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Author: Thomas McInally

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The Scots College Paris, 1652–81: A Centre for Scottish Networks

Thomas McInally

There has long been a tradition of Scots residing in Paris dating at least from the fourteenth century when an alliance with France against England became politically expedient. Dynastic marriages between the royal families of Scotland and France strengthened this association. Paris was also a destination for Scottish scholars. The records of the University of Paris contain the names of many Scots who enrolled as students prior to the Reformation.[1] During the short reign of Mary Queen of Scots the civil war in Scotland drove a number of the queen's supporters to seek refuge in the Catholic countries of Europe. Paris became a principal centre for them. Archbishop James Beaton of Glasgow fled there in 1560. The queen appointed him ambassador to the court of her brother-in-law.[2] Another exile, Ninian Winzet, scholar and Catholic apologist, settled in Paris and was elected head of the German Nation at the university.[3] Others, such as John Leslie, bishop of Ross, came to Paris to consult with Beaton and the other exiles regarding rescuing Mary from imprisonment in England. Their plotting extended to restoring her to her throne in Scotland and to her rightful place, as they saw it, as queen of England and Ireland. Acting in this way, Beaton, Leslie and the others were setting a pattern of treasonable activity for Scottish Catholics in Paris which was to endure for more than a century and a half.

The pattern consisted of refugees and exiles in the city organising support for Stuart claimants to the thrones of the three kingdoms and through military and political success hoping to achieve the return of Catholicism as the

[1] There are eighty-nine in total. Heinrich Dinifle and Émile Chatelain (eds), *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis,* vol. 1: *Liber Procuratorum Nationis Anglicanae (Alemanniae) ab anno 1333 usque ad annum 1406* and vol. 2: *Liber Procuratorum Nationis Anglicanae (Alemanniae) ab anno 1406 usque ad annum 1466* (Paris, 1894, 1897).

[2] In addition she gave him responsibility for managing her dower lands in France. Concepcion Saenz-Cambra, *Scotland and Philip II, 1580–89* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2003), 76.

[3] The University of Paris was comprised of colleges but the student bodies were organised in four 'nations'. The German Nation included all non-French students. Winzet's position was one of prestige and some authority.

dominant religion in Scotland. The Scottish counter-reformation implied in these actions took many years to organise on a coherent basis but from the outset two factors were considered integral to its success. First, there needed to be colleges providing education for Scottish Catholics to maintain a supply of priests and an educated social élite and, secondly, there needed to be funds to support this work. Many of those involved in this counter-reformation were based in Paris although the principal centre was Rome. Due to the early influence of Archbishop Beaton and the strong pro-Scottish sentiment among the Parisians themselves, Paris came to play a major role in the work of the Catholic mission in Scotland.[4] In this, developments in the third quarter of the seventeenth century were critical to the success achieved and it is to a recovery of this period of activity of Scots Catholics in Paris that this study is directed.

I. Origins of the Scots Colleges Abroad

Before the Scots College in Paris opened in 1603 there were two established colleges in the city which were used by Scots. David Innes, bishop of Moray, had established this earlier provision in 1326. Innes had studied at Paris and, after his elevation to the bishopric, he endowed a bursary to support four students at his old university. The income from a farm which he had purchased at Grisy-Suines, outside Paris, was used to fund his College of Grisy.[5] Although the bishop's intention was that the students should come only from his own diocese, by the sixteenth century the bursaries were open to any Scottish student.[6]

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[4] The long alliance between the two countries ensured favourable sentiment but the death of Mary Queen of Scots strongly reinforced it. The English ambassadors, Sir Edward Stafford and Sir William Wade, reported to Elizabeth I that when the news of Mary's execution arrived in Paris neither of them dared venture onto the streets for fear of being attacked by the mob. They were also denied access to the court. Mary was sister in law to Henry III and to the Parisians she was a queen of France and of Scotland. J.B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth 1558–1603* (2nd edition, Oxford, 1959), 388.

[5] Here the term 'his college' does not imply the ownership of college buildings. The students appear to have been housed in other colleges or inns.

[6] The bishop of Moray retained responsibility for selecting the bursars until the last pre-Reformation bishop, Patrick Hepburn, died in 1573. Afterwards the bishop of Paris took on this role. Violette Montague, 'The Scottish College in Paris', *Scottish Historical Review*, 4 (1907), 399–416. George Buchanan, the Scottish humanist and tutor to James VI is recorded as having been a student of the college in 1529. Scottish Catholic Archives (Edinburgh), Grisy College, 13/1 Avery, f.72.

