

THE SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

BEING A NEW SERIES OF
THE SCOTTISH ANTIQUARY
ESTABLISHED 1886 🍀 🍀 🍀

Volume Fourth

GLASGOW
JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS
PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY
1907

The Scottish College in Paris

TO the lover of old Paris and its history there is not a more interesting quarter than that of the Panthéon, with its numerous churches and colleges. If after passing Saint Etienne du Mont we descend the rue Clovis, we shall find ourselves in the rue du Cardinal Lemoine, and facing a large four-storied building bearing the inscription 'Institution Chevallier,' with a small tablet over the doorway on which is engraved 'Collège des Ecossois.'

It was in 1313 that David, bishop of Murray, first conceived the project of sending four poor scholars from his diocese to study at the Paris universities in order to prepare them for missionary work at home. It must have needed much courage to face the dangers and perils of a long journey by land and sea. For in those days the voyage from Scotland to France was a lengthy and expensive one.

On 28th February, 1325, David bought, with funds from his privy purse, a farm or manor called 'La Fermette' or Fermeté, together with divers portions of arable land situated in the village of Grisy, near Brie-Comte-Robert, then in the province of Brie, and now forming part of the department of Seine-et-Marne. The revenues derived from this farm were to be devoted to the support and education of four scholars of Scottish nationality at the University of Paris. The college of Cardinal Lemoine not only consented to lodge these scholars, but also contributed largely towards the purchase of the 'Fermette.' In August, 1326, the acquisition was amortized by letters patent bearing the seal of Charles-le-Bel.

For several years the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine continued to shelter the four scholars, one of whom was student of divinity and the three others students of arts. In order to compensate the directors for the expenses thereby incurred, the domaine of Grisy was ceded to the College. This arrangement, however, was not to be of long duration.

In 1333 David's successor, John, bishop of Murray, declared that the treasurer, in relinquishing all rights to the domaine of Grisy, had acted unwisely and without the sanction of his superiors. The directors of the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine, justly indignant at such ingratitude, retorted that the revenue from the farm was utterly inadequate to support four scholars, the said revenue only amounting to fifty livres per annum.

On 8th July, 1333, the college agreed to restore the farm to the treasurer, and dismissed the scholars, who now found themselves without a roof-tree.

John, bishop of Murray, having reimbursed the college for the sums lent to his predecessor, the farm of La Fermeté became the property of Scotland.

Until the latter half of the sixteenth century, the bishops of Murray, in their position as administrators of the fund, had the right to elect the bursars; but in 1573, at the death of Patrick Hepburn, last incumbent of the bishopric in Scotland, the bishops of Paris assumed this right, and henceforth elected the scholars.

For nearly three centuries the bursars, now deprived of the kindly shelter afforded to them by the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine, lodged hither and thither as best suited their modest means. In vain the 'boursiers de Grisy,' as they termed themselves, petitioned the authorities at home to grant them some fixed official residence in the French capital. But the Catholic Church in Scotland, already entering on a period of trouble and disaster, was in no state to attend to their humble complaints.

In 1566 the principal, Thomas Winterhop, wrote to Queen Marie Stuart begging her to augment their allowance, that more scholars might, profiting by a sojourn in Paris, benefit the Catholic faith at home. The Queen promised to do all that lay in her power to help the neglected bursars, and faithfully did she keep her promise. Throughout her own bitter trials and unjustifiable imprisonment she did not forget the poor scholars in her beloved France. Not only did she pension annually a certain number of youths, but in her will she left of her humble fortune what she could for their benefit.

Another enthusiastic advocate for the Scottish students was James Beatoun, or Bethune, archbishop of Glasgow and ambassador at the court of France. In 1569, together with Thomas Winterhop, he founded a college for Scottish students in Paris, and bequeathed in his will various monies, and a house situated in the rue des Amandiers, close to the Collège des Grassins.

‘Collapsam hanc foundationem longa successione serie, distractis plerisque redditibus, Thomas Wynterhop, presbyter, postea collegii primarius et totius Universitatis procurator, auctoritate felicis memoriæ Mariæ Galliarum tunc et Scotiæ reginæ, obtentis litteris patentibus Francisci II. Galliarum etiam et Scotiæ regis anno Domini M.D.LIX, in integrum restituendum curavit.

