the choice that he and the governor of Valladolid made was D. Miguel Mathias de Sobrevilla, the friend of Munro who, two years

48. Robert Grant, Douai, to Geddes, 7th August 1773. (Ibid., 52/4/9.)

49. 21st November 1773. (Ibid., 52/7/63.)

50. Henry Ogilvy to Geddes, 15th May 1787. (Columba House 7-M). Ogilvy was the great-great-grandfather of the Right Rev. George Bennett, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1918-46. (*St. Peter's College Magazine*, Cardross, vol. XVIII, no. 68 (June 1947), p. 30, fn.)

51. College archives 19/90.

52. Ibid., 19/93. The stipend had been three *reals* per Mass.

53. Ibid., 2/8, 19/56.96. This debt was paid off in 1779, as will be seen later.

previously, had lent Geddes the money to pay for the twelve boys' journey to Spain. He turned out to be an excellent administrator. The contract of appointment gave him a commission of five per cent of the money he collected, and stipulated that he should remit the rest to Valladolid twice a year and submit an annual balance sheet.⁵⁴

The work of reconstructing the Madrid building was finished in June 1773 and, by the end of the following month, all of its premises had been let. They consisted of two shops and a house on the ground floor, a house in the *entresuelo*, a large house on the first floor, two on the second and one on the third—all of these bringing in a total annual rent approaching 15,000 *reals*.⁵⁵ This was in addition to the other revenues of the time: the rents from that part of the college in Madrid which, even in the time of the Jesuits, had been rented as five shops and five flats (over 20,000 *reals* per annum); and income from various pensions, loans etc. (about 40,000 *reals* per annum).⁵⁶ The gross income of the college was now, therefore, between 75,000 and 80,000 *reals*, but expenses in Madrid (taxes, repairs, administrator's salary) took up about 10,000, leaving about 65,000 for the Valladolid establishment. From this, Geddes had to put aside a certain amount for extraordinary expenses (repairs, journeys to and from Scotland, breviaries and suits for students ordained and leaving for Scotland, etc.); the remainder was used for normal expenses (in particular, the community's food, the students' clothes, books for the library, the servants' and the superiors' salaries—Geddes received 3,850 *reals* or £42 p. a., the others around 3,000—and stipends for the four hundred and twenty-three foundation Masses that had to be said each year).⁵⁷

54. *Ibid.*, 19/97.

55. This newly renovated part of the property was on the Calle Jacometrezo and Calle Chinchilla; the two shops were on the former street. (*Ibid.*, 19/99.)

56. *Ibid.*, 19/99.100.115-120.

57. *Ibid.*, 19/121. As the value of money has fallen over the years, the number of these foundation Masses that have to be offered each year has been reduced many times, by various rescripts. Today, in 1971, the obligation amounts only to five Masses a year.