

Chapter 2
Paris, 1677-1818

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1. The Monastery and Church

We are told by one of the eighteenth-century monks that St Edmund's was established as 'A Benedictine Nursery for the English Benedictine Mission'. For the Community, the eighteenth century really began as early as 1674-77 when the priory church was built and dedicated to St Edmund. That dedication meant that, at last, the monks had found a secure home in a monastery located on the left bank in Paris, an area full of publishers and religious houses drawn to that quarter because of its proximity to the University of the Sorbonne. The English monks settled at the point where the Rue Saint-Jacques, the old pilgrim road to the shrine of St James at Compostela wending its way southwards from Notre-Dame, levelled off before passing the royal nunnery of the Val-de-Grace and the Jansenist stronghold of nuns of Port-Royal. The monastery was on the front street of the Faubourg Saint-Jacques, protected by a high enclosure wall with a porter's lodge, where a lay-brother or a retired Jacobite exile acted as porter. The monastery took its water supply of four lines of pipes from a fountain which served the neighbourhood and was called the fountain of the Carmelites, because it faced the famous Carmel which was opposite St. Edmund's. A hundred yards away lay the parish church of the neighbourhood, Saint-Jacques du Haut-Pas, or St James's, Hilltown. Not far off too, were many British exiled religious communities who were to share the same vicissitudes as the English monks. The closest of these was the Irish College, but further down the hill were the Scots College, the English secular college of St Gregory, the Augustinian Canonesses in the Fossés Saint-Victor, and in another direction, the English Benedictine nuns at Larkfield, to whom the monks acted as chaplains. .

St Edmund's was desperately poor in 1673, with great debts and diminished rents. The Community at that time had no permanent residence, but the English Benedictine Congregation was determined to ensure the monastery's survival because the Congregation required a house close to the Sorbonne where young monks could be sent to study. It thus provided capital from the English Benedictine priory at St Malo, suppressed in 1669, to set St Edmund's on its feet, and so the monastery building was begun when Joseph Sherburne was prior [1669-77]. He was also helped by generous donations from the Earl of Cardigan and others 'to build the house'. 'The convent was very slender at this time, there was scarcely wherewithal to hold up common regularity', says the annalist, but Sherburne secured its future economic prosperity by gaining permission for monks who studied at the Sorbonne to hold benefices and bring those revenues into the monastery. By 1691, under Prior Francis Fenwick, all the outstanding debts seem to have been cleared and the property now belonged to the Community. The monastery, which was enlarged in the second half of the eighteenth century, was hardly a cloistered medieval-type building, but it was more like the town house of a prosperous continental abbey. Inside the courtyard, one faced the church which ran north to south on the first floor level. Beneath it, on the ground floor, was an extensive crypt where the remains of at least a dozen monks and some layfolk, many of them Jacobites, were buried. Its architect was Charles Augustin D'Avilere, a

pupil of Mansard. Louis XIV who spoke of the monks of St Edmund's as his 'beloved and devout English Benedictines', gave 7000 livres to build the church. In 1674, the foundation stone of the church was laid by Princess Marie-Louise d'Orleans, granddaughter of Charles I of England, who was to marry Charles II of Spain in 1679. The chapel was completed and blessed in 1677 by the Abbé de Noailles, and its bell, the gift of the famous Carmelite convent opposite, was blessed by President Bernard Gregson and named 'St. Edmund' at *Tenebrae* appropriately, in March 1701. The public's entrance to the church was up a flight of steps and through a classical doorway flanked by double Corinthian columns. The monastery itself comprised two wings attached to the ends of the church, the older, the north wing made up of the eighteen cells of the monks and their refectory, and the more recent wing, a rococo south pavilion, light and secular rather than monastic and gothic in character, which housed the grand staircase, panelled grand salon [salle de compagnie], sacristy, and other conventual rooms, such as library, and calefactory or warming room. This more elaborate wing seems to have been built in 1752, when a substantial legacy was left to the Community by the family of one of the monks, which was used to pay off 'the vast debt on the new wing of the convent'. Servants had rooms in the attics. There seems to have been no alternative route between the two wings than through the church. At the back of the monastery lay a small walled garden, whose arbour and vine trellis brought shade and peace to a Community living in the heart of a noisy capital city. Its sundial was inscribed '*Transeunt non pereunt*'. This English Benedictine monastery and church still survives today as no. 268 and 269 Rue Saint-Jacques, its present tenants being the 'Schola Cantorum', a famous conservatoire of music.

Inside the main doorway of the church lay an apsidal west end with plaster mouldings of winged angel heads flanking the I H S and Marian monograms. Directly opposite the main door, was the Lady Chapel, the gift of the Earl of Cardigan in 1674. He was in Paris that year, and ordered his arms to be displayed over the chapel's door and on its painted glass. From 1701 until the French Revolution, this richly moulded chapel, studded with faces of the sun, acted as the Stuart mausoleum, the final resting place in 1701 of King James II and in 1714 of his daughter Princess Marie Louise, and housed relics associated with the exiled royal family. It was to this chapel each year on the king's anniversary, 16 September, that the Community, having celebrated a requiem mass, processed with lighted tapers to sing the *Libera*. The short nave of the church was classical and decorated with fluted stone pilasters, angel heads and tresses of foliage, and led beyond an oak grille with rood into the monks' choir, or lower choir, as it was termed, built by Leonard Pelletier, Prior Sherburne's joiner, and this gave onto the high altar. The striking feature of this altar was its reredos, a very large oil painting, set in a classical frame of white marble, of the Community's patron, the young East Anglian king, St. Edmund, martyred by the Danes in 871. It was the work of the famous fresco artist Charles de La Fosse [1640-1716] who had painted the dome of the Invalides, and showed the king in heroic pose, swathed in ermine, looking up to heaven, while helpful angels pulled out the arrows from his chest, his sceptre and earthly crown on the ground, being replaced by a martyr's palm and crown of victory carried by angels from heaven. This painting, together with an emblematic painting of the Sacred Heart receiving the homage of the nations, the library steps and some library books, and the choir stalls of St. Edmund's, are now in the Irish College, Paris. Besides the high altar, there were three other altars, one in the lady chapel, another in the chapel of St Benedict, and another in the high or upper