‘Soli episcopi moravienses pro tempore erant hujus foundationis provisosores nati. Verum defuncto anno Domini M.D.LXXIII, Patricio Hepburn, postremo catholicæ communionis episcopo moraviensi, tota alumnorum hujus foundationis aliorumque Scotorum Parisiis studentium cura devota est in reverendissimum Jacobum de Bethune, archiepiscopum Glasguensem in Scotia, tunc Parisiis legatum beatæ memoriæ Mariæ, reginæ Scotiæ, quæ dum ab Elisabetha angla in captivitate detinebatur, zelo catholicæ fidei et hortatu ejusdem archiepiscopi legati sui mota, auctum alumnorum numerum, quamdiu superfuit, pensione annua donavit.’¹

Thanks to the liberality of this worthy archbishop the number of scholars was much increased, and the college, once more established, seems to have entered an era of prosperity. James Bethune, realizing the difficulties which beset the young aspirants to priesthood in Scotland, obtained from Pope Gregory III. a brief, dated September 26, 1580, whereby the bishops of Paris and Meaux were entitled to confer priesthood on any of the Scotch scholars in Paris. So great was the modesty of the good archbishop that he would not allow his name to appear in the deed of purchase of the house in the rue des Amandiers.

By a deed dated March 6th, 1602, the sieur Loret declared

¹ Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 3322, p. 4.

that this contract ‘was for, and in the names of, poor scholars born in the country and kingdom of Scotland, that they might study at the University de Paris, and likewise that he personally renounced all rights to the aforesaid house, the price of the same having been paid into his hands by a pious individual, who had prayed him to lend his own name for the purchase of the above-mentioned house.’¹

In a codicil dated April 24th, 1603, one day before his death, James Bethune bequeathed ‘to the poor scholars of Scottish nationality, studying at the University of Paris, all his estate not already disposed of by his previous will, and principally a house situated in the rue des Amandiers, Paris, adjudged to the sieur Loret, procurator . . . and purchased by him with the monies of the said gentleman, who is designated in the deed of purchase as a “pious individual.” ‘The day after signing this codicil, the excellent archbishop died, and was buried in the Lady Chapel of the church of Saint Jean de Latran, Paris, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory.

The house in the rue des Amandiers belonged to the Scottish College until 1846, when it was sold.

James Bethune desired that the new college should be under the supervision of the Carthusian monks of Vauvert, Paris; they had full powers to nominate the superiors and bursars, and they managed all the money transactions. Though the Murray and Bethune scholars lived under the same roof, the two funds for their maintenance were kept quite distinct until 1639, when they were united by the order of Jean de Gondi, archbishop of Paris, which order was confirmed by Louis XIII. in the following December, and verified in Parliament, September 1st, 1640.²

For some time complaints had been made that the bishop of Paris was in the habit of giving sums from the bishop of Murray’s fund to priests who had long left the college; the prior demanded that the fund, as originally intended, should be devoted to the scholars, and to them alone. In 1662 the principal, Robert Barclay, finding the building somewhat small for present

¹ Archives Nationales, M. 250.

² Archives Nationales, X^{lm} 8654. Folio 139.

requirements, decided to buy some plots of land situated on the Contrescarpe du Fossé Saint-Victor, bounded on one side by the establishment of the Pères de la Doctrine Chrétienne, and on the other by the English Nuns' Convent. Building operations were at once commenced.

Three years later the present Collège des Ecosais was practically completed, although the north wing,¹ together with the chapel dedicated to Saint Andrew, was not built until 1672, probably for want of funds. An old plan drawn by Bernard Jaillot dating from the end of the eighteenth century shows us a large quadrangular, four-storied building, in the middle of which was an inner court with flower-beds and a poultry-yard. From the windows at the back of the building there must have been a pleasant view of distant trees.

One entered the college through an arched portico leading to a fine staircase; on the first floor, to the left, was the chapel, which was vaulted, rectangular in shape, and occupied the whole front of the north wing; it had four bays, three in the nave and one in the chancel. A little room behind the chancel served as sacristy. A passage to the right led to two class-rooms, close to which were the library and the refectory. The second floor was inhabited by the principal, the prior, and the other college officials. The scholars lodged on the third floor. In the basement was the kitchen, with the usual offices. Another plan, made by M. Hochereau in the beginning of the last century, gives us an excellent idea of the building in its present condition.

In order to gain admittance, the scholars had to prove that they were of Scottish nationality, Catholics, born of Scottish parents legitimately united in marriage, under the age of sixteen years, and sufficiently educated to take their places in the third or fourth classes. Only aspirants to holy orders were admitted.

¹ M. Lefeuve in his work, *Les Anciennes Maisons de Paris*, declares that the building is much anterior to this date, and that it was formerly the hôtel de Verberie; and to prove this assertion he cites the splendid old oak balustrade, still existent, which adorns the staircase up to the top storey.

The number of scholars was limited, according to the state of the funds. The future priests were chosen by a delegate specially sent from Paris to Scotland for this purpose, and on his approval the scholar addressed to the prior a request for admittance. The expense of the voyage to France was sometimes paid by the college; the return journey was always so. The scholars, once safely housed in the college, led a very austere life; they never left its shelter except to attend the different classes at the Collège de Navarre, or to go to mass at the neighbouring abbey of Sainte Geneviève. After the completion of the chapel, even this diversion was forbidden.