The second college used by Scots was that run by the Society of Jesus. In 1550, the Jesuits opened their first seminary in Paris at the *hôtel* of Guillaume de Prat, bishop of Claremont. When the first Scottish novitiates arrived in 1563, the College of Claremont, as it became known, was still operating as a private institution.[7] Public classes started in 1564 in the face of vehement opposition from both the Sorbonne and the Parlement de Paris. The hostility was based on the perception that the Jesuits were Spanish in political loyalty and therefore suspect in French eyes. Later in the 1580s, perhaps in an attempt to mollify the Parisian authorities, the Society appointed a Scot, John Tyrie, as rector of their college. French sympathy for Mary Queen of Scots at that time was extended to Scottish Catholic exiles such as Tyrie. However, this gesture of appeasement by the Jesuits was unsuccessful. The Sorbonne refused to incorporate Claremont College into the University of Paris and, following the assassination attempt on Henri IV in 1595, the college was closed, its librarian hanged for treason and the Society expelled from the city. Scottish involvement with the Society continued and grew but for almost twenty-five years there was no Jesuit presence in Paris.

By the terms of the Council of Trent (1545–63) those wishing to be ordained as Catholic priests had to be educated in seminaries. Special provision was made for students from northern countries such as Scotland where the establishment of a Catholic seminary was impossible. In 1573 Pope Gregory XIII opened the first such college for the use of Germans in Rome under Jesuit control. Mary Queen of Scots, from her imprisonment in England, in 1575 sent her ambassador, John Leslie, to Rome to negotiate a similar college for Scots. The queen and the pope provided the funds for a college and under a Scottish Jesuit rector, William Crichton, one was set up in Paris. Yet before any students were enrolled, it was deemed politically expedient to relocate it to Pont-à-Mousson in Lorraine as part of that town's Jesuit university. The queen also provided additional bursaries for the College of Grisy to ensure that Scots continued to be educated in Paris. However, the funding ended on the queen's death and the college at Pont-à-Mousson closed. Immediately the Scots began fund raising to resurrect the college. Crichton made use of all of the contacts he had gained while acting on the pope's behalf in negotiations between Spain, France and Scotland for the

[7] The earliest recorded Scottish novitiates were Robert Abercromby and James Gordon of Huntly who both joined in 1563. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), alphabetical card catalogue of members of the Society of Jesus.

reinstatement of Mary to achieve this.[8] As well as receiving annuities from the king of Spain and Archduke Albert, the Hapsburg regent in the Spanish Netherlands, he obtained substantial contributions from others including Hippolytus Curle, a Jesuit who was nephew to one of Mary's private secretaries during her imprisonment in England,[9] and Colonel William Semple, a Scot in the service of Philip II of Spain. Using these resources, he was able to reopen the queen's college in Douai in the Spanish Netherlands in 1593. Others also used his tactic of soliciting support from a wide range of contacts to good effect in the following century. Nor did Douai remain the only Scots College for long. John Leslie and another Scottish exile, William Chisholm, bishop of Vaison, were successful in petitioning Pope Clement VIII to open a Scots College in Rome as part of the jubilee celebrations of 1600.

By the time the Roman college opened, Archbishop Beaton in Paris was nearing the end of his life. He wished to leave his fortune to help establish a Scots College there. In 1602 he purchased a house in rue des Amandiers, invited the Grisy bursars to take up residence and, when he died the following year, left the house and remainder of his estate to establish a new Scots College. Since the Jesuits, who by reputation were the most competent educators in Europe, were still banned from the city, Beaton arranged for secular priests to staff the college. William Lumsden, a former Grisy scholar, was appointed rector and the college was put under the supervision of the abbot of the Carthusian monastery of Vauvert. From its foundation the Scots College in Paris was controlled by secular clergy with no involvement from the Society of Jesus – a position that its rectors guarded jealously for over a century. The college was successful in attracting students who on completion of their studies returned to Scotland. However, it failed in one important respect. Only a minority of the students who became priests were ordained at the college. Some transferred to the Scots College in Rome but most joined regular orders – mainly the Jesuits and Benedictines. In either case, few returned to Scotland as missionaries; they instead sought benefices in continental Europe, particularly France. Over time, Scots from the colleges obtained benefices allowing them not only to minister to a growing Scottish diaspora but also to form networks of friends and contacts throughout Europe. By the 1640s these networks with strong

[8] Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV), Fondo Carpegna, 55 F, 74V – 75R.