choir, a smaller oratory, which was used in winter. The painter and convert Princess Louisa Hollandia, daughter of the Queen of Bohemia and niece of Charles I, and later Benedictine abbess of Maubuisson for forty five years, donated in 1691 her painting of the madonna and child, 'on her knee about 4 or 5 years old', to the lady chapel, which picture the Marquise de St. Aubin had framed, and the monks added the abbess's arms and details of her gift. Prior Anthony Turberville set up on the other side an altar to St Benedict in about 1702. The first organ of the church had been installed in 1691 by Prior Francis Fenwick, but, having fallen into disrepair, was replaced by a new and bigger instrument costing 3400 livres and built in a new tribune between June 1771 and May 1772. This new organ was the work of the celebrated Parisian organ-maker, François Henri Cliquot, who was given most of the old organ to incorporate except two sets of bellows. Opening concerts were then given by Jean Jacques Beauvarlet Charpentier and Armand-Louis Couperin and several organists in Paris who found the organ to be 'an exceeding good one', and it was played later by Eloi-Nicolas Miroir, the organist at the neighbouring parish church of Saint Jacques.

In the monastery itself, details of its furnishings and effects are sparse. The antiquary William Cole in 1766 noticed on a staircase near the prior's room, 'an indifferent picture' of Bishop John Fisher, with other portraits of Sir Thomas More and Archbishop Oliver Plunket. Like other English communities on the continent, there was a continuing devotion to the English martyrs of the penal period.

Towards the end of the century, the English Benedictine Congregation attempted some centralisation of its work, establishing a common system in its schools and determining that the English Benedictine President should be provided with a recognised headquarters in Paris. Thus, in 1788, at the same time that Etienne-Louis Boullée was designing a titanic new cathedral for Paris, a new cavernous and classical St Edmund's was planned, but never built. Throughout history, the church has often sought solace in desperate times by energetic building projects, and at the end of the eighteenth century, immersed in the secular values of the enlightenment and darkened by the shadow of the French Revolution, the church and the monastic order of the 1780s seems to have followed that tradition.

2. The Community

Throughout the eighteenth century, the resident Community at St Edmund's numbered about a dozen, and included the officials, the retired, and the novices and juniors. The Community officials during the eighteenth century were the prior and subprior, three councillors, the procurator, the two depositarians, who helped the procurator, the dispensator, who looked after the wine supply, the junior master, the novice master [often the prior himself], the sacristan, the infirmarian, the librarian, the vestiarian, the cantors, and the succentors, or sub-cantors. Aspirants to the monastic life at St Edmund's had usually come from Jacobite gentry circles at the beginning of the century, or were Anglican converts. By mid-century, they were more likely to be the sons of prosperous tenant farmers from Lancashire. Originally they usually came with a portion from their families which, as a pension, would see them through their studies and which went to the monastery on their profession, though it might be returned to them by way of annuity for their support if they eventually went onto the English mission. Thus the father of Brother Cuthbert Wilks, as agent for the Throckmortons at Coughton, paid St Edmund's £300 on his son's profession in 1764, with the proviso that if and when he went on the mission, the monk should have an annuity of £10 paid him. As the century wore on, fewer and fewer aspirants brought with them the constitutional portion, and could just about pay their fares from England. Furthermore, St Edmund's found itself paying school fees for its students boarded out at a French or English college. Increasingly, therefore, many more aspirants were taken 'out of charity', the monastery receiving nothing from them. This meant that the monastery became dependent on wealthy benefactors setting up trusts through which boys might be educated.

The habit worn by the choir monks was the traditional English Benedictine habit, with its large hood with 'elephant ears', which derived from English medieval and Spanish models. The lay brothers wore a simpler hood and shorter scapular. In 1711, the lay brothers, who had become 'puffed up with vanity', had to be stopped from wearing cloaks in the city, and were told to return to wearing the cowl, as the habit was known, with a hat. By 1780, the fashion seems to have grown up of monks tucking the flaps of the traditional English Benedictine hoods into their scapulars. The visitation of that year ordered a return 'to the custom of the congregation and discipline of the house'. Another 'old custom' to be perpetuated, was the shaving of each monk's head every fortnight, unless cold weather forced the monks to grow their hair thicker.

Abbot Gregory Freeman, who was archivist at Douai until his death in 1989, once remarked that if all that was left in the archives for a historian of a monastery to study were the four-yearly Visitation reports from the English Benedictine President, then he or she would gain a very prejudiced and distorted view indeed of the Community's history. The reports on the visitations of St Edmund's, Paris, survive for the eighteenth century. They constantly reiterate exhortations to practice silence, except in the garden and calefactory, and to attend choir frequently. The use of 'puro nomine', or Christian name only, and 'injectio manuum', punching, was forbidden. But these reports also throw some light on the peculiar circumstances of the monastery. With noisy Paris on its doorstep, monks were not to eat and drink in the city without rare permission, they were not to discuss private matters with outsiders and not indulge in malicious gossip, advice aimed at 'those strange heterogeneous birds that defile their own nest'. The dismal condition of the house which Benet Weldon recounted at great length in the first decade of the century is corroborated in

the 1707 report which admitted that there had been a collapse of discipline, not helped by the superiors foolishly speculating in shaky mining enterprises which collapsed and brought the monastery to near bankruptcy.