The scholars studied and took their meals together, but each was allowed a little room to himself. Theology and belles-lettres were the only studies countenanced. The college lodged, fed, and supported the scholars free of charge. At the age of eighteen, if they had finished their studies in a satisfactory manner, they had to declare their intention of taking holy orders. In case of refusal, they were instantly despatched back to Scotland. Even if ordained deacon, the scholar was liable to be sent home if he shewed no special vocation. On occasion a very promising pupil would be allowed an extra year's study.

When James II. came to France he interested himself in the college, and persuaded Louis XIV., in 1688, to grant a new patent. The French monarch, ever desirous of supporting the Catholic faith, did so, and expressed a wish that the college might be under the guidance of the Carthusian monks, that the scholars might enjoy all the privileges accorded to the other scholars at the University of Paris, and that the prior, principals, and their successors might be natives of Scotland, and subjects of the king.

This patent was registered by the Parliament, July 12th, 1688; it completely freed the college of all its debts, and gave it the official position which it had hitherto lacked.

In this same year the college authorities purchased another house with its adjoining land that they might sub-let it, and thus increase their funds.

On this piece of land two houses (formerly Nos. 58 and 60 of the rue du Cardinal Lemoine) were built; these, by subletting,

considerably added to the college funds. Mention may here be made of the rue d'Ecosse, still existing, which derived its name from the Scottish scholars, who found it convenient to lodge there owing to its close proximity to their college.

In 1701 James II. died, and his faithful friend and servitor, James, Duke of Perth, erected a monument to his memory in the chapel; of this monument we shall speak later. The unfortunate king, a frequent visitor to the college, bequeathed his memoirs to its keeping; unfortunately, they disappeared during the French Revolution.

It is in 1700 that we first notice the name of Innes, which, during the eighteenth century, was to play so prominent a part in the history of the college. Three members of this family held the post of rector: Lewis Innes, confessor to James II. (died 1738), his brother Thomas (died 1744), and Alexander Innes, who fought so nobly for the interests of the college during the troublous time of the Revolution.

On several occasions the college was gratified by favours received from the head of the Catholic Church; we have already mentioned how Gregory III. had entitled the Bishops of Paris and Meaux to confer priesthood on the scholars. A century later, Urban VIII. likewise authorised the college to present candidates for ordination without dimissorials. The period from 1688 to 1718 seems to have been the most successful in the history of the Scottish college.

In 1707 a new statute was made by Dom Charles François Maurin, prior of the Chartreux monks of Paris, and Lewis Innes, principal of the college; it confirmed the Carthusian priors as the perpetual superiors of the college. It was they who superintended the scholars and the entire establishment. They nominated the principals and priors, the inspectors of the studies and the bursars. Once a year they had to furnish an account of the state of the college funds. The principal had to be of Scottish nationality, a former pupil of the college, and to possess the *diplôme du maître ès arts*.

The principal's powers were practically unlimited; he superintended the scholars' studies, and, month by month, verified the treasurer's accounts. Though possessed of so much

authority, he was nevertheless obliged to devote all his time to the pupils' interests, and could not absent himself for more than three months at a time without special permission. If this absence was prolonged beyond six months, he was deprived of his salary and post. The purveyor was nominated for three years, at the end of which time he could be re-elected; it was he who managed all the monetary affairs, superintended the purchase of provisions, clothing, and furniture, managed the servants, and attended to the letting of the houses belonging to the college. He could not spend more than 200 livres at a time without special permission, and was on no account allowed to sign any papers or conclude any business without first obtaining the prior and treasurer's approval. The two offices of treasurer and purveyor were kept entirely distinct; however, in the absence of the treasurer, the purveyor might on occasion take his place.

The principal, purveyor, and inspector of studies lodged in the college itself. As will be seen, their salaries were modest: the principal receiving 250 livres per annum, the purveyor 200 livres, with 50 livres for petty expenses, and the inspector of studies 200 livres. Of the different scholars the 'étudiants-clerics' received 8 livres yearly, and the 'étudiants-prêtres' 12 livres; a subsidy of 200 livres was granted to any student who left the college to become a missionary.

The inspector of studies was appointed to keep order among the scholars; he superintended their studies, and shared the post of librarian with the principal.

It is much to be regretted that so little is known about the library. The first mention we find of it is in a document preserved at the Archives Nationales, dated 1660, when it appears to have possessed 30 printed volumes and about 225 manuscripts, among which were the documents concerning the foundation of the college, the *Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (a very rare work), and the cartulary of the church of Glasgow.

The Bibliothèque Mazarine possesses a manuscript in folio,¹ entitled 'Statuta collegii Scotorum Parisiensis,' which contains the rules of the library. M. Alfred Franklin, in his excellent work,

¹ Bibliothèque Mazarine, Manuscripts, 2413.

