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Author: Walsh, T. J.

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The Irish College at Toulouse

By Rev. T. J. WALSH, M.A.

The history of the Catholic Church in Ireland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has a central theme in the many foundations on the continent which assured continuity to the Irish priesthood. With the single exception of the college at Paris, Irish educational activity in France reached its term with the outbreak of the revolution in 1789. The Irish foundations at Douai, Lille, Bordeaux, Bar-sur-Aube and Vassy are well documented. Almost the only authoritative information concerning the college at Toulouse was published by the late Father Patrick Boyle, C.M.¹ The little Irish seminary, however, has a unique literary memorial in the *Letters* of the Abbé Henry Edgeworth to Dr Francis Moylan, bishop of Cork.² They are the testament of a friendship which had its origins in the college of which they were alumni. In later years, Moylan and Edgeworth travelled widely diverging paths, the one in Ireland, the other in France. They never met again but a continuous correspondence was maintained, often under the most harassing circumstances. The *Letters* are a blending of sympathy and affection which had their basis in fortitude born of suffering. The frightful passing of the *ancien régime* amid the dissonance of arms and bloodshed brought tragedy to Moylan and Edgeworth. The recollection of Toulouse and its old associations seemed a balm when hurts were grievous.

Some materials of Irish interest remain in the departmental archives at Toulouse. Microfilms have been obtained of some original documents, including an account-book of Father Francis O'Hea, superior of the college from 1751 to 1771.³

From the *actes originaires* and from the records of Father O'Hea's administration it is possible to supplement Father Boyle's transcripts and thus to present a somewhat fuller picture of the college at Toulouse.

The foundation was an affiliation of the original Irish settlement at Bordeaux. In 1603 Father Diarmuid macCallaghan MacCarthy, priest of the diocese of Cork, and son of Callaghan macTeige MacCarthy, fifteenth lord of Muskery, founded a college at Bordeaux to supply priests to the dioceses of Munster. The good report of the Irish reception in the great Atlantic seaport attracted many religious from Ireland who were obliged to leave as result of repeated edicts of banishment between 1604 and 1614. Some years later, in 1619, Father MacCarthy published a manifesto giving details of the Irish incursion: some two hundred and fifteen priests and students

¹ *Archivium Hibernicum* I (1912), 'The Irish Seminary at Toulouse'; *The Irish College in Paris* (Dublin, 1901), pp 119-21.

² *Letters from the Abbé Edgeworth to his Friends* (London, 1818); *Lettres de l'Abbé Edgeworth, confesseur de Louis XVI à ses amis par le Révérend Thomas R.* (Paris, 1818). The editor was Fr Thomas England, parish priest of Passage, Co. Cork (d. 1847); C. S. Edgeworth, *Memoirs of the Abbé Edgeworth*, (London, 1815).

³ I acknowledge with gratitude the courteous assistance given by Canon Delaruelle, professor at the Institut Catholique, rue de la Fonderie, Toulouse.

had arrived at Bordeaux from Ireland.⁴ Such large numbers were a temporary embarrassment to the French ecclesiastical and civil authorities. Father MacCarthy told how Cardinal de Sourdis, archbishop of Bordeaux and primate of Aquitaine, arranged the dispersion of the Irish *émigrés* in the towns of southern France: Toulouse, Cahors, Aux and Agen. The Irish nucleus at Toulouse assumed a permanent character by virtue of an apostolic brief of Urban VIII in 1626.⁵ Nothing has survived to indicate the extent of Irish educational activity at Toulouse in those years but it appears clear that a strong nexus was maintained with the foundation at Bordeaux and with the dioceses of Munster.