St Edmund's was not an easy Community to run. At the end of the seventeenth century, there had been a run of elderly priors who sometimes monopolised all the important offices of the monastery but were, nevertheless, unable to cope. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, many of its monks whose leadership qualities were recognised turned down the offer of the priorship. A prior's tenure was four years, and to many, especially those brought back from England to steer the ship in a gale, it was an unwelcome appointment. Wilfrid Helme, for instance, brought back to Paris from Cumberland, to be prior in 1729, wrote dolefully to another monk in England: 'I am now fixed in my troublesome post, and in my black attire, but the black reckonings I meet with make me heartily wish I had kept my secular [clothes] on, and rather undertaken the hard service in Cumberland rather than this. I will, however, do all I can for the benefit of my poor decaying house, and live in hopes of seeing my friends again in less than four years' time. [Keep] all this to yourself'. But he went on, contradicting this picture: 'Pray tell [your patron, whom Helme was trying to entice to visit Paris by exaggerating the culinary delicacies on offer] my ordinary food is poulards, poules de caux, gellimottes, fricasses etc., and my ordinary liquor is good old burgundy. I have a good, easy berlin [carriage with footmen] to attend me whenever I have business with any of the cardinals, archbishops, ladies or great folks. This evening I am invited to eat part of a poule de caux with a certain lord, and to take his champagne and burgundy'.

The Community was always subject to the temptations a secular and wealthy city like Paris offered. Heavy drinking was one problem, both in Paris and its dependent house at La Celle, especially among the younger monks. At the beginning of the century, it had been an easy matter to call on the police to deal with troublesome monks, but by early 1789, the prior felt the police were 'in a languid state...over-awed by the Parlement', and so could not be relied on to deal with such characters. Surviving inaugural speeches of new priors, like that of 1753, consider many of the points highlighted in visitations: monks should not mix with servants or frequent the kitchen or porter's lodge, no monks should 'come down from their chambers to trifle away their time and dissipate their minds about the outward court and door to see what is going forward', no one was to go unaccompanied into the city, no monk was to 'publish his want of recollection by amusing himself with looking upon distracting objects'. Everyone [was to] be exact in going to school, thereby to prepare himself to fulfil his vows when called upon to the mission'. 'Those who go to school...,[should] go, and come back together without deviating from the direct road or stopping in the way'. At this date, 1753, every monk was to be allowed a lie-in twice a week, a fire was permitted in cold weather in the calefactory during the obligatory recreation, and no professed monk was to speak with the novices 'under pain of being penanced with bread and water'.

According to Dr. Samuel Johnson who visited St Edmund's in 1775, on 'workdays', the community spent three hours in the church, one hour over their two meals, eight hours in silent work, either in their rooms or in lectures, and one and a half hours in recreation. But eighteenth-century English Benedictine life had little of the back-to-the-land quality about it which characterised the nineteenth-century neo-medieval

monastic reform movements, and Johnson went on to point out that ‘bodily labour’ was lacking in the monasteries known to him. Johnson described how the monks of St Edmund’s recreated in the small but ‘pretty’ garden at the back of the monastery, where there were covered walks. The monks took a fortnightly walk across the fields, for the Parisian urban sprawl had not yet engulfed the upper reaches of the Rue Saint-Jacques, and ‘when they return they used to have from indulgent benigne superiors a demisextier of wine & apples or pears or such like’. Unlike the modern period, however, there were no constitutional holidays for these monks, and smoking was unknown, though ‘the chewing of tobacco’ was forbidden by a decree of the 1693 visitation.

There seems to have been a double refectory in use from the early eighteenth century, one used by the monks for formal meals with reading, where abstinence was practised, and another ‘where flesh, wine and dainties’ were eaten. The excuse for the latter was that the doctor had so ordered, but it was promptly stopped at the 1707 visitation. From 1723, novices were relieved of the hardship of total abstinence from meat, and Brother Henry Wyburne, professed that year, was the first novice to eat meat. No wine or beer were to be brought into the monastery without permission, nor, according to the 1784 visitation, was the drink ‘called in French, coffee’ to be introduced. The monks seems to have shared the same medical doctors as the Irish College, for there were a number of distinguished doctors of Irish extraction in eighteenth-century Paris. The ‘infirmary book’, for instance, contained the prescriptions of Dr MacMahon, and Father Joseph Whittel’s thick volume of medical remedies, used at La Celle, survives.

3. The Horarium

Thanks to the monk-annalist of St Edmund’s, Brother Benet Weldon, who died in 1713, having suffocated from a fire he was allowed in his cell, we have a detailed description of the customary and timetable, or horarium, which the monks followed at St Edmund’s itself. The calendar there listed English and French saints, like St Benet Biscop, the patron saint of the English Benedictines, on whose feast the Host was exposed throughout the day, and St. Genevieve, patroness of the city of Paris. The translation of St Benedict’s relics to Fleury was celebrated on 11 July, St Edmund’s accepting the Maurist historian’s arguments about the authenticity of the Fleury relics. On major feasts, the liturgy spilled over into more secular celebrations. On the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury, for instance, compline was said in private and there was recreation at supper when a ‘Cake-King’ was chosen from among the monks, who accompanied his drinking by bawling out ‘Le Roi boire’, ‘A great indecency in the mouths of religious men’, complained Weldon. He went on to describe another ‘foolish custom of choosing another King by paper sraules [on the feast of the Epiphany], & the convent is harmlessly merry with what the Superior thinks convenient to allow’. On Shrove Tuesdays, ‘we passe the afternoon in harmless merriment, making ourselves pancakes, and have a rational plenty of wine, with apples and cheeze and such like things’.