Les Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris, declares that he has never met with a more complete or better chosen set of rules. The inspector of studies had to see that all the volumes were properly arranged and inscribed in two catalogues, one of which was in his keeping and the other in the principal's keeping. The librarian was responsible for any damage done to the books. Every year, as well as at the expiration of his term of office, he was obliged to produce all the volumes inscribed in the catalogue.

We here reproduce chapter ix. of the said rules:

De Bibliotheca Collegii.

I. Præfectus studiorum pro tempore ordinarius erit bibliothecæ custos.

II. Omnes libri in bibliotheca collegij nomine inscribantur, et in quibus deest, suppleatur; et, quam meliori fieri potest ordine, loculis conserventur.

III. Inventarii librorum duo servantur exemplaria, unum penes primarium, alterum penes custodem, cui, quando claves traduntur, significatur ipsum, in annua lustratione et cum officio decedet, juxta illud inventarium singulorum librorum rationem redditurum.

IV. Nullus liber a quocunque e bibliotheca extrahatur vel commodetur, nisi post descriptum in regesto (quod in eum usum in bibliotheca servabitur) manu mutantis vel custodis, libri titulum, et nomen ipsius cui mutuo datur, cum nota diei et mensis, et ordinali bibliothecæ numero.

V. Cavebit diligenter custos ne libri extraneis aut omnino foras extra collegium commodentur. Majori adhuc cautela aget, si de libris rarioribus, majoris pretii, aut qui pluribus constant voluminibus, primario aut proprimario visum fuerit aliquos commodare alicui de cujus fide constat.

VI. Inventarium sive catalogus librorum, et regestum librorum mutuo datorum, diligenter a primario in lustrationibus inspiciuntur, ne quid desit, et libros de novo datos vel emptos inventario curabit ascribendos, cum nomine donatorum, si qui sint.

VII. Libri hæretici et prohibiti in hac diœcesi seorsim in

tabulario sub clave conserventur.

VIII. Unicuique socio collegii, in sacris duntaxat ordinibus constitute, aditus et clavis bibliothecæ conceditur, post emissum infra scriptum promissum de observandis his statutis. Non tamen ei licebit quemvis librum, etiam in proprios usus, e bibliotheca extrahere, nisi de licentia custodis, et descripto prius in regesto mutuatorum libri titulo; alteri autem cuicunque libros e bibliotheca mutuo dare penitus ei licebit.

IX. Præfectus etiam bibliothecæ cum admittitur, hanc infra scriptam promissionem, perlectis his statutis, coram primario et procuratore faciet; eademque exigetur ab unoquoque cui aliquæ bibliothecæ clavis conceditur.

‘Ego infrascriptus, spondeo et promitto quod, omni qua potero cura et diligentia, cavebo ne libri bibliothecæ hujus quovis modo abstrahantur, deperdantur, permutentur, deformentur, sive per me vel per alios; et quod, si quid horum acciderit mea vel aliena culpa, superioribus fideliter indicabo; quodque omnia et singula suprascripta statuta circa bibliothecæ custodiam exacte observabo, et ab aliis, in quantum potero, observari curabo. In cujus rei fidem præsentibus manu propria subscripsi in dicto collegio, die . . . mensis . . . anni . . . N. N.’

X. Servetur etiam a præfecto index librorum omnium classicorum; habeatque libellum in quo quoscunque eorum in alumnorum usum dederit describet.

It is strange to think that, with all these precautions for the preservation of their books, the college authorities never stamped or marked them in any way.

A little more than a century later, during the French Revolution, Messieurs Dupasquier and Naigeon, in an official report made to the Comité d’Instruction Publique, said: ‘In the ci-devant Collège des Ecosais we found a quantity of books piled one on the top of the other, and about thirty engravings in the sacristy behind the choir.’

Up to the second quarter of the eighteenth century the college formed many worthy missionaries; but we learn from a report made by Monseigneur Lercari to the Prefect of the Propaganda, that religious dissensions, caused by the success of Jansenism among the students, induced many to abandon the priestly

calling and to enter the army. Indeed, from 1737 to 1764 no priests were ordained from the college.

A decree having been made, September 7th, 1762, by which all the smaller university colleges were united into one large one, that of Louis-le-Grand, the Scottish scholars loudly protested, declaring that they, as foreigners and bursars, not ordinary scholars, could not be touched by such a decree. So well did they plead their cause that they succeeded in keeping their independence.

In the beginning of the French Revolution it seemed for a while as if the college would escape molestation. A law passed by the Assemblée Nationale, November 7th, 1790, ordained that all religious institutions and educational establishments founded in France by foreigners should continue to enjoy all former rights and liberties. The following year Dr. Geddes, vicar apostolic, came to Paris to look after the college interests. He found it, indeed, in a pitiable condition, one student, one priest, and the principal, the abbé Gordon, being the sole inhabitants of what was once a flourishing institution. Dr. Walsh, of the Lombard College, received Dr. Geddes, and together they endeavoured to put new life into the old college. But the decree of August 18th, 1792, and the law of August 30th, ordering the closing of all secular establishments and the sale and sequestration of all property owned in France by foreign communities, completely destroyed all hopes of success.