[9] Also Hippolytus' aunt Lady Curle was one of Mary's ladies-in-waiting at the time of the queen's execution. There was, therefore, a strong family commitment to the queen and reason to contribute generously to the survival of her college.

connections to the Scots College in Paris were proving valuable in many ways, particularly with regard to British and wider European politics.

Before discussing this, however, one remaining development of the Scots Colleges abroad needs mentioning. Colonel William Semple, the benefactor of the college in Douai, endowed a Scots College in Madrid in 1627. Its first rector was the colonel's nephew, Hugh Semple, a Jesuit, and so like the colleges in Rome and Douai Jesuits came to control its administration. When the colonel died in 1633, he left his estate to his new foundation but, despite this, it continually struggled through lack of funds. During its 110-year history in Madrid it closed to Scottish students on two occasions, each lasting between ten and twenty years, and it was even appropriated by Spanish Jesuits before reopening to Scots in Valladolid in 1770. During the first half century of its existence, however, the college functioned like its counterpart in Paris although on a smaller scale, but again like Paris it produced very few priests for the mission. Nevertheless, its alumni were active in political and military matters in Spain and throughout Europe.

II. Scots Exiles and Intelligence Gathering in Paris

The community of Scottish exiles based in Paris valued news from home and trusted travellers from Scotland would always receive a welcome.[10] This welcome extended to Scottish travellers from other parts of Europe. In time, the city became a centre used by networks of Scottish Catholics to gain intelligence on matters of importance to their aims of re-establishing Catholicism in Scotland. An early example of just such a network was that established around James Beaton. As ambassador for Mary Queen of Scots, the archbishop sent emissaries to Scotland, Rome and the Habsburg lands to negotiate on behalf of the queen. Beaton provided Mary with information on his dealings with the pope, the emperor and the king of Spain as well as her brothers-in-law, Charles IX and Henry III.

Later Scots who entered the service of European powers used their network of contacts through Paris to keep their employers briefed on matters in Scotland and the rest of Britain. One such was John Dalyell. In the 1630s and 1640s Dalyell was the treasurer of the Scots College in Madrid. The college

[10] Students seeking admission to the Scots College in Paris were either accompanied from Scotland by members of the exile community or carried references and letters of recommendation. Visitors were also closely vetted.

archives show that under his Spanish name of Juan de Ayola he frequently travelled to Paris.[11] The purpose of these trips is not recorded but his papers include cipher codes in his handwriting which suggest that he was continuing the intelligencer work of his old friend and patron, Colonel Semple, who had acted as agent in Scottish affairs for three Spanish monarchs. Dalyell would have found his Scottish contacts in the Claremont and Scots Colleges extremely useful in providing information on Britain to the Spanish court.

It is clear from the records of the Scots Colleges that the community of Scots in Paris did not remain static and renewed itself continuously with new students, while those who had completed their studies returned home to Scotland. This was particularly so in the 1620s when large numbers of students from Scotland came to France and the Spanish Netherlands. However, the greatest expansion of the expatriate Scottish community in the city came in the 1640s when royalist refugees from each of the three British kingdoms arrived. The most prominent of these were Queen Henrietta Maria and her three sons.[12] She established her court-in-exile with many of her husband's supporters.[13] The end of the war and the execution of the king added to the number of exiles in France. Confessional divisions seem to have been forgotten at this time in view of their common royalist sentiments and the shared hardship of exile.[14] Giving mutual support and sharing information became common among many of the exiles in Paris.

A Scot, Patrick Conn, used this spirit of cooperation to his advantage. Conn was a nephew of George Conn, the papal envoy to the court of Queen Henrietta Maria in England in the 1630s. In 1648 Patrick Conn was engaged by Cardinal Francis Barberini, nephew of Pope Urban VIII, his uncle's old employer, to buy books for his library in Rome. Conn had been educated at

[11] Archives of the Royal Scots College Madrid, Box 11 contains 196 items of correspondence from Dalyell to a number of contacts in Spain and abroad. They mainly cover finances and legal matters. Box 25/7 contains the key to the cipher he used to encrypt his correspondence.

[12] Her youngest son, Henry, duke of Gloucester, was imprisoned in London by Cromwell and did not join his mother in Paris until 1652.

