

The monument to James II in the present parish church of St Germain-en-Laye. It was paid for by George IV and the surrounding decoration by Queen Victoria



collegiate church of Saint Peter in Westminster'. Yet burial in England was an evident impossibility. And a low-key French funeral would have been a lost opportunity for his Catholic heirs to emphasise his royal status and the injustices of their disinheritance.

James II's funeral was conducted, therefore, on Louis XIV's instructions, according to French royal rituals. And it was managed not only so that his burial wishes might be fulfilled in the future, but that, for the present, they pointedly underlined his connection to England and Scotland.

This was possible because of the particular character of French royal funerary customs as they had evolved since the Middle Ages. By convention, the bodies of French kings were embalmed with wine, herbs and spices. During embalming, the heart, brain and entrails were extracted and—depending on the wishes of the monarch—distributed for burial in different places. Such was to be the case with James II. His embalmed body lay in state for 24 hours at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. It was then put into a sequence of coffins to form a bier: one of wood, enclosed by another of lead and a third, outer coffin of wood covered with black velvet.

This bier containing his eviscerated corpse was sent to the English Benedictine College in Paris and placed above ground within the chapel there. Founded in 1632, the Benedictine



college was located on the rue Saint-Jacques, near the Val-de-Grâce convent where Henrietta Maria, French princess and Queen of England, had had apartments. The first stone of the college chapel dedicated to England's first patron saint—St Edmund the Martyr—had been laid in 1674 under the patronage of Louis XIV. The college was suppressed at the Revolution and of the chapel, now used as a concert hall, only the gutted shell survives.

James II's body soon became an object of pilgrimage for those on a Grand Tour. One English traveller to Paris in 1776, for example, reported his visit: 'To a church of Benedictine friars, on purpose to see the corpse of James II who lies unburied on a stand about 6ft. from the ground, with his daughter Louisa, who lies by his side. He is there ready to be shipped off

This engraving by L'Aine, dated 1686, shows the parish church of St-Germain-en-Laye as completed by Mansart. In the background is the royal palace that was loaned to James II for his use in exile. Prior to the construction of Versailles, it was a favourite palace of the French kings

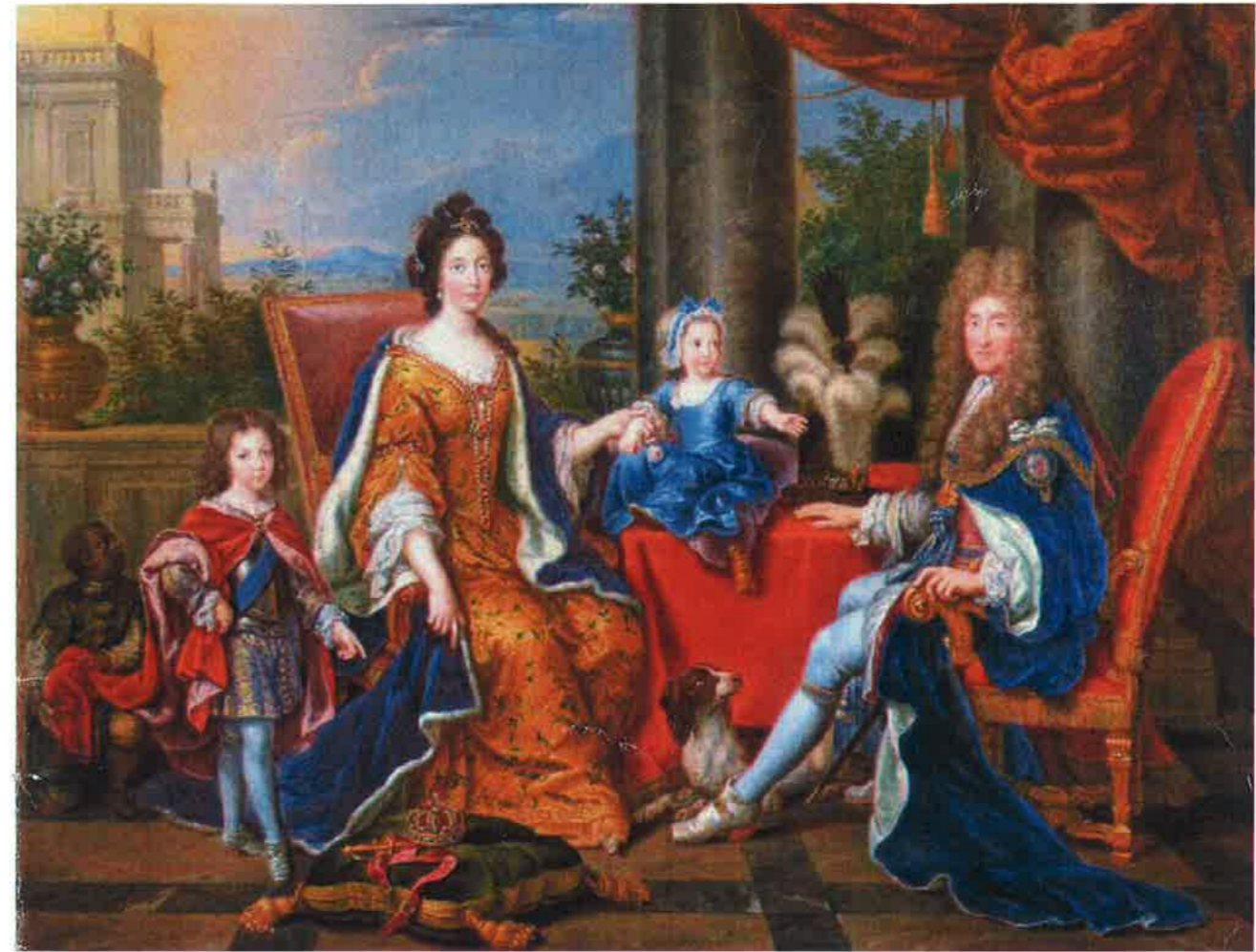
to be buried in Westminster Abbey when any of his family shall mount the English throne.'