The College Committee did not allow their college to be confiscated without protesting, affirming that their establishment was only the foreign branch of a home community. The Convention recognized their rights, and decreed, February 14th, 1793, that the law of August 30th, 1792, did not touch their college, and that they might continue to occupy it until further notice.

The decree of March 8th ordering the sale of all property belonging to the French colleges and religious institutions, excepted those establishments still provisionally governed by their former administrators abroad. Two months later a decree was passed, May 9th and 11th, 1793, followed by the laws of the 19th Vendémiaire and 13th Pluviôse, second year of the Republic

(October 10th, 1793, and July 1st, 1794), ordering the confiscation of all property owned in France by subjects whose rulers were at war with the Republic. These measures, of course, meant annihilation to the Scottish College. During some months (1793-94) the college had been used as a prison, and Saint-Just, on the 9th Thermidor, was imprisoned here for several hours until his friends came to liberate him.

On the 15th Nivôse, an II. de la République (January 4th, 1794), the Commune ordered the confiscation of all the valuables owned by the Scottish College; on the 18th of this same month the commissioners of the Section of the Sans-Culottes executed this order and affixed their seals to all the doors of the building. Soon after the college archives and library were removed to the Bureau du Domaine National. Again the committee protested, and the Commune, by the law of the 14th Nivôse, an III. (3rd January, 1795), ordered the college to be reinstated.

The Bureau du Domaine National du Département de la Seine also decided, on the 13th Brumaire, an IV. (November 4th, 1795), to restore the college, with all its property, to its rightful owners.

The prime factor in this restoration was Alexander Innes, nominated purveyor, August 17th, 1794, by the prior of the Chartreux. On the 5th Vendémiaire, an V. (September 26th, 1796) he saw his untiring efforts crowned with success, and received back from the Bureau du Domaine National all the deeds and titles, which once more reinstated the college.

During the next eighteen months the college enjoyed a peaceful existence. The Directoire, however, on the 6th Prairial, an VI. (May 25th, 1798), wishing to enforce the law made 13th Pluviôse, an II., ordered the sale as national property of all establishments belonging to foreigners living in France. A law having been made the previous year (July 13th, 1797) whereby the Collège des Ecosais had been, as a charitable institution, exempt from confiscation, the Directoire formed another law, 13th Messidor, an VI. (July 11th, 1798), deciding that all scholarships were to be united together at the Prytanée Nationale. The Consuls on May 24th, 1800 (4th Prairial, an VIII.), confirmed this decision, and ordered that a certain number of places should be reserved in the Prytanée for the Scottish

scholars. This aroused new protestations, and the Directoire on the 19th Fructidor, an IX. (September 6th, 1801), annulled this decree, and decided that the colleges were to be allowed to enjoy their former rights, their funds to be managed gratuitously by a Bureau according to the rules made by their benefactors, no monies to be paid without the approval of the Secretary of State. The 24th Vendémiaire, an IX. (October 16th, 1802), the Irish and Scottish colleges situated in other towns in France were united to those in Paris. The scholars, meanwhile, were boarded at the Prytanée Nationale. The funds of the English college were likewise joined to those of the Irish and Scottish colleges, to be managed by the above-mentioned Bureau. The 24th Floréal, an XIII. (May 14th, 1805), with the consent of Dr. Cameron, the scholars of the Scottish college went to dwell in the Collège des Irlandais, rue des Irlandais.

On November 15th, 1808, it was decided (with Napoleon's approval) that the management of the college funds was to be given over to the principal and committee of the Université Impériale. On September 23rd, 1813, it was decreed that the funds of the three colleges were to be managed separately, as complaints had been made and none of the parties were satisfied.¹ In 1814 Dr. Walsh, the administrator, was able to publish a satisfactory report of the college affairs. He says: 'I took charge of the Scottish section in a state of ruin, with a proven debt of 23,349 francs, and I left it with an income of 11,000 francs and its buildings repaired.'

Dr. M'Pherson, who came to Paris about the year 1815, found the funds in a very prosperous condition, thanks to Dr. Walsh's able management. The college buildings, being no longer inhabited by the Scottish scholars, were sub-let to the committee of another educational establishment. In 1816, with the approval of Louis XVIII., Dr. Farquharson was appointed superior of the Scottish section; this Dr. Farquharson had formerly been superior of the Scottish College founded at Douai in 1559 by

¹ The abbé Gordon, notwithstanding his great age (being at that time 75), begged to be allowed to resume his duties as rector.