Although there were no holidays allowing absences from the monastery, there were three recreation weeks: before Advent, before Lent, and in early September. In these, breakfast was provided. Initially, breakfast had only been allowed on feast days, but as the century wore on, it became more frequent, and was taken between 6.00 and

8.00. More meat was eaten on what were called 'flesh days', and 'a demisextier' of wine allowed on days of abstinence. Sometimes, the mass obligations which the monastery carried out had benefactions attached. Thus, on the feast of St Edmund of Canterbury [16 November], a previous prior, Father Augustine Latham, who had died in 1677, had stipulated in his will that a piece of goose and a cup of wine should follow mass said for the repose of his and his father's souls. There also seems to have been a regular supply of beer for consumption, because during 1710 we hear that the Community had to put up with mead, thanks to a ban on brewing which affected the Parisian brewers. When Dr Johnson spent a day with the monks in 1775, he was not impressed with the diet: 'soup meagre, herrings, eels, both with sauce, fried fish, lentils, tasteless in themselves'. From the feast of All Saints, 1 November, until the feast of the Annunciation, 25 March, the prior gave permission to have fires at night recreation, and if it was particularly cold, after matins and none also. The measure was specified: 'Half a fagot & three reasonable billots or thick pieces of dry wood so as to last at noon & night a full hour. In the morning indeed it ought to be a quick fire for avoiding loss of time'.

The pulse or bell rang for starting the day at 3.45 and at 4.00 for the beginning of matins and lauds. By 1760, the practice had crept in of every monk missing matins twice each week, but from that date, this was forbidden. Lauds was followed by half-hour meditation, and then prime was recited, ending at 6.00. On Sundays and Holydays, terce, sext and high mass were celebrated at 9.30, and concluded with none, 'so that we have commonly done by 11 a'clock'. On 'workdays' the pulse sounded at 11.00 for terce, sext and none which lasted half an hour, and during it, the monk that was hebdomadarius or had slept in for matins, said the conventual mass, for the Community had been exempted from a sung daily high mass in order that the student monks could have more time for study. Dinner followed at midday, during which a chapter of the Old Testament and a homily from one of the Fathers or some Church History was read in the refectory. The Community processed to the church immediately after dinner, said grace, and then recreated together until 13.00, when the monks retired to their cells. On Sundays and Holydays, Vespers was sung at 14.00, followed by a short meditation until 15.00, and on 'workdays', Vespers was at 17.00, followed by meditation for quarter of an hour. Supper took place at 18.00, which began with a section from the Rule, then a piece of Blosius was read, and this followed by a part of the New Testament, from the Acts of the Apostle to the Apocalypse, and then a homily from the Fathers. After Vespers, which took place at 17.00, the Community would assemble once each week for a spiritual conference or 'a debate on scripture, theology or church history' which might be based on a written tract. Supper, at which there was an elaborate grace, which involved blessing bread and beer, was followed by an hour of common recreation. Compline on ordinary days was recited at 19.30, but earlier when the Blessed Sacrament was exposed. After compline came the great silence, and the monks then retired to bed.

4. Studies and Scholarship

As the eighteenth century wore on, increasing numbers of monks studied their philosophy and theology at the Sorbonne. Monks studying at the Sorbonne were allowed to go there in the afternoons to hear two professors, provided they were back by 16.00. On two occasions, in 1701 and 1774, the rector of the Sorbonne came in procession to the church of St Edmund. Monks from the other English Benedictine

monasteries at Douai, Dieulouard, and Lambspring stayed at St Edmund's, while they studied philosophy and theology at the Sorbonne, and earned their keep by supplying mass to various neighbouring convents. Earlier, in the seventeenth century, self-taught monks who cultivated eccentricity had been a feature of the Community. Brother Martin Stone was a *verus Israelita* and a gifted linguist, 'but a strange piece to look at', Brother Dominic Green, 'a very little creature, but very skillful in musick', eaves-dropped on the sweet singing of the nuns in the Val-de-Grace and invented a form of short-hand to help jot it down, and Father Columban Phillips who had once fought against the Moors in Tangier, invented a weird cosmological system where sun and earth shared the same orbit and were encircled by the planets.

By the time of the French Revolution, there was a monastery library of about 5000 volumes, together with a chest housing Piranesi's engravings and an 'optique'. The catalogue of 1702, still extant, was the work of Brother Benet Weldon, who also compiled in 1706 a manuscript 'Life of James II', now in the British Library, so that there would be 'something on the king' in the library. This volume, containing the 1702 catalogue of Weldon, was the gift to St Edmund's in 1699 of John Thomas Woolhouse, oculist and eye surgeon to both King James II and William III, and was given by him in return for his being allowed to use the library to copy manuscripts. According to the regulations governing the English Benedictines, the library should stock, in particular, books relating to preaching, catechising, and moral theology, because the monks' studies, it was emphasised, were to prepare them for work as priests on the English mission. Dr Samuel Johnson, who spent some time in the library in October 1775, was struck by its manuscript holdings. The ease of access to the library which the monks enjoyed, and the difficulty which the librarian had in retrieving books from resident monks, and with even more difficulty, from those monks on the mission who had pocketed volumes, demanded that Maurist customs of security were introduced. These included the appointment of 'a studious librarian' who would draw up 'an exact catalogue' for 'a common library for all the books of the monastery', with its name written on each book, 'according to the old custom'.