[13] Her personal confessor was Robert Philip, a Scottish Oratorian friar, who had studied at the Scots College in Rome. Philip had held this position in England and, suspected of arranging financial support for the king from the pope, had been imprisoned by parliament.

[14] Many Protestant supporters, however, left Paris with Charles II when, as a condition of the Treaty of Westminster 1654, he was excluded from French territory. The treaty ended the First Anglo-Dutch War and under its terms the United Provinces, Cromwell's Commonwealth and France made common cause against the Spanish Netherlands.

the Scots Colleges in Douai, Paris and Rome and the cardinal benefited from his familiarity with the city when he stationed Conn in Paris. In addition to adding to the cardinal's library Conn was required to gather intelligence on affairs in Britain. The cardinal shared this information with the other members of the Curia.[15] By using his contacts within the Scots College and the court of Henrietta Maria, Conn was able to engage with a large number of royalist refugees and pass on first hand accounts of matters such as the trial and execution of Charles I. Later he was able also to report on parliamentary infighting, the opposition to Cromwell and the disintegration of the Commonwealth after the protector's death. This information came from a variety of sources within the parliament and the officer corps of the parliamentary army. These contacts were particularly important in keeping Conn and consequently the authorities in Rome abreast of the developing support for the restoration of Charles II. Conn was extremely adept at using his network of informants and, in this, his association with the Scots College in Paris was important. These contacts became even more effective for Conn's purposes when the management of the Scots College in Paris passed to an extremely capable new rector.

III. Support for the Mission in Scotland and the New College

Robert Barclay was born around 1612, the son of David Barclay of Mathers and Elizabeth Livingston. The family was Calvinist but after graduating from the University of Aberdeen in 1633, Robert converted to Catholicism and went to Paris to study at the Scots College there. His arrival coincided with a period of heightened expectation among Catholics. Under the influence of his wife, Charles I had lessened the application of the penal laws in his kingdoms and as a result not only was Catholicism practiced more openly in Britain but there was a marked increase in the number of students attending seminaries abroad.[16] The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Propaganda Fide*), established in Rome in 1622 to coordinate missionary activity throughout the world, started to view Scotland as a suitable target for missionary work. The papacy had declared Scotland a mission in its own right in 1629 and made

[15] P. Conn to Cardinal Francesco Barbarini, 11 February 1649, Bibliotecha Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Carta Diplomatici, Barb. Lat. 8666 ff. 98–9. Conn also corresponded with others in Rome including Cardinal Antonio Barberini, another nephew of Urban VIII, and William Leslie of *Propaganda Fide*.

[16] Thomas McInally, *The Alumni of the Scots Colleges Abroad 1575 – 1799* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2008), 75–6.

financial support available for secular priests engaged in missionary work.[17] This opportunity was not availed of immediately, as it needed the student intakes of the 1620s and 1630s to complete their studies and be ordained before there was any serious attempt at coordinated missionary work.

Barclay was a member of a group of idealistic Scottish priests who met in Paris in the late 1640s to prepare plans for expanding missionary activity. *Propaganda Fide* appointed William Ballantine and John Walker as missionaries with funding to allow them to work in Scotland. William Leslie, the representative of the Scottish mission in Rome, initially attached himself to the household of Cardinal Charles Barberini but he later he became the first archivist of *Propaganda Fide*. He held this important office for over forty years. Robert Barclay became the mission's agent in Paris responsible among other things for the safe onward transmission of the payments from the Roman authorities to the missionaries in Scotland. Barclay's deed of appointment in 1650 was witnessed by two fellow Scots who were resident in the capital, George Leith, principal of the Scots College, and Thomas Chambers, almoner to Cardinal Mazarin. This zealous cadre of Scottish priests soon attracted others and for the first time since the Reformation an integrated mission of secular priests (as opposed to the Jesuit and Franciscan missions) operated in Scotland with William Ballantine as their prefect.

Shortly after this initiative was started Leith resigned as principal of the Scots College and Barclay was appointed his successor around 1652. Having such a strong commitment to furthering missionary efforts, it was predictable that Barclay would dedicate the resources of the Scots College to providing as much support to the project as possible. Training missionary priests was the priority but a number of obstacles stood in the way. First, the college was too small to accommodate a significant expansion in numbers. Secondly, secular priests who returned from the mission had no means of supporting themselves. They were exiles from their homeland and forbidden to return under pain of death. A number of them had been broken in health due to imprisonment and harsh treatment in Scotland. Often their only recourse was to join one of the orders of regulars to obtain shelter and support.[18] Secular priests who worked as missionaries needed reassurance that they would not

[17] Prior to this only Jesuit missionaries operated in Scotland. By 1600, any pre-Reformation secular priests had converted to Calvinism, left the country or died. Irish Franciscan missionaries worked in the west of Scotland in the 1630s and 1640s.