Mary Queen of Scots. Dr. Farquharson died in 1817, and was succeeded by the abbé Desjardins, a French priest. December 27th, 1818, saw once more the funds of the three colleges reunited; a paid trustee, as well as a treasurer and secretary, were engaged, and their salaries paid out of the common fund. In 1818, although the college's revenue had increased to the sum of 14,000 francs, the Scottish committee again protested, alleging that their portion of the funds was too small to permit of any salaries being paid. Their cause, eloquently pleaded by Dr. Paterson, received a favourable hearing, and on March 3rd, 1824, their funds were separated from those of the English and Irish Colleges, on condition that the said funds should be administered by a Catholic priest of Scottish nationality appointed by the Secretary of State; the Scottish administrator might also delegate his authority to a French priest appointed by the same Secretary of State. The aspirants to holy orders, whose nomination was to be subject to the Secretary's approval, were to complete their studies at different French seminaries.

The Collège des Ecosais was sold in 1846 to M. Chevallier, who turned it into a private school. M. Régis Grousset is now the director, and under his management the 'Institution Chevallier,' as it is still called, has become a very prosperous establishment, frequented chiefly by candidates for the baccalauréat ès lettres.

In 1874 the abbé Jouannin, prior of the Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, Paris, was appointed to manage the funds of the Scottish College, now only extant in name. The pupils were placed, according to age, either at the seminary of Issy (near Versailles), or at the seminary of Saint-Sulpice. It is interesting to note that the old farm, 'La Fermette,' at Grisy, still belongs to the Scottish College fund, and that owing to the rise of value in land, its revenue has considerably increased.

In 1906 the law 'des Congrégations' came into force, by which all religious institutions were bound to furnish information concerning the source of their revenues, and to submit to an annual visit from the municipal authorities. The Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, having refused (with numerous other religious establishments) to submit to this law, its scholars were dispersed; and the Scottish students, to the number of 16, went

to study at the theological schools of Issy and the newly-established institution at No. 19 rue Notre Dame des Champs, Paris.

The old building of the 'Collège des Ecosais' has not altered much since the middle of the eighteenth century. Over the entrance is affixed a small black marble tablet forming the crown of the archivolt, and bearing in gilt letters the inscription: 'College des Ecossois.' The arched doorway, decorated with a wood carving representing Saint-Andrew's Cross and initials, leads one into the hall, upon entering which one is struck by the magnificent black oak staircase reaching to the top storey. Some of the glass doors are decorated with Saint-Andrew's Cross, and the handsome bronze door-handles, also bearing the cross and initials, are well worth attention. By the courtesy of the director of the institution, strangers are permitted to visit the chapel, which, though much altered, must always be interesting to lovers of Scottish history. Nearly one half of the chapel has been partitioned off to serve as a museum of physics and entomology, leaving but one bay and the choir to serve as chapel. Over the altar is a large picture representing the martyrdom of Saint-Andrew.

A full-length portrait of James III. is to be seen in the principal's study; it represents the Pretender in armour.

In the museum the fine oak furniture carved with thistles and the cross and initials of Saint Andrew should be examined.

On one of the northern pillars in the chapel is a black marble slab, arched at the top, surmounted by the armorial bearings¹ of David and Bethune, with the following inscription:

D. O. M. Anno Dom. MCCCXXV. Regnante in Gallia Carolo Pulchro et

¹ The archbishop of Glasgow's escutcheon, with the motto : 'Ferendum vincas,' bears a chevron with three estoiles: James Bethune's shield is quartered argent with fesse gules, together with three muscles argent, and chevron or sable, with an otter's head argent; beneath the shield is a dolphin bearing a round fruit in its mouth. The escutcheons are further ornamented with the archbishop's hat, mitre, cross, and crosier.

Roberto de Bruce Regnante in Scotia, antiquo fœdere conjunctis David de Moravia, Episcopus Moraviensis in Scotia hoc Collegium fundavit: A^o Dⁿⁱ MDCIII. Iacobus de Bethun Archiepiscopus Glasguensis in Scotia, novam Fundationem instituit, Præposito in perpetuum administrationi Ven. P. Domno Priore-Cartusiæ Parisiensis, A^o Dⁿⁱ MDCXXXIX., conjunctio utrius que Fundationis in unum et idem Collegium ab Archiepiscopo Parisiensi facta, auctoritate Regis et Supremi Senatus Parisiensis sancita est. Vtriusque fundatoris Memoriam Primarius, Procurator et Alumni Hujus Collegij P. P. Requiescant in pace.

This tablet measures 31½ inches by 17½.

Unfortunately, many of the tablets and tombs have disappeared; however, the *Collectanea topographica et genealogica* (volume vii. page 34) gives a plan representing the different positions occupied by the monumental tablets, and with the help of this plan it is easy to imagine the chapel as it was in its original state.