The sudden and favourable chance of fortune which befell the Irish college at Bordeaux in 1653 had also happy repercussions for the little Irish seminary at Toulouse.⁶ In appreciation of the part played by the Irish priests at Bordeaux during the rebellion of the Fronde, Anne of Austria, the queen regent, and the youthful Louis XIV gave valuable tokens of their esteem. A generous income from public funds, augmented later by the king, was settled on the college at Bordeaux. In addition, French naturalisation was granted to all *alumni* of the college. Less extensive provision was made for the college at Toulouse. A revenue of 1200 livres per annum was assured by a tax on salt in Languedoc. The payment was continued until the suppression of 1793. It appears from entries made by Father O'Hea during his period in office that the college enjoyed some other minor grants from the hôtel de ville of Toulouse. Another mark of the royal favour was shared with the college at Bordeaux: both foundations were placed under the patronage of Anne of Austria and were permitted to use the royal titular—Sainte Anne la royalle. As a consequence the college at Bordeaux bore the royal crest on its doors. The same right was probably granted to the seminary of Toulouse. Its status was now thoroughly assured and it entered upon a flourishing period of service to the persecuted church in Ireland. When Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns, presented his survey of the Irish scene in 1653 to the Holy See he mentioned the foundation at Toulouse as a vital training ground whence would come the much needed priests for the Irish mission.⁷ His optimism was justified.

Statutes and Superiors

A formal constitution was drafted for the college in 1659. It contained the usual form of oath by which a student on enrolment bound himself to

⁴ *Cal. State Papers (Ire.)* 1615–25, 316 ff. The complete text of Father MacCarthy's manifesto is printed in *Ir. Ecc. Rec.* (fourth series) V, June 1899.

⁵ Arch. dep. de la Hte-Garonne, Série G427.

⁶ In 1653 during the rebellion of the Fronde, Spanish troops crossed the Pyrenees to aid the rebels. Bordeaux and Perigueux were garrisoned by the Irish regiments of Dillon and O'Faral lately enrolled in the Spanish service. Liaison was quickly established with the Irish community at Bordeaux. Through the efforts of Father Cornelius Scanlan, superior of the Irish college, the Irish troops seceded from their Spanish allegiance and entered the French service. Bordeaux and Perigueux, strongholds of the Frondeurs, were thus restored to the French crown. Bertrand, *Histoire des Séminaires de Bordeaux et de Bazas*, (Bordeaux), 1896, iii, 345 ff; Rawl. A. 20 (Thurloe Papers) in *Analecta Hibernica* I; Hayes, *Old Irish Links with France*, p. 87.

⁷ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, V, 141 ff.

return and labour in Ireland after ordination.⁸ The disciplinary regulations were framed in the spirit of the Tridentine counter reforms. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of the constitution was the right allowed to the students of electing their own superiors. The system prevailed in most of the Irish continental colleges. Triennial elections were held at which superiors were elected or removed from office by popular vote. The choice was subject to the approval of the archbishop of Toulouse. Times of election tended to become occasions of diocesan or local rivalry. The breach of discipline in the college at Bordeaux took a serious form and the students' right of election was modified and finally abolished by a *conseil d'état* in 1733.⁹ The reform was introduced at Toulouse at an earlier date when difficulty arose over the election of Father MacSweeney in 1694. Mgr. de Colbert, archbishop of Toulouse, set aside the election and named Father Florence MacCarthy as superior. Some fifty years later, during Father O'Hea's term of office, the constitution and statutes were again revised. The new working conditions of the seminary were ratified by Benedict XIV in 1753 and approved by Louis XV in the following year.¹⁰

It is impossible to compile a complete list of superiors. The following is based on Father Boyle's transcripts with some additions from materials now available.

Denis O'Riordan	....	c 1659	Florence McCarthy	....	1694-99
Daniel MacCarthy	....	c 1661	William Sheehan	....	1699
John Coyne	....	c 1664	Timothy O'Brien ¹¹	....	1706-15
John Barrett	....	c 1676	Peter Daly ¹²	....	1728
Maurice O'Keeffe	....	c 1677	— Dineen	....	1751
William Cheriton	....	1684-94	Francis O'Hea	....	1751-71
— MacSweeney	....	1694	Robert MacCarthy	....	1771-93

Students¹³

The following were appointed to examine quarterly statement of accounts during 1660-63 :