[18] The *Schottenkloster,* Scots Benedictine monasteries in southern Germany, accepted the greatest number.

be abandoned in sickness and old age. Thirdly, students who were ordained needed to commit themselves to working in Scotland rather than seeking benefices elsewhere in Europe. Barclay planned a course of action to address all of these problems. The plan included providing more accommodation, not only to house a greater number of students but also the missionary priests who were in need of rest and care. He also insisted that, within six months of their admission to the college, all students would sign the Mission Oath.[19] Barclay decided on one further change. No Scottish priests other than the retired missionaries and college staff were to be given accommodation in the college. By this means, he hoped to discourage avoidance of missionary work.

The heightened activity of the secular missionaries caused resentment among the Jesuits. Theirs had been the only mission in much of Scotland for over fifty years and they felt that they should have control of all missionary activity.[20] This view brought them into conflict with *Propaganda Fide*. They also believed that they should have responsibility for the running of all seminaries and Robert Barclay came under direct pressure to concede the management of the Paris College to the Scots Jesuits based in Claremont College.[21] James Macbreck was the main Jesuit protagonist in this attempt to wrest control from the secular clergy. He had been a student at the Scots College in Douai before entering the Society. Most of his adult life had been spent on the mission in Scotland, based at the home of Lord Winton in East Lothian. While there, he was made Superior of the Jesuit mission before becoming a chaplain in the army of Montrose during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Afterwards he suffered imprisonment under Cromwell before his exile. Subsequently, he took up residence at Claremont College and was appointed Preceptor of the Jesuit mission in Scotland. Such a formidable opponent as Macbreck might have been able to succeed in his claims against the seculars if Barclay had not had a strong personality and powerful friends. The Gallicanism of the Church in France meant continued hostility to the Jesuits. Their inability to gain acceptance for Claremont College in the University of Paris also

[19] The Mission Oath was a written commitment to work on the mission in Scotland for at least three years following ordination. This requirement had been in place for more than twenty years but had been largely ignored.

[20] The Irish Franciscans had had to withdraw from the western highlands and islands in the late 1640s due to the practical problems caused for them by the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.

[21] The Jesuits had been allowed to return to Paris and reopen their college in 1620 but the Sorbonne continued to refuse it recognition by the university.

strengthened Barclay's hand. His most powerful allies were, however, in Rome. *Propaganda Fide*'s worldwide role required submission from the Jesuits, which they were not inclined to concede. The representative of the Scottish secular mission to *Propaganda Fide* was William Leslie, a member of the household of the late pope's nephew Cardinal Charles Barberini and close friend of Robert Barclay. Barclay was also good friends with Patrick Conn, who, as mentioned above, worked for Cardinal Francis Barberini. Macbreck would have needed a strong case to overcome such opposition but his arguments were weak and the attempt failed, though not before considerable ill feeling had been generated between the two men – Barclay even going so far as to prohibit his students from associating with their fellow countrymen at Claremont College.

Barclay's tussle with the Jesuits did not divert him from his plan of providing maximum support for the mission. The college Barclay had taken over from George Leith had a lacklustre record in producing priests, but it had prospered materially. The contributions of benefactors had included gifts of property and Barclay was able to house additional students as well as rent out unused property to increase the college income.[22] He maximised income by ensuring that the students paid full fees. He also continued the practice of housing a number of convictors and, in addition, he negotiated payment from *Propaganda Fide* for accommodating retired missionaries.[23] He was assiduous in cultivating a network of prominent Scots in the city and soliciting contributions from them.[24] Among the benefactors was Patrick Conn, who stayed in the college from time to time, and Thomas Chambers who, as well as being almoner to Mazarin, was an old boy of the college. There were also a number of benefactors from the refugee Scottish community such as Colonel Sir Patrick Menteith of Salmonet and Margaret Maitland of Lethington and even an English exile, Alice Banks of Borlace. From this, it would appear that Barclay excelled as a fundraiser. In addition to improving the college's income, he showed himself to be extremely prudent in managing expenses.