One of the college statutes contained a clause that a yearly mass was to be said for the repose of the souls of David, bishop of Murray, and James Bethune: 'Singulis annis, omnes magistri et alumni hujus collegii interesse tenentur togati sacro celebrando die nono januarii in capella collegii pro primo fundatore, Davide de Moravia, episcopo moraviensi, et apud Sanctum Joannem Lateranensem, die vigesima quarta aprilis, sacro celebrando collegii expensis pro secundo fundatore Jacobo de Bethun, archiepiscopo Glasguensi, et utroque die lautius prandium eis conceditur.'¹

In the centre of the second bay of the nave was a flat stone tomb, bearing the following epitaph engraved on a large oval slab, the top ornamented with palms encircling the initials R.B., and supported by a cenotaph decorated with mouldings, under which was a winged skull crowned with laurel leaves placed between two flaming urns:

Hic jacet fœlicis memoriæ sacerdos, Robertus Barclaius, ex nobili familia apud Scotos, hujus quondam collegii gymnasiarcha dignissimus et de patria sua optime meritus. Illi ingenium perspicax, judicium accuratum, mores casti, fides eo ferventior quo rarior inter suos, totaque vita ad amussim Evangelii castigatissima. Collegium olim prope

¹ Bibliotheque Mazarine, Ms. 3322, p. 14.

Grassinaum situm huc, in locum magis commodum transtulit, domunque et ædem sacram extruendas curavit, disciplinam pene collapsam restituit, tandemque, collegio hærede instituto, obiit VII idus februarii, anno Domini M.D.CLXXXII, ætatis suæ circiter LXX, regiminis xxx. Requiescat in pace.

To the right of this tomb was buried the heart of Lewis Innes, under a rectangular slab of white marble, which bore the following inscription in a heart-shaped frame ornamented with a skull crowned with laurel and cross-bones:

Hic situm est cor domini Ludovici Innese, presbyteri, Reginae matri Magnae Britanniae, dein Jacobo III. Regi eleemosynarii, hujus collegii primarii et benefactoris insignis Obiit die 11 februarii Anno Domini M.D.CCXXXVIII. Ætatis LXXXVII. Requiescat in pace.

In the part of the chapel now used as a museum we find all that still remains of the monument erected to the memory of James II. by his faithful and devoted servitor, James Drummond, Duke of Perth. A print of this monument, as designed by Louis Garnier, exists in the Collection Clairambault. Before the re-arrangement of the chapel, it was on the right hand side of the nave in the third bay, exactly facing the chapel door. This monument, even now by far the most important in the building, was composed of a large grey marble pedestal, supporting a black marble sarcophagus, on the top of which was a small obelisk standing on another pedestal on which was a little vase; this pedestal was half hidden by fringed and tasselled curtains, all in white marble. In the centre of the pedestal supporting the obelisk was an urn in gilt bronze, decorated with a royal crown; in this urn James II.'s brain, according to his desire, was enclosed after his death in 1701; cupids were seated on either side of the pedestal. To the top of the obelisk was fixed a medallion, surrounded by palms, bearing the king's portrait under another royal crown. A sword and sceptre were placed between two bronze lions' heads above the sarcophage. Two large armorial cartouches were affixed, one in the centre of the sarcophage and the other on the basement of the mausoleum. Unfortunately, all these ornaments (which were in gilt bronze), together with the urn containing the brain of James II., disappeared during the French Revolution.

Some few years ago, M. Grousset, while making some excavations previous to opening a passage between two of the college buildings, found the leaden casket which had once contained the prince's brain. Though filled with cement and painted to imitate the marble, the holes left by the nails where the ornaments were torn off the stone are distinctly visible.

All that remains of the once handsome mausoleum is the white marble obelisk and the long black marble tablet, on which the following inscription is still legible:

D. O. M. Memoriam augustissimi principis Jacobi II^{di}, Magnæ Britanniam etc. Regis. Ille partis terra ac mari triumphis clarus, sed constanti in Deum fide clarior, huic regna, opes et omnia vitæ florentis commoda postposuit. Per summum scelus a sua sede pulsus, absalonis impietatem, Achitophelis perfidiam et acerba Semei convitia invicta lenitate et patientia, ipsis etiam inimicis amicus, superavit. Rebus humanis major, adversis superior et cœlestis gloriæ studio inflammatus, quod regno caruerit sibi visus beator, miseram hanc vitam felici, regnum terrestre cœlesti commutavit. Hæc domus quam pius princeps labantem sustinuit et patrie fovit, cui etiam ingenii sui monumenta, omnia scilicet sua manuscripta custodienda commisit, eam corporis ipsius partem qua maxime animus viget, religiose servandam suscepit. Vixit annis LXVIII, regnavit XVI, obiit XVII kalendas octobris, anno salutis humanæ M.D.CC.I. Jacobus dux de Perth, præfectus institutioni Jacobi III, Magnæ Britanniam etc. Regis, hujus domus benefactor, mœrens posuit. F. P. L. Garnier, 1703.