Constantin Egan	priest	Patrick Gould	student
Terence MacSweeney	"	Cornelius Leyne	"
Bernard MacSweeney	"	Maurice Power	"
Richard Ronayne	"	Christopher Creagh	"
John Coyne	"	William Barrett	"

The following were present at meetings for the elections of superiors :

1664		1665	
Giles O'Sullivan	priest	Richard Grandon	priest
Charles Delea	student	Denis Comman	student
John O'Brien	"	Jeremiah O'Riordan	"
Callaghan McCarthy	"	Daniel O'Leary	"
Thadee Sullivan	"	Barry MacSweeney	"
Denis Delea	"	Denis MacSweeney	"
		Diarmuid O'Riordan	sub-deacon

⁸ Quoted by Boyle, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁹ Bertrand, *op. cit.*, 367 ff.

¹⁰ Quoted by Boyle, *op. cit.*, 134 ff.

¹¹ Dr Timothy O'Brien, diocese of Cloyne, was appointed parish priest of Castlelyons, Co. Cork, in 1715. He was the author of some controversial works. He died in 1747. His grave may be seen in the little cemetery at Britway, near Castlelyons.

¹² By his will Dr Peter Daly bequeathed the sum of 2000 livres to the college to provide prizes for students who won distinction in the theological courses.

¹³ Boyle, *Arch. Hib.* I. The spelling has been modernised.

1671		1674	
Moriarty Kelleher	priest	Florence MacCarthy	priest
Cornelius O'Brien	student	Jeremiah O'Riordan	"
Robert Barry	"	Alexis O'Leary	deacon
James Barry	"	John Barrett	student
John Houlihan	"		
Diarmuid O'Sullivan	"		
Eugene Delea	"		
1676		1677	
Modeste MacSweeney	student	Eneas O'Leyne	student
William Sheehan	"	Maurice Cullan	"
		Thadee O'Donoughue	"

Admitted to the college 1684-94

Cornelius O'Brien, ¹⁴	Cloyne	Edmond Delea ²²	Cork
Diarmuid O'Mahony, ¹⁵	Aghadoo	Jeremiah Creedon, ²⁴	"
Denis O'Mahony, ¹⁶	"	John Barry, ²⁵	"
Anthony Creagh, ¹⁷	Limerick	Cornelius O'Mahony, ²⁶	"
Edmond MacSweeney, ¹⁸	Cork	William O'Connell, ²⁷	"
Patrick Burke, ¹⁹	"	William O'Riordan, ²⁸	Cloyne
Maurice Ronayne, ²⁰	"	Daniel O'Connor, ²⁹	Aghadoo
Daniel MacSweeney, ²¹	"	Diarmuid Cronin, ³⁰	Cork
Modeste MacSweeney, ²²	"	Edmond Delea, ³¹	Cloyne

To the foregoing must be added³²

	Parish	Date of Ordination
Owen Keeffe	Clonfert, Co. Cork	1679
Teige Leyne	Ferness, Co. Kerry	1684
Owen Dunlea	Kilcomman, Co. Kerry	1688
Darby O'Brien	Ballinard, Co. Limerick	1694
Francis Hickey	St. John's Lane, Dublin	1752
Mathew Carr	" "	1778

The names of some forty students during the years 1751 to 1766 will be found in the following extracts from the account book of Father O'Hea. Unfortunately, only the surnames are given.