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[22] Number 9 rue des Postes had been bequeathed by George Galloway, a canon of St Quentin's, in 1636. At least one and possibly two other properties were owned prior to 1652 in addition to Archbishop Beaton's house in rue des Amandiers and the farm at Grisy-Suines.

[23] Archivio Storico Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli (hereafter ASCEP), Collegii Varii 50, Fol. 568, ref. no. 1. Convictors were lodgers who paid generously for their lodgings.

[24] In the necrology of the college there are at least nine listed as having contributed to the college during Barclay's principalship. Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College Paris 1603–1792* (Edinburgh, 2003), 48.

Contemporary accounts of Barclay give the impression that he was careful with money to the point of being parsimonious. This was not personal meanness, however, since he contributed to the college from his own resources. The financial reserves that Barclay built up enabled him to buy property in Paris so that during his principalship the college owned six houses and a farm.

Barclay's fiscal skill was not restricted to raising and investing money. One of his duties as the agent of the Scottish mission in Paris was to ensure the safe transmission of funds from *Propaganda Fide* to the missionaries in Scotland. This was difficult to achieve and he appears to have relied on the network of contacts built up by Patrick Conn. As well as gathering intelligence, Conn had developed a courier system to send messages and transport money to and from Paris, London and Rome, disguised by the purchase and transfer of books for the cardinal's library. As an example he mentioned in a letter to his employer how his couriers travelled by canal from as far north as Lille to the Mediterranean coast and from there by sea to Italy, the couriers being paid on arrival in Rome. When he was temporarily recalled to Rome in 1654 Conn delegated his duties in the cardinal's service to James Mowat, a Scots banker resident in Paris.[25]

As well as being financially competent, Barclay was also politically astute. He maintained close links with the authorities in Rome but he also kept well informed on the developing situation in Britain. His association with Patrick Conn and the exile community in Paris would have ensured this but he also had an important family contact. Prior to Robert coming to Paris his elder brother David had joined the army of Gustavus Adolphus, fought for the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years War and risen to the rank of colonel. At the outbreak of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms he had returned to fight on the royalist side. At the end of the war he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, where he became a Quaker. After his release, he acted as one of the thirty Scottish representatives to the Cromwellian parliaments of 1554 and 1556. He appears to have remained in contact with Robert for much of this time, visiting him in Paris in 1559 shortly before the Restoration.[26]

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[25] M.V. Hay, 'The Barberini Library', *Library Review*, 20 (1931), 166.

[26] Halloran, *The Scots College Paris*, 41–2. David would have been able to warn his brother of Cromwellian agents operating in Europe. Robert refused entry to one such agent, Alexander Gordon, in 1657. *Records of the Scots College at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon* (Aberdeen, 1906), 116. The brothers illustrate the degree to which many families in Scotland were willing to cooperate through familial and royalist ties while maintaining confessional

The possibility of improvement in the conditions for Catholics in Scotland which the Restoration seemed to usher in was probably the driving force behind Barclay's next major step in supporting the mission in Scotland. In 1662, he purchased a piece of land in rue des Fosse St Victor (now rue Cardinal Lemoine) at a cost of 27,000 livres and built a large new college on it. It was opened in 1665 and in 1672 an additional wing and a chapel were added. The building was four stories high, in the form of a quadrangle with a central courtyard containing a garden which, in keeping with Barclay's financial prudence, also served as a poultry yard. On the first floor were two classrooms, a library, the refectory as well as the vaulted chapel.[27] The basement accommodated the kitchen, laundry and servants' quarters. The principal and college staff had their lodgings on the second floor while the students resided on the top floor of the college.[28] When this substantial building was completed, Barclay was able to bring all the students and retired priests under one roof. It also allowed him to increase student numbers considerably.[29]

Even allowing for this increase, the college had more space than was needed and Barclay took on the extra role of providing training for all ordained priests about to go on the Scottish mission.[30] The training lasted for one or two years and consisted of giving practical advice in working on such a difficult mission. Again, *Propaganda Fide* provided funds for this. In the course of their training all Scottish missionaries, no matter where they had been educated and ordained, became part of the network of contacts centred on the Scots College in Paris. The concentration of so many Scots on this site meant that the new college building became an even more important centre for Scots in Paris. Visitors from Scotland and Scots from elsewhere in Europe made contact with the college upon arrival in Paris. However, Barclay held to his earlier decision to refuse college accommodation to visiting priests and limit the time that other guests would be welcome. As a result, visiting Scots rented apartments in the street adjacent to the college; hence this became known as rue d'Ecosse, the name by which it is still known.[31]

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differences.