The most celebrated scholar the Community produced in the eighteenth century was undoubtedly the mathematician and astronomer, Father Charles Walmesley, who later became Vicar Apostolic of the Western District in England. Reports to Rome which sought to appoint him as bishop in 1756 noted that as prior, he had spent too long on mathematics and had neglected the care of the Community. Nevertheless, Walmesley published a range of books on astronomy, mathematics and scriptural commentary, he advised the English government in the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar, and he drafted a 'Method of Studies' which encouraged monks to study Newtonian science, and which formed the basis for the theology courses of the junior monks in the second half of the century.

Beyond the main library was a small inner, specialist library, set up in 1749 by the Society of St Edmund, a learned society of monks and their friends keen 'to perfect themselves in the arts and sciences'. Here was to be found a library of some five hundred books and manuscripts, a microscope, pneumatic machine, two globes, maps, prints, and a large collection of medals, and some shell-work designs. The books here were donated by friends and parents of monks in England. The book-plate of the Society of St Edmund was designed in 1749 by Franz Eisen, and engraved by the distinguished engraver, Robert Strange, then in Paris and presumably a visitor to St

Edmund's. This typical eighteenth-century example of the early work of both artists portrays an obelisk surmounted by a sun in clouds, from which appears a hand holding a book inscribed 'Veritas'. Above, in a banderole is the motto, *Labor omnia vincit*, below are two *putti* studying a map of the world. The Society of St. Edmund held its inaugural meeting on 17 June 1749, when regulations adapted from the Royal Society were adopted. There followed a series of lectures over the next four years, each carefully minuted, and reflecting the fruits of individual monks' studies at the Sorbonne and a spirit of enlightened enquiry within the monastery promoted in particular by the Rector, Charles Walmesley in particular. Lay friends of the monks were invited to attend, one paper being given by a corresponding member, Philip Howard Esq. of Corby Castle, Cumberland. The range of lectures was wide and of contemporary relevance, from light, heat and electricity, fire and vapours, Newtonian astronomy and mathematics, to history, ancient coins, the Druids, the computation of time, industrial technology, and with the final volumes containing snatches of the monks' poetry.

Two of the members of the Society, Father Charles Walmesley and Father Augustine Walker, both of whom had been priors of St Edmund's, took their learning and their interests with them when they moved from the salons of Paris to Rome. Although they were officially here in the second half of the century as English Benedictine procurators at the Court of Rome, they were also active in Rome's literary and artistic circles. Walmesley, a member of the Royal Society, was in touch with prominent mathematicians, scientists, and vulcanologists in Rome, like François Jacquier and Paolo Frisi, and Walker was a habitu  of the English coffee-house and close companion of the cicerone James Byres, the artist Christopher Hewetson, and the architect Robert Mylne. Walker was a member of the artistic Academy of San Luca and a keen collector of Piranesi prints, and was Walker who composed for Sir William Hamilton the Latin verses presently inscribed on the pedestal of the Warwick vase, now in the British Museum.

Because of lack of space in the cramped buildings, there was never any opportunity to establish a recognisable school at St Edmund's. Boys destined to become monks were educated at La Celle, or in the monastic schools of St Gregory's, Douai, and St Laurence's, Dieulouard, in Lorraine. A typical procedure was for a benefactor to establish an educational bursary on which some students could be educated, the students being chosen by either the Benedictine provincials in England or by the prior of St Edmund's. In 1784, following an educational reform which established St Gregory's, Douai, as the main educational establishment of the Congregation, there were four students there aspiring to become monks in Paris. When the Revolution hit St Edmund's, the monastery was paying the pensions of seven young aspirants, five at Dieulouard, one at Douai and one at Paris itself. With the coming of a measure of Catholic emancipation in England in 1791, St Edmund's was wealthy enough to place and maintain aspirants in new mission schools like that of Father Bede Brewer at Woolton, Liverpool.

5. The Administration of the Monastery

The financial and economic administration of the monastery was the task of the procurator, and, throughout monastic history, the procurator is often disliked because he is perceived as a killjoy. At the 1700 visitation, for example, a number of the

Community managed to secure the removal of the unpopular procurator, Father Cuthbert Parker, by criticising his absence from choir and his indiscretion. Parker had had to deal with the crippling debts burdening the Community at the end of the seventeenth century, partly the result of the confusion overwhelming it after the 1688 Revolution, and partly resulting from the severe economic conditions in France reflected in several famines in the 1690s. During this decade, then, it is not surprising to find the monastery in a very fragile state, rocked by scandals which encouraged some of the more idealist monks to seek a more primitive and perfect monastic observance elsewhere, in monasteries like the reformed Cistercian house at La Trappe. The economic gloom panicked the prior, Father Joseph Johnston, into using in 1703 what little capital he had to speculate in lead mines in the Limousin. This bubble burst, the Community was nearly bankrupted, and the finances of the house suffered a further decline. Fortunately, the newly elected prior in 1710, Father Antony Turberville secured a grant of 1000 livres from General Chapter 'to help his beginnings', and bequests from the wills of dead exiled Jacobites began to trickle in around this time. Further funds were lost in the famous Paris Bubble in 1721, including capital left by Queen Mary of Modena in 1719 to provide masses for the royal family. When Father Wilfrid Helme became prior in 1729, the monastery's debt stood at £3500. There were still serious debts outstanding by the 1760s, but things were beginning to improve, and the prior found himself able to repay recent loans made by wealthy benefactors, or, more often, French and English benefactresses. It was common for communities of French and English nuns to lend an ailing St Edmund's substantial sums at 4% interest, and as the century wore on, the monastery was seen as being financially secure enough to act as an agent for the English at home and in France who wished the monks to invest their capital in the Paris town house or stock exchange. One major reason for the monastery's ability to emerge from the doldrums seems to have been the increasing income it derived from its benefices. By 1768, all debts had been discharged. In 1780, Prior Gregory Cowley believed St Edmund's 'in its temporals is in the most flourishing state of any [monastery] in the Congregation, [and] will I hope in a few years be in a very opulent state'. The Community was congratulated in 1780s for 'harmony which reigns among our confreres and the improvement of their income'.