¹⁴ Son of John O'Brien and Elizabeth Barry

¹⁵ Son of John O'Mahony and Helen Leyne

¹⁶ Died 11 April 1686

¹⁷ Son of John and Catherine Creagh

¹⁸ Son of Maelmory and Catherine MacSweeney

¹⁹ Son of William Burke and Joan Cheriton

²⁰ Son of James Roynane and Anastasia Therry

²¹ Son of Bernard MacSweeney and Graine O'Leary

²² Son of Eugene MacSweeney and Helen Healy

²³ Accidentally killed 29 October 1693

²⁴ Son of Jeremiah Creedon and Sara MacSweeney

²⁵ Died 12 June 1688, son of John and Mary Barry

²⁶ Son of Kian O'Mahony and Mary MacCarthy

²⁷ Son of Maurice O'Connell and Anastasia Hederman

²⁸ Son of Denis O'Riordan and Gillette O'Callaghan

²⁹ Son of Thadee O'Connor and Julia Egan

³⁰ Son of John Cronin and Honor Murphy

³¹ Son of Thomas Delea and Elizabeth Carney

³² The first four registered under the 'Act for the Registering of the Popish Clergy' (1704), *Ir. Ecc. Rec.* xii, 1875-76. The last two registered under the 'Act for the Further Relief of His Majesty's Subjects professing the Popish Religion' (1774), *Arch. Hib.* I.

Francis O'Hea **

Father Francis O'Hea was appointed superior in 1751. An account book containing a detailed record of the college finances is preserved in the departmental archives at Toulouse. The day-to-day items of expenditure are of little interest. More informative items are the entries of payments by students, arrivals and departures of students and priests. Only a small fraction of Father O'Hea's account is given here but it helps to fill in a more detailed picture of the college during the last phase of its existence. The number of Irish students did not exceed ten but there was an almost equal number of French students in residence. Father O'Hea must have found it embarrassing to meet the demands of his creditors; revenue invariably fell short. We gather, too, that there were some extramural students, probably attending the university of Toulouse. There is fleeting mention of descendants of the Wild Geese who were actively concerned with the welfare of the college, e.g., Arthur Dillon, archbishop successively of Toulouse and Narbonne who paid the college fees for a member of the O'Kelly-Farral family of Co. Galway, and of Lord Clare of Fontenoy fame whose support Father O'Hea sought. There are some trifling domestic items relating to the Edgeworth family. And the superior had an alms for 'passing Irish sailors.'

1751		Recette	Dépense
[p 1]			
22 janvier	de M. Linch Americain lequel est sorti du sem	£26 ³⁴	
24 „	De M. Houlihan pour la pension	£26	
[p 2]			
3 fevrier	par mains de Mdme de Latour pour la pension que Mgr l'evêque de Comminges payoit au sem.	£140	
[p 5]			
1 avril	de M. Donovan irlandois pour pension d'une année	£200	
[p 6]			
no date	Doit—à M. King pour son voyage a Bordeaux		£24

** A native of Little Island, a small townland in the modern parish of Ardfield, Co. Cork. It lay in the heart of the ancestral lands of the O'Heas. In late mediaeval times the O'Hea patrimony passed to the Barrymores, the O'Heas remained as tenants. In 1689 there were three brothers, James, Rickard and Donough O'Hea. James O'Hea the eldest brother, married Margaret Gould (d. 1687) and secondly, Mary Donovan. He acquired the lands of Kilkieran, near Rosscarbery, on lease from Lord Barrymore and built an extensive house whose remains may still be seen. James O'Hea died in 1720. His will, dated 16 May 1717, makes no mention of Little Island. It is likely that Little Island was in possession of one of his brothers, Rickard or Donough, who was father of Francis O'Hea of Toulouse. I am grateful to Col. O'Hea, Kinsale, for access to his family records. Genealogical details relating to the O'Heas of Kilkieran are contained in *The Meades of Meaghstown Castle*, printed privately for John A. Meade, Victoria, B.C., 1953.

³⁴ The symbols £. s. d. mean *livres, sols., deniers*. At this period the *livre* was worth about a shilling and sixpence.

Compte de la recette et de la depense qui seront faites —
 par moi Francois O'Hea prestre Docteur en Theologie natif de Little
 Island Diocese de Ross Carbery Conté de Cork en Irlande pour le
 seminaire des Irlandois de Toulouse à commencer ce vingt et
 deuxiesme jour de Janvier mil sept cens cinquante et un au
 quel jour j'ai été chargé du gouvernement et de l'administra
 tion du dit seminaire

First entry in Father O'Hea's book of accounts

An account of income and expenditure which will be made by me, Francis O'Hea, priest, doctor of theology, native of Little Island, diocese of Ross Carbery, county of Cork, Ireland, on behalf of the Irish seminary of Toulouse, beginning on twenty second day of January, one thousand seven hundred and fifty one, on which day I was charged with the government and administration of the said seminary.