Another description of James II's chapel and memorial is supplied by an Irish monk who was imprisoned in the Benedictine college during the Terror in 1794. He recounts the violation of the bier (the body was put on public display for some weeks) and the various coffins in which the body was enclosed and added that 'around the chapel were several wax moulds of the face hung up, together with several escutcheons bearing the arms of England etc. impaled'.

One of these wax masks may survive in a private collection. It was brought to England after the Revolution and purchased by the Duke of Berwick in about 1790. Another death mask is held by the Musée des Beaux Arts in Dunkirk, where it survives, along with the a lace cap made by nuns for the King on his deathbed. It had been given to Lord Caryll, the King's friend and Secretary of State, who gave it to his sister, Lady Mary Caryll, first abbess of the Benedictine English convent in Dunkirk.

James II's internal organs were distributed to other significant places. His heart was sent to the chapel of the Visitandine convent at Chaillot in Paris (destroyed at the Revolution), where the heart of his mother, Henrietta Maria, was also buried. His entrails were buried in the church of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, which had recently been rebuilt by the architect Mansart. His second wife, Mary Beatrice, and daughter, Princess Louise Marie, later also had their entrails buried here. No record of a contemporary memorial to James II survives: the church was razed to the ground at the Revolution. Finally, the King's brain was entrusted to the Scots College chapel.

James Drummond, Duke of Perth, James II's close friend, commissioned the surviving monument in the college chapel to commemorate this burial. It is dated 1703 and signed by F. P. L. Garnier. Louis Garnier (about 1639–1728) was a pupil of François Girardon, sculptor of Louis XIV, who worked at Versailles. Today, it lacks an opulent array of copper-gilt sculpture—a gilt-bronze urn with cherubs as well as the Stuart and Drummond coats-of-arms—presumably stolen at the Revolution. The form and detailing of this is, however, recorded in a careful contemporary engraving that was evidently commissioned to publicise the monument.



Its design is inspired by Jean Bérain, chief designer of the Menus Plaisirs du Roy. The white-marble curtains drawn back around the truncated pyramidal centrepiece recall the 1689 mausoleum in the Church of Notre Dame of Marie Louise of Orléans, niece of Louis XIV, Queen of Spain. The funerary slabs of Mary Beatrice and Louise Marie lie in front. Nearby is the flagstone of the Duke of Perth and of his wife, as well as Lewis Innes, James II's chaplain and head of the Scots College in Paris.