A distinctive feature of St Edmund's, Paris, in comparison with the other English Benedictine monasteries, was the large number of French benefices which it was given the right to hold in 1676. By the end of the eighteenth century, St Edmund's drew revenues from over a dozen benefices. Most important were the two revenues derived from the priory of Aulnay [Meaux], given by the abbot of Cluny in 1663, the priory of Choisy-au-Bacq [Soissons], annexed to Paris in 1682, and the monastic revenues from La Celle-en-Brie, now La Celle-sur-Morin, [Meaux], united to Paris in 1708. In addition, the Community appointed titular priors to, and drew revenue from, Bonnelles [Chartres], Choiseul [Langres], Coudray Macouard [Angers], Grosleu [Chartres], Pembé [Nantes], Rochemaure [Viviers], Ronçenac [Perigueux], St. Aubin-de-Loquenay [Mans], St Marcel [Chalons-sur-Saone], St Thibault [Soissons], Sanques [Mende], Villers [Soissons], and the sacristies of Notre-Dame d' Audia de Grane [Valence] and Pre-les-Douzy [Auxerre]. All these, typical examples of land tenure and inherited feudal rights of the ancien regime, provided the procurator of St Edmund's with continuous headaches, for he found himself ultimately responsible for a variety of tithes, wood-cutting rights, fishing and hunting rights, hearth rents, ferry services, presentation of curates, and rights of justice over the peasantry. The grant to

hold benefices was confirmed by Louis XV in 1723. These many benefices were an obvious source of funds for a monastery which had, because of its urban setting, neither land nor school for livelihood. Some benefices, like the two of Aulnay, included weekly mass obligations which fell on the Paris Community.

Monks of the monastery held their own benefices, provided they were theology graduates of the Sorbonne, but were directed to transfer all proceeds from them to the monastery, and this caused much dissension throughout the century. Even missionaries in England were still able to hang on to their French benefices, although they were only allocated a tenth of the revenue, the rest going to the monastery. When he became a bishop in 1756, for instance, Father Charles Walmesley gained permission to continue to hold onto his benefice of St. Marcel, and Father Bede Moore held the priory of Pas in the early eighteenth century, but was only allowed a £5 annuity from his benefice by General Chapter. The General Chapter of 1725 decreed that the revenues from the benefice of James Buckley, an Edmundian missionary in England, should go to help the library at St Edmunds. From 1710, to prevent self-interest controlling incomes from benefices, all Paris monks were required to take an oath on their profession day not to dispose of their benefices, pensions or funds, except to the advantage of the monastery. Still, they were avidly sought for among members of the community. Wilfrid Helme, prior in 1729, managed to gain 'a priory in the Garonne worth £700 in English money', which boosted his lowering morale: 'I make myself a slave for a parcel of worthless lads, fools and libertines who abuse me, but I now have a rich benefice which I can leave to any brother'.

6. La Celle and its School

The priory of Saints Peter and Paul at La Celle-en-Brie, an ancient monastery on an island on the Grand Morin, to the east of Paris and close to Meaux and the nunnery of Faremoutiers, an Anglo-Saxon foundation, was St Edmund's most important benefice, ranking before that of Choisy-au-Bacq, which had been donated to the monks of St Edmund's by Prince Philip of Savoy and which had been formally annexed by St Edmund's in 1682. La Celle had been ceded by the Benedictines of Marmoutier to the English Benedictines. The monks enjoyed revenues attached to the monastery benefice as well as to the sacristy from 1701, while the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris enjoyed the revenues attached to the office of prior and, in essence, provided for the maintenance at La Celle of the English monks. The superior of La Celle was continually tempted to call himself 'prior' and make his house independent of Paris. He was therefore often reminded that his official title was 'superior', not 'prior'. Attached to the sacristy was the hermitage of the monastery's founder, a poor swineherd and hermit known as St. Blandin, which had also, in the passage of time, become beneficed and which was a local pilgrimage centre. The priory of La Celle had a large medieval church, conventual buildings and its own liturgical ceremonial and local fair. There were generally four monks maintained at La Celle, which with its running waters teeming with fish, with its farms, dovecotes and fruit trees, provided an idyllic location. An elegy written by a monk who had taught there in the 1750s and was now reluctantly returning to Paris, evokes its charm:

*Where'er you tread, the eye survey around
Greenflowr'y meadows, hills with verdure crown'd;
While through the shades that bank the distant stream,
The dancing sun beams shoot a silver gleam...*

*Adieu, dear pupils once my care and joy,
 For other cares must now my hours employ.
 By fatal orders torn from you away,
 Ne'er shall we more together sport and play:
 In harmless joys with you no more I blend,
 Glad to forget the master in the friend.
 Ne'er shall I more against the echoing wall,
 Or in air open strike the bounding ball;
 Nor guide the pebble thro' the chalk'd out space;
 No more in meadows urge the mimick chace..*