		Recette	Dépense
[p 7]			
22 avril	Compte par doit et 'avoir ²⁵ la depense excède la recette	£1453 4 0 £877 15 7	£2330 19 7
	François O'Hea, pretre superieur Charles Hart, pretre et syndic ²⁶ Etienne O'Sullivan, seminariste		
[p 9]			
1 juin	de M. Byrne pour une lettre de charge de Pierre Lartique de Bordeaux pour la pension du petit Byrne	£200	
[p 14]			
19 octobre	de Mdme de Ste Cecile de Ste Catherine pour pension de M. Lombard son neveu	£78	
[p 15]			
1 novembre	de M. Quinn irlandois	£233	
[p 17]			
2 decembre	de M. Dugan pretre irlandois lequel est entré avec Carney aussi pretre irlandois	£90	
1752			
[p 18]			
8 janvier	de la pension royale pour le premier semestre 1750	£598	
[p 19]			
15 janvier	de M. Mahony pour pension	£72	
[p 26]			
29 avril	données depuis une année a des ecoliers et matelots irlandois passants		£6
1 mai	pour le bouillon de M. Leary ²⁷	£7 0 6	
[p. 28]			
24 mai	que j'ai donné à M. Edmond Barry du dioc. de Cloin qui part pour la mission		£24
4 juin	de M. Noulan irlandois pour la modique pension des 2 années	£168	
[p 29]			
23 juin	de M. Donovan pour pension et bois a bruler ²⁸	£216 10	
[p 30]			
6 juillet	de M. Guillaume Lombardy medecin irlandois du dioc. de Cork, seminariste pendant quatre années 1739-43	£600	
9 ..	que j'ai donné à M. Jean Copinger qui part pour l'Irlande		£24
11 ..	de M. Ch. MacCarthy rey [Reagh] pour pension ²⁹	£8 13 4	

²⁵ A quarterly audit of the college accounts was a statutory obligation on the superior.

²⁶ Charles Hart was later parish priest of Castlehaven, diocese of Ross. He died in 1770.

²⁷ Evidently the student was ill.

²⁸ The provision of wood for cooking and heating was the responsibility of the students. The above is a recurring item.

²⁹ Denis MacCarthy Reagh, lineal descendant of the MacCarthys Reagh, princes of Carbery, settled at Springhouse, Co. Tipperary. His son, Justin MacCarthy settled at Toulouse and was created a count of France in 1776. His second son was the Abbé Nicholas MacCarthy, the illustrious preacher. The last of the MacCarthys Reagh, Count Nicholas MacCarthy of Toulouse, died in 1906. The above entry appears to mean that a member of the MacCarthy Reagh family paid the college fees on behalf of an unnamed student.

		Recette	Dépense
[p 33]			
24 septembre	de M. Robert Edgeworth pour 17 pagelles de bois a bruler et demi-pension pour ses deux fils, Robert et Henry ⁴⁰	£156	
30 "	£58 : 0 : 3 pour le dejeuner ordinaire de tout ce mois 6£ a M. Mahony pour avoir du bouillon pour FitzGerald malade en ville et 2£ pour 1 quart. et $\frac{1}{2}$ quart. bois a bruler		£66 0 3
1753			
[p 42]			
6 mars	de M. David Barry pour pension	£26	
7 "	de M. Craggs irlandois pour pension	£26	
[p 44]			
18 avril	de M. Lesbordes conseiller au parlement pour le second quartier de la pension de son fils et pour chandelles a lui fournis depuis le 14 novembre	£82 : 1	
[p 52]			
30 octobre	pension de M. Sexton	£120	