The entrails of Marie-Beatrix d'Este, second wife of James II, were buried beneath a rectangular slab of white marble at the foot of her husband's monument. The inscription ran:

D. O. M. Sub hoc marmore condita sunt viscera Mariæ Beatricis Reginae Magnæ Britanniam, uxoris Jacobi II, matris Jacobi III, Regis. Rarissimi exempli princeps fuit, fide et pictate in Deum, in conjugem, liberos eximia, caritate in suos, liberalitate in pauperes, singulari. In supremo regni fastigio christianam humilitatem, regno pulsa dignitatem majestatemque retinuit; in utraque fortuna semper eadem, nec aulæ deliciis emollita nec triginta annorum exilio, calamitatibus, omnium prope carorum amissione fracta quievit in Domino VII maii, anno M.D.CCXVIII. Ætatis anno LX°.

Under a lozenge-shaped white marble slab, close to the above, were placed the entrails of Louise-Marie Stuart, second daughter of James II. and Marie-Beatrix d'Este. It bore the following

inscription:

D. O. M. Hic sita sunt viscera puellæ regiæ, Ludovicæ Mariæ, quæ Jacobo II, Majoris Britanniæ Regi, et Mariæ Reginæ divinitus data fuerat, ut et parentibus optimis perpetui exilii molestiam levaret et fratri dignissimo regii sanguinis decus, quod calumniantium improbitate detrahebatur adsereret. Omnibus naturæ et gratiæ donis cumulata, morum suavitate probata terris, sanctitate matura cœlo, rapta est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus, eo maxime tempore quo spe fortunæ melioris oblata, gravius salutis æternæ discrimen videbatur aditura XIV kalendas maii MDCCXII, ætatis anno XIX.

The heart of Mary Gordon, duchess of Perth, was interred at the foot of James II.'s monument under a rectangular tablet of white marble bearing the following inscription surrounded by a heart-shaped frame:

Hic situm est cor Mariæ de Gordon de Huntly, ducissæ de Perth primaria; apud Reginam Magnæ Britanniæ matronæ. obiit XIII martii, anno Domini M.DCCXXVI.

At the end of the nave, to the right, a large slab of white marble bordered with black, was sunk into the pavement; this slab was curved at the top and bore the Drummond arms (shield or, with three fesses gules) and an inscription commemorating James, Duke of Perth, died 1716.

To the left of the above tomb was another exactly similar, to the memory of James, Duke of Perth, died 1720.

Facing the inscription to James Bethune and David, bishop of Murray, and fixed to the other pillar, was an epitaph engraved in gilt letters on a black marble tablet curved at the top.

At the end of the nave, in the centre of the aisle, was a lozenge-shaped slab bearing a cross and the following epitaph:

✠ Hic jacet dominus Andreas Hay ex nobili apud Scotos familia, vir probitate et pietate insignis, ob fidem in Deum et erga principem exul, plenus dierum et bonorum operum, de hac domo bene meritus, obiit die XXIII novembris, anno Domini MDCCII. Requiescat in pace. Amen.

In the centre of the wall at the end of the chapel was fixed a small rectangular black marble tablet in a frame of Languedoc marble adorned with volutes and mouldings, and supporting an arched fronton between two urns painted to imitate bronze; this tablet was erected to the memory of the famous beauty, Frances

Jennings, duchess of Tyrconnell.

D. O. M. Æternæ memoriæ illustrissimæ et nobilissimæ dominæ Franciscæ Jennings ducissæ de Tyrconnell, Reginæ Magnæ Britanniæ matronæ honorariæ hujus collegii benefactricis quæ missam quotidianam in hoc sacrario fundavit perpetuo celebrandam pro anima sua et animabus domini Georgii Hamilton de Abercorne, equitis aurati, conjugis sui primi, et domini Richardi Talbot, ducis de Tyrconnell, proregis Hybernæ, secundi sui conjugis. Obiit die XVII martii, anno Domini M.D.CCXXXI. Requiescat in pace.

Close to the former monument, slightly to the right hand side, was a small black marble slab bearing a cross at the top and at the bottom a laurel-crowned skull lying on flaming torches and cross-bones, commemorating 1675.

We close the list with one which, though it does not directly concern the Scottish College, still bears on its role of honour a name often mentioned in the earlier part of our article. The tablet, erected to the memory of eight brave ex-scholars of the Institution Chevallier who fell in the Franco-German war, begins with the name:

Ed: Paul de Bethune, Fernand Bourgeois, Marie-Aimé Delargillière, Marie-Emile Courcier, Paul Desmolins, Leon Gugenheim, Paul Leboeuf, Charles Rouillard. "Quos neque lugeri neque plangi fas est admiratione potius et similtudine decoremus." 1871.

VIOLETTE M. MONTAGU.