The maintenance of the extensive medieval range of buildings at La Celle was expensive, and in 1712, the superior of La Celle was ordered to repair the building because it was nearly falling on the Community's heads. At La Celle, a room built in the garden was used for guests or for the sick brethren, sent down from Paris for convalescence. There was a library of some six hundred volumes, many the gift of Claude de Salle, a commendatory prior in 1652, before the priorship was taken over by the Foreign Missions. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, himself visited La Celle to talk with Brother Wilfrid Reeve, a poet and English monk of St Gregory's, Douai, who taught there between 1685-87. La Celle's isolation and ease could cause problems, for visitation reports sometimes criticised the neglect of choir office and the frequenting of local hostelries. There were sometimes reports that the choir office at La Celle had been neglected 'for some years', so at visitations, the President demanded that monks at La Celle should rise at 5.00 for matins and perform the same silences and prayers as their brethren in Paris.

La Celle had for much of its history a small school deriving from the time it had served as a novitiate. This['Collegium Cellensis'] developed 'for the education of youth in classical learning', its most famous pupil being the future traveller, Henry Swinburne who was there 1754-58. There must have been a school from an early date, since in about 1663, the annalist speaks of the students fleeing from their beds one night, frightened by a hedgehog which they believed to be a demon. By the 1750s, when evidence becomes more abundant, the school numbered a dozen boys, and in 1816 Father Bernard Ryding, looking wistfully back to earlier and better times, expressed a wish to retire to La Celle 'where I first imbibed every sound and enlightened principle'. Surviving poems by students at La Celle describe the monk and school master, Cuthbert Simpson's severity with the stick on a idle boy in 1754:

*When you look grim, we dread the scold or switch,
 And Petit's backside straight begins to itch.
 But when you smile!...we're glad as folks on mayday,
 And swell with hopes of some approaching playday.*

7. Jacobites and Guests at St Edmund's

St Edmund's was the most important Jacobite centre in eighteenth-century Paris, since it contained the mortuary chapel of the exiled king James II and his daughter. King James visited the monastery at least four times: a private visit sometime between 1689 and 1693, when, humorously, he came deliberately incognito and heavily disguised, to surprise the prior; he came on retreat in Holy Week 1694, and in September 1696, when he stayed for three nights 'by way of retirement in a bed-chamber with thin red

silk hangings, lined with silver edging', and slept 'on a little camp-bed', and, finally, on the feast of St Edmund [20 November 1698], when he attended high mass at which only seven monks were present. After his death in September 1701, according to his wishes, his body was brought to St Edmund's by night, accompanied by fifty two *guardes du corps*, and the prior received it, delivering a speech in the king's honour. It was then placed on trestles and covered with a black velvet pall, with the king's death mask alongside. The walls of the mortuary chapel were hung with black velvet drapes bearing the royal arms. The antiquary Richard Rawlinson who visited St Edmund's in 1719, noted that the mask 'pretended to be a very great likeness, and in the eye brows are fixed the very hairs of the dead king'. The chapel displayed escutcheons of the Stuarts and principal Jacobite families, including those of the Earls of Powis, and had funeral tablets to two Catholic Jacobite baronets who had died in Paris and were buried at St Edmund's: Sir Henry Gifford of Burstall, Leicester [1664] and Sir Francis Anderton of Lostock, Lancashire [1678], both close friends of the monks whose Benedictine prayers they valued. The deposition of the king was followed by a series of processions in his honour, like that of the professors of the Sorbonne, led by its rector, the Irishman, Dr Michael Moore, as well as masses celebrated by high dignitaries like Gabriel de Roquette, Bishop of Autun, who was assisted by Maurist monks, who loaned royal ornaments from St. Denis for the occasion. Visits by James's widow, Queen Mary of Modena, and her son, Prince James Edward, and daughter, Princess Marie Louise, were made on the anniversary of the king's death. The young Marie Louise died of small-pox in 1712, and the church was hung with white to receive her body late at night from the chateau of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, accompanied by Jacobite nobility and carried by Irish priests. It was a relief to the Community, who were far fewer than the monks at Saint Denis, the other royal Parisian mausoleum, that because of the hardness of the times and her circumstances, Queen Mary did not insist on the customary forty days of mourning for her daughter.

James, Prince of Wales, had visited 'his English Benedictine monks' for the first time, on an afternoon in May 1700, and when as King James III, he left for Scotland in March 1708, the Community celebrated mass before the exposed Blessed Sacrament. In May of the same year, following the expedition's failure, he came to St Edmund's again, to visit his father's tomb. These were private visits, but sometimes a meal was taken with the monks. Since the church was 'but little', it was something of a nightmare organising these royal liturgical events until a system was invented by which the lay part of the procession went through the sacristy and downstairs after reverencing the altar. Cures of individuals who visited the chapel after King James's body had been deposited there were soon rumoured, and included two monks. Forty miracles were officially attested for purposes of the king's canonisation, which was commenced by the monks of St Edmund's. The cause soon faded away with the decline in Stuart fortunes, but revived in the early 1730s, when the mortuary chapel was redecorated, thanks to the promptings of the Duke of Berwick. Horace Walpole reported that one of the monks had watched the Duchess of Buckingham yearly weep floods of tears before the coffin: 'I thought it was real grief', said the monk, 'till one day I asked her to buy a new pall for the coffin, & she would not give a shilling towards it'. The Community's Jacobite links survived the royal family's settling in Rome, and during the 1770s, Prior Gregory Cowley continued to correspond from Paris with Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Young Pretender. On the prince's death in January 1788, the Community sang a requiem for his soul.