État du Seminaire a la fin de l'année 1752

1. Le cherte des vivres en 1752 ayant obligé plusieurs etudiants irlandois qui ne pouvient pas subsister dans les villes voisines de courir au seminaire l'on y [l'on y] en a entretenu jusques au nombre de quatorze et le seminaire a la fin de cette année devoit au Boucher, au Boulanger, au Serrurier, a fabre qui fournissoit du lait
 2. Le seminaire devoit au superieur
 3. Il y avoit de la pension six cens livres et partout la debte effective du sem. etoit
- | | |
|--|-----------|
| | £1818 2 |
| | £1793 6 7 |
| | £3011 8 7 |

[p 56]

État du Seminaire a la fin de l'année 1753

1. Toute cette année il y a eu dix Irlandois au sem. et presentement le sem. doit au Boudet et au Boulanger
 2. Le seminaire doit au superieur
 3. Il y a prendre sept cens cinquante livres, savoir six cens de la pension royale et cent cinquante de M. le president Puyvert partout la debte effective est
- | | |
|--|-----------|
| | £362 17 6 |
| | £2567 2 9 |
| | £2180 0 3 |

1754

		Recette	Dépense
[p 58]			
4 mars	de M. Gaillard pour pension pour ses deux fils	£156	
[p 61]			
30 juin	Compte par doit et avoir François O'Hea, Jean Carney Daniel Collins, George Mahony	£2852 3 4	£4394 15 5

⁴⁰ Robert Edgeworth surrendered his living at Edgeworthstown in 1749 when he and his family embraced the Catholic faith. The Edgeworths settled at Toulouse. It appears from the above that the boys were placed in the college at an early age; Henry, the future Abbé, was then only eight years old. After ordination, Henry Edgeworth was appointed to the staff of the Missions Étrangères, Paris. Shortly before the outbreak of the revolution he was selected as confessor to the Princess Elizabeth. When Louis XVI died under the guillotine on 21 January 1793 the Abbé Edgeworth was in attendance. He went into exile with the remnants of the royal family. The Abbé died at Mittau in 1807 of fever contracted while ministering to French soldiers taken captive during Napoleon's Russian campaign.

[p 62]				
7 juillet	de M. Donovan jusques a ce jour qu'il part pour l'Irlande	....	£133	6
[p 63]				
8 aout	de M. Kelly pour pension de 3 mois	....	£60	
25 „	de M. Davis pour pension	....	£79	16
[p 64]				
7 septembre	de M. Jeremia O Daly pour pension d'une année	....	£240	
[p 65]				
25 octobre	de M. MacSweeney pour pension d'une année	....	£264	
[p 67]				
16 novembre	de M. FitzGerald pour pension	....	£240	
30 decembre	de Mdme la Contesse de Fournel a compte de cent livres faisant le rente annuelle de l'obit fondé en notre faveur par Mgr Jean Louis de Bertier, evêque de Brioux et c'est pour année finie le premier juin dernier		£48	
1755		Recette		Dépense
[p 73]	de Tresorier de la ville sçavoir 20£ echue le 12 septembre dernier et 40£ rente echue 14 mars	£60		
16 „	payées au nomme Egan pour ses gages jusques a ce jour et données aux quetiers et passants	....		£6 14
[p 74]				
24 mars	de M. le president Puyvert echue des legs de Mdme Casanbon	£150		
31 mars	Compte par doit et avoir la dépense excède la racette de la somme	£2509 9 10		
	François O'Hea, Daniel Collins, Thadee MacCarthy, Simon Quinn ⁴¹			
[p 75]				
6 avril	a des Irlandois passants	....		7 4
[p 78]				
24 juillet	pension de M. le Comte de Garaud	£96 10		
[p 79]				
4 octobre	pension de M. D. Heas pour la pension de M. Denis Daly	£144 10	£1	0 0
29 novembre	pour le toile d'une aube que les Dames religieuses de Ste Ursule ont faite pour notre chapelle elles ont fait present de 2 amicts et 2 prs [purificateurs]	....		20 0
[p 81]				
13 decembre	de M. FitzSimons pour la pension d'une année qu'il a passé à Bordeaux	£312		
[p 82]				
29 decembre	de M. Murphy pour pension	£40		
	Compte par doit et avoir la dépense excède la recette de plus sem. doit au Boulanger	£868 18 3		
	la debte totale	£1668 18 3		

⁴¹ Simon Quinn was appointed coadjutor bishop of Cloyne in 1779. He died in 1787.