[27] The students took most of their classes at the nearby College of Navarre, part of the University of Paris. Two classrooms were, therefore, adequate for their needs.

[28] Montague, 'The Scottish College in Paris', 402–3.

[29] In the period of Barclay's principalship enrolments to the colleges increased by 40 percent (from 73 in the 1660s to 102 in the 1680s). McInally, *Alumni of the Scots Colleges*, 75–7.

[30] *ASCEP,* Collegii Varii 50, Fol. 568, ref. no. 2.

[31] The college authorities later bought property in this street to rent out to fellow Scots.

An outcome of these developments was to extend considerably the scope of the networks of Scots centred on the college. Examination of the college records confirms this, and it is exemplified by the cases of Charles Whyteford and Thomas Fleming. Whyteford entered the college as a student in 1675. He was the son of Colonel Walter Whyteford and brother of Augustine who had been a student in the old college in 1658. Both Walter and Augustine were officers serving in the Imperial Russian army. Charles later became principal of the Scots College in Paris and through these close family ties would have been able to keep in contact with the many Scots serving in Russia. Thomas Fleming left the college in 1668 and became a Benedictine monk at the *Schottenkloster* in Regensburg. As abbot of the monastery for over forty years, he revitalised the Scots Benedictines in Germany, gaining control of their outposts in Würzburg and Erfurt as well as Regensburg. In Erfurt, he was able to have two chairs of philosophy endowed at the city's university that were reserved specifically for Scots Benedictines. He built up close relationships with the duke of Bavaria and the Imperial Court in Vienna and used his influence to advance Scottish interests.[32] His work was greatly enhanced by the support he received from James Leslie, count of the Holy Roman Empire.[33] General Leslie became a significant benefactor of the Scots monastery in Regensburg during his lifetime and left a legacy on his death. This enabled the Benedictines to support the mission in Scotland. When Thomas Nicholson became Vicar Apostolic in Scotland (see below) Fleming was able to provide him with eight Benedictine priests for his mission. In enhancing Scottish interests in the German lands and Habsburg Empire Fleming was working to a pattern inspired by Barclay to further the aims of Catholics in Scotland.

IV. Barclay's Legacy

Barclay built on networks of Scottish and Catholic contacts to support and strengthen his college. His principal success was to bequeath an enlarged college on a sound financial footing to his successors in support of missionary work in Scotland. The consequences of this success were impressive. Working

Montague, 'The Scottish College in Paris', 405.

[32] The duke of Bavaria supported his submission to the pope to have the monastery in Regensburg designated as a seminary, which significantly enhanced the Scottish presence in Regensburg.

[33] General Leslie had been ennobled and granted large estates in recognition of his services in extending imperial lands into Ottoman territory in Hungary and Croatia.

together, Barclay and Ballantine, the prefect of the secular mission, increased considerably the number of missionaries available. As well as increases in the number of secular priests they persuaded a group of Scots Dominicans led by Thomas Primrose to join Ballantine. The Dominicans were particularly valuable since they were Gaelic speakers and could work in remote areas undisturbed by the authorities in Edinburgh.[34] Ballantine died in 1661 and his replacement as prefect, Alexander Winster, judged the circumstances to be sufficiently improved to justify the appointment of a bishop to the Scottish mission. With the support of Barclay in Paris and William Leslie in Rome Winster made a formal application to *Propaganda Fide*. In order to appraise this request *Propaganda Fide* commissioned a survey on the state of Catholicism in Scotland. Its findings, which were delivered in 1680, showed that there were twenty-five missionaries in Scotland of whom twenty-two were secular priests. More were needed. Nevertheless, the report demonstrated that all Catholic communities had access to a priest. The initiative of the young Scottish priests of thirty years earlier had been remarkably successful. *Propaganda Fide* acted on Winster's request in 1695, appointing Thomas Nicholson as Scotland's first Vicar Apostolic.[35] Nicholson was able to make good use of the network of support in Paris and the supply of new priests that Barclay's efforts had encouraged.