As a Jacobite centre, St Edmund's was known to literary figures like the Jacobite poet and novelist, Jane Barker, and was visited by those Catholic families who remained loyal to the cause, including members of the Arundell, Molyneux, Dormer, and Mostyn families. In the 1720s, the Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsay, disciple of Fénelon and a leading Jacobite freemason, lodged at St Edmund's 'in his solitude'. Many Jacobite exiles asked for burial in the monks' crypt, where members of the king's descendants, the Fitz-james family, were laid to rest. In 1737, James Fitz-james, Duke of Berwick, was set up on trestles, like his father, 'in our little cave'. In 1764, his son, Francis Fitz-james, Bishop of Soissons was also laid to rest in the crypt. He was a notorious sympathiser of the Jansenists and had an unbridled loathing for the Jesuits, whose suppression he had supported. Recalling the supposed miracles earlier in the century at the tomb in Saint-Médard of the Jansenist deacon, Paris, an ex-Jesuit exclaimed at Fitz-james's burial: 'Beware of miracles, he'll shower them on the English Benedictines, just as earlier at Saint-Médard'. It is not certain this was the case. Charles, Duke of Berwick, brother of the Bishop of Soissons, and his wife were also buried in the monks' crypt. The Jacobite circle of friends of the Community was wide and encompassed some distinguished non-Catholics. The non-juring Dean of Durham, Denis Granville, for instance, presented his rare book, *The Reigned Christian and Faithful*, Rouen 1689, of which only twenty copies were published, to the prior and Community,

Among other famous guests, we might mention a continuing oral tradition that Benjamin Franklin used a monastery cell to compile the preface to the American Constitution, drawing on inspiration from the Rule of St Benedict. English guests were useful as hosts to monks who travelled to England. Father James Compton, the librarian who had shown Dr Samuel Johnson the rare books on the doctor's visit to St Edmund's in 1775 when Johnson stayed 'till the fryars went to bed', and who had talked with Mrs Piozzi in 'the print room', later apostatised and successfully sought help in England from Johnson. Prior Cowley called on Mrs. Thrale when he went to England two years later, and told her to inform Johnson that a cell was always kept ready at St Edmund's for his use.

8. France and the French Revolution

Relations with the French hosts of the Community were close. Cardinal Richelieu had given an annual pension of seventy-two livres to St Edmund's from 1639, and much later, with the monastery building completed, the Community had been awarded naturalisation in 1701 by letters patent, bringing the same privileges accorded to French monks. Naturalisation allowed St Edmund's to call on the civil arm to enforce the law. Thus, lettres de cachet were occasionally employed to put recalcitrant monks in the Bastille, and Grand Chatelet, or to section the mentally ill in asylums. Father Joseph Johnston had fled England after his involvement in the 1696 Plot to assassinate William III, and hid for a while with French Benedictines, before, perhaps surprisingly, he became prior 1705-10. As prior he was a friend of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, and was responsible for translating his works into English. The English monks provided daily mass for a number of convents in the vicinity of their monastery, notably at the famous Carmelite monastery close by them. The English monks counted Carmelite prioresses, like Mother Agnes de Bellefonds [died 1691] and Mother Marie de la Thuillerie [died 1705], as their 'great friends', though

these powerful women were not above interfering in the affairs of St Edmund's and seeking to influence priors' policies. It was from the Paris Carmel that the monks had received the gift of a relic of the blood of St Caesarius from Rome which they took in procession to the cathedral of Notre-Dame and St Genevieve's on the saint's feast in August, 'carried by two of ours in white albs and our old English red velvet tunics', with Cluniac monks from St Martin-des-Champs, dressed as English Benedictines, helping with the chant. The monks also had good relations with the chaplains to the Benedictine nuns of the Val-de-Grace, who were their neighbours.

Throughout the century, there was a running battle with the clergy of the parish church of Saint Jacques, mostly centred on arguments over parochial jurisdiction. The parish clergy insisted on their right, presumably after taking expenses, of presenting at St Edmund's the dead who had expressed a wish to be buried in the monks' crypt. In 1700, the parish carried off from the monastery the body of Francis Stafford, son of Viscount Stafford, took it for a requiem in the parish church, and only then returned it to St Edmund's, and in 1758, the old curate of Saint Jacques threatened to sue the monks for burying their porter without his permission.

Even before the French Revolution introduced turbulence into the monastic life generally, there were those at St Edmund's in the early 1780s who had 'a turbulent and refractory spirit' and found it hard to endure 'too much monastic rigour' and wanted to go onto the mission in England. With such demands, priors had to balance the need to keep numbers up in the monastery with the aspirations of some who wished to enjoy the freedom of England and who made life awkward for their brethren until they were allowed to go. A reduction in numbers, it was feared, would 'give umbrage to the publick' and jeopardise some of the privileges enjoyed by the Community. Paucity in numbers meant it was hard to carry out the Community's obligations and honour its commitment to the Divine Office in choir. There were only ten monks professed in the 1780s, the next profession taking place in 1824. The President addressing the Community in 1780, asked whether it was right for a monk to work in England merely to rid himself of the fetters of monastic discipline, and was it right, he added, for an infirm missionary not to wish to return to his monastery to end his days with his brethren. Generally, troublesome monks could be dealt with, in the first instance, by a transfer to another monastery and there allowed to cool their heels.

In 1789, the resident Community stood at fifteen choir monks and two laybrothers. When the Revolution broke out in 1789, the prior bore the main brunt of the early revolutionary ferment. Father Maurus Shaw, superior at La Celle, had been elected prior of St Edmund's in 1789 but shilly-shallied, and eventually turned the invitation down, perhaps taking to heart the words of