1756 [p 86] 19 mar	a M. Franchand pour avoir fait rebatti notre portion du paroi qui a separe nos jardins, et ls. : 4d. au clerc de Ste Ursule qui a servi et porte les ornements des Dames le jour de St Patrice	....	11 2
[p 89] 24 mai	a Feradou en parti du prix d'une cloche pour la chapelle et prit la vieille cloche cassée pour le reste du payement	....	£9
1757 [p 102] 11 mai	bailées a M. Daniel Noulan pretre qui part ce jourd'hui pour l'Irlande	....	£36
[p 104] 13 juillet	bailées au petit Daly qui a soutenu thèses generales	....	£6
[p 107] 30 septembre	pour pension de M. Brady	....	£78
1758 [p 114] 11 avril	a M. Thadee MacCarthy pretre qui part pour la mission avec la per- mission des superieurs sur quoi il est a noter que lad. somme lui a été donnée non pas pour viatique qu'en consideration d'une année qu'il avoit encore a rester au sem. n'y ayant demeure que 7 ans	£96	
[p 122] 16 decembre	pension de trois mois de M. O'Cridan	£78	
1759 [p 124] 1 janvier	Le seminaire doit au superieur au Boulanger	£1903 16 £300	
	Il est du au seminaire per M ^{me} la Contesse de Fournel per M. Egan per M. Madget pour le passé le premier semestre 1758 en tout la debte effective	£360 £280 £120 £600 £1360 £843 16	
1760 [p 130] 6 septembre	pension de M. Charles O'Brien de Cork	£240	
[p 139] 14 novembre 20 "	de M. O'Brien cadet de M. Callanan	.... ....	£180 £192
1761 [p 145] 13 novembre 21 novembre 29 "	de M. O Fahy de M. MacLoughlin de M. FitzSimons pour M. M. O'Kelly Farral et G. Mahony son gouverneur	.... .... .... .... ....	£78 £150 £180

- no date dans le voyage que je fis a Montpellier £153 10
pour solliciter la remise d'un memoire que j'avois envoyé a M. le Marechal de Thomond en faveur du sem. et que le dit Sgr. remit a M. Dillon at qui venoit d'être nomme archevêque de Toulouse. Copie du mem. avec. les lettres de M. Thomond et de M. Dillon sont cy points et c'est M. l'abbé de Cambon qui fit les avances de mon retour de Montpellier.⁴⁴
- 1 juillet dans le voyage que je fis a Montpellier £220
pour obtenir de M. de Brienne par la mediation de M. Dillon archevêque de Narbonne que les seminaristes fussent admis aux ordres sans observer le reglement que M. de Toulouse avoit refusé dispenser. Le notre M. Dillon demanda et obtint cette dispense de M. de Brienne. Je fus obligé de faire le voyage au poste parceque l'université ne m'accorda qu'onze jours sçavoir depuis le 22 decembre jusques au 2 janvier 1765 pour m'absenter de la dispute d'une chaire de Droit qui vagoit alors.⁴⁵

Suppression

Father O'Hea's successor in office was Dr Robert MacCarthy of Cork. MacCarthy entered the college at Toulouse in 1762 when he was seventeen years old. After his ordination in 1770 he returned at once to work in his native diocese. A year later he was appointed superior of his old college.⁴⁶ It was his melancholy fate to witness its passing.

The *Letters* of the Abbé Edgeworth to Dr Moylan hold the atmosphere of those fateful years. The deep rumblings of the imminent catastrophe prompted the bishop to make two attempts to induce his friend to take an appointment in Ireland. The Abbé's reply was mildly admonitory: 'grown up trees are never transplanted into a foreign soil without losing their leaves and withering away.'⁴⁷ Moylan saw the evenfall of the church in France and trembled for what might befall at Toulouse. The frenzy of revolution grew more violent. A letter from Dr MacCarthy dated 22 July 1790 reached Cork and told of fell deeds perpetrated in the city: churches closed, religious communities scattered, assaults on the clergy, eight hundred

⁴⁴ The above undated entry refers to a journey made by Father O'Hea at least four years previously.