Robert Barclay did not live to see this. When he died in 1681 the expectations of Scottish Catholics were again rising with the hope of the future James VII and II, a Catholic, succeeding his brother, Charles II. Barclay may have believed that his hard work had placed the Scottish Catholic community in a strong position to take advantage of this change in fortune but he had also inadvertently prepared the ground for two major problems which in different ways undid much of the missionary effort. When James went into exile in France at St Germain-en-Laye he quickly recognised the potential help that the various British colleges could provide his cause through their networks of international contacts. This was particularly true of the Scots College in

[34] They extended the area in the Western Highlands and Islands covered by a small group of Irish Franciscans.

[35] The delay in the appointment was due in large part to the disruption to missionary effort by James VII/II's loss of his thrones. Nicholson was a convert to Catholicism who had attended the Scots College in Paris and on ordination had returned to Scotland as a missionary. Like many of his fellow priests, he was arrested in 1689 in King William's repression of Jacobite sympathisers. Nicholson was released when his younger brother, Sir George, a Lord of Session, stood bail for him – an example of family loyalty being stronger than any confessional differences.

Paris where support for the Stuarts reinforced confessional loyalties. James capitalised on this. He appointed Barclay's successor, Lewis Innes, to his inner cabinet and despite his straitened circumstances became a college benefactor, promising even greater largesse on return to England.[36] James benefited in two ways. First, students and alumni enrolled in his armies, with some even breaking off their studies to join his ill-fated expedition to Ireland.[37] James was also able to use the college networks to communicate securely with almost all parts of Europe. This included access to courts such as the Habsburgs where he was viewed as a client of Louis XIV and, therefore, not supported.[38] The outcome for the college in Paris was that during the period that James and his son held court in France more of its alumni served the Stuarts in military or diplomatic roles than were ordained. Momentum on the Scottish mission was lost and not regained until shortly before the Jansenist controversy overwhelmed the college.

By placing the new college in the Latin Quarter, Barclay inadvertently had made the Scots close neighbours to the principal supporters of Jansenism. It was surrounded by the Sorbonne, the Convent of Port Royale, the Church of St Jacques du Haut Pas and the Church of St Medard – all centres of this religious movement which was the object of papal criticism.[39] During Barclay's principalship students and staff were noted antagonists of the Jansenists but shortly after Barclay's death Innes expressed concern about the movement's influence in the college.[40] The problem grew and forty years later, under Charles Whyteford's principalship, it erupted into a full blown scandal. Antipathy had grown between the students of the Paris college and those of the other Scots Colleges. These were students who, after ordination, had come to Paris to undergo training in preparation for work on the mission. Their

[36] Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (Great Britain), *Calendar of the Stuart Papers Belonging to His Majesty the King, Preserved at Windsor Castle*, vol. 1 (London, 1902), 124, 130.

[37] At least three men with connections to the college died. *Records of the Scots College*, 59. Halloran, *The Scots College Paris*, 210.

[38] 'Memoires de Jacques Second, Roy de la Grande Bretagne, de Glorieuse Memoire', British Library, Portland Papers, MS. 70522, ff. 15–29. James understood the strength of the colleges in this regard and advised his son that when he regained his father's thrones he should close all of the Irish colleges abroad since they represented bases for treasonable activity should Irish loyalties transfer to a foreign power.

[39] Cornelius Jansen had argued against some of the teachings of the Jesuits and much of the subsequent discord was based on the mutual hostility of the Jesuits and Jansenists. Succeeding popes took the side of the Jesuits and issued a series of bulls (especially *Unigenitus,* 1715) which were critical of Jansenism.

[40] Halloran, *The Scots College Paris*, 104.

animosity emanated from their dislike of Jansenism, but – because Gaelic-speaking students preferred the College in Rome – there was also an element of Highlander versus Lowlander antagonism. The Highland Vicariate formally complained to Rome regarding Jansenism at the Paris college and in 1736, after a papal investigation, a number of the students and all of the college staff were dismissed. This action and its consequences were devastating to both the college in Paris and the mission. The college continued to function but, for the next forty years, it had few students and even fewer ordinations, an outcome which would have appalled Barclay.

In less than a quarter of a century after Robert Barclay's death the Scots College in Paris had diminished in significance as the centre of Scottish networks in Europe. It remained part of the wider Scottish Catholic network, but Rome, as well as Regensburg and Vienna, had taken its place as centres where exiled Scots Catholics provided each other with support. One might consider Barclay's work as wasted. To do so would, however, be to ignore the extent to which Scottish Catholics continued to profit from the networks he had helped create. Other leaders such as Fleming in Regensburg and Leslie in Rome were equally capable of maintaining these networks.

University of Aberdeen