Through Innes, the college received a bequest in 1701 from the ailing King of his memoirs and personal letters. During the Revolution, these manuscripts had been kept at the English College of St Omer, before being destroyed. A transcript version was bought, however, by the Prince Regent from the Benedictine Abbot Waters in Rome and published in 1816.

Portrait of King James II of England and VII of Scotland and family, dated 1694, by Pierre Mignard. He is shown in the robes of the Order of the Garter. His second wife, Mary Beatrice (or Mary of Modena) is flanked by her son, James Francis Edward (later, 'The Old Pretender') and daughter, Louise Marie

Another Jacobite curiosity that has survived in the college—a although its provenance and authorship are uncertain—is a portrait of James II's son, James III, also familiar as 'The Old Pretender', that hangs on the stairs at the chapel entrance. The prince is depicted in armour, a statement of his martial ambitions for the recapture of the throne. He points out over the sea with an English and Scottish ship prominently depicted towards the unmistakable outline of Dover Castle. The painting may be an early work by Alexis Simon Belle (1674–1734), painter at the Stuart Court through his master François de Troy, and was perhaps exhibited at the Académie Royale in 1704.

The story of James II's French burial has a fascinating epilogue. In 1824, when work was under way to rebuild the demolished parish

church of St Germain-en-Laye, three lead caskets were exhumed from the site. One was identified by an inscription as 'a portion of the flesh... of the very high, very powerful and very excellent Prince James Stuart the second of the name' and the other two were assumed to belong to his queen and daughter. The three urns were subsequently reburied together and a new monument in neo-Grecian style was erected over them by George IV.

Queen Victoria later visited the church in August 1855 during a state visit to Paris and affixed a commemorative plaque to the building in French and English. She also paid for the decoration of the monument niche with royal monograms and an extravagant figure of St George. Thus the exiled Catholic king has been reconciled with his Protestant heirs.



Exiled in death

Tucked away in the Latin Quarter of Paris is an 18th-century monument to James II and VII that has a remarkable tale to tell, as **Monique Riccardi-Cubitt** reveals

ONE curious survivor from among the colleges, convents and monasteries that clustered from the Middle Ages onwards within the historic university district of the Sorbonne in Paris is the so-called Scots College. This ancient foundation, which still operates as a private Catholic institution under the aegis of the state, traces its history back to 1313. Its present home on the rue du Cardinal Lemoine, however, was built in 1662–65. This building has since been re-fronted and internally adapted. Preserved within it are two notable 17th-century interiors: a massive wooden staircase rising the full height of the building and—opening off this on the first-floor level—a small chapel.

Until the French Revolution, the college was a training place for Scottish priests and a centre of expatriate Scottish Catholic life in the city. Its chapel, consecrated in 1672, is consequently dominated by a large altarpiece painted with the crucifixion of St Andrew and there are panels of glass painted with images of Scottish saints. Yet the most extraordinary survival in this modest interior is a monument of grey, black and white marble. This commemorates James II of England (and VII of Scotland), the only crowned British monarch to have been buried outside his realm since the Middle Ages. Aside from its curiosity in this respect, this is also the last surviving of four different funerary monuments erected to this exiled monarch in Paris and its surrounds.

James II was, famously, forced from the throne during the so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688 by the English Protestant establishment in favour of his daughter Mary and son-in-law William of Orange. He came



Above: This death mask of James II, with a lace cap made by nuns, is at the Musée des Beaux Arts in Dunkirk

to France and, under the protection of Louis XIV, who pointedly received and treated him with all the honours of an anointed king, plotted to reclaim the crown. He never fulfilled this ambition, but died at the royal *château* of Saint-Germain-en-Laye near Paris on September 5, 1701, with heirs to continue his struggle. His death presented them with a unique problem.

In his will of 1688, James II had asked—entirely predictably for an English king—that his body be buried 'without pomp, in Our Royal Chapel, so-called Henry VII's Chapel, in Our



Above: James II's monument in Paris. **Left:** Lost elements of the monument, such as a gilt-bronze urn, cherubs and coats-of-arms are shown in this engraving. **Facing page:** James II's son, 'The Old Pretender', points in armour towards a distant Dover Castle



John Goodall: Museum of Dunkirk; Print Collector/Getty Images