Charles O'Brien, sixth Viscount Clare, was born at St Germain-en-Laye in 1689. He fought with distinction on many battlefields, especially at Fontenoy. He was created a Marshal of France in 1757. He died at Montpellier in 1761. Abbé de Cambon, vicar general of Toulouse, was trustee of the Irish college.

⁴⁵ Arthur Dillon, son of Arthur Dillon, lieutenant general in the French service, was born at St Germain-en-Laye in 1721. He was successively vicar general of Pontoise, near Paris, bishop of Evreux, archbishop of Toulouse. Later he was transferred to the see of Narbonne. He died in London in 1806.

⁴⁶ MS Annals, South Presentation Convent, Cork.

⁴⁷ *Letters, etc.*, p. 44.

revolutionaries occupied the buildings adjoining the college, the Irish priests were obliged to wear the republican tricolour in their cinctures. 'Every one here expects, and in a short time, a change. The few fear it and tremble.'⁴⁸ Then came word from the Abbé Edgeworth with news of fearful happenings at Toulouse: Père Gagnières and Père Nuellou, mutual friends of happier days, had perished in the September massacres. Nothing now could save the *alma mater*.

Although the National Assembly recognised the inviolability of the Irish, English and Scot's colleges by a decree dated 7 November 1790 the hope of safety gradually receded. The first hostile move was made on 30 August 1792 when the buildings of the foreign colleges were placed under sequester. A year later, on 10 October 1793, when Britain and the young republic were at war, all movable and immovable goods of the colleges were declared to be state property. In the following year an order was issued for the arrest of the subjects of the powers at war with France. The Jacobins gained control. At Bordeaux, Dr Everard, superior of the Irish college, narrowly escaped death. His colleague, Father Martin Glynn, died under the guillotine. At Toulouse, orders for the arrest of Dr MacCarthy were given as early as July 1793 but he managed to escape to Spain. There were nine students in the college. Six were arrested: Tracy, O'Meara, Cotter, Murphy and two brothers MacCarthy. The remaining three, Rice, Rafferty and Rochford, evaded capture for a time. Eventually all nine were imprisoned in the former convent of St Catherine, Toulouse. They were repatriated in November 1794.⁴⁹

Under a provision of the peace treaty between Britain and France in 1815 claims were made for losses sustained during the revolutionary years. Dr Paul Long, administrator of Irish property in France, estimated the value of the college at Toulouse and its endowments at 36,725 livres.⁵⁰ To-day not a vestige remains of the college buildings which stood at the junction of the rue Labastide and the rue Valade.

On his return to Cork Dr Robert MacCarthy was appointed vicar general of the diocese and director of the young institute of Presentation nuns founded some years previously by Nano Nagle. He died on 29 January 1814. An inscribed stone on the floor of the mortuary chapel of St Mary's Cathedral, Cork marks the grave of the last superior of the Irish college at Toulouse.⁵¹

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 51

⁴⁹ Baron de Bouglon, *Les Reclus de Toulouse*, ii, p. 180.

⁵⁰ Boyle, *The Irish College in Paris*, p. 74.

⁵¹ 'On Monday last the remains of Dr Robin MacCarthy were committed to a specially prepared tomb in the North Parish Chapel. The funeral was attended by most of the Catholic priests of the city and county of Cork. The deceased gentleman was connected with the MacCarthys of Springmount in this county. Early in life he went to France to prepare himself for the ministry. Later he became head of the college at which he studied in Toulouse. The French Revolution, that hotbed of all the angry and destructive passions of our nature, was at war with all that was amiable, respectful and good, soon drove Dr MacCarthy from that country. He was received in Cork under Dr Moylan's pious and hospitable roof which he never quitted until his death. He refused all distinctions which the friendship and discrimination of Dr Moylan would confer on him'—*Cork Freeholder*, 4 February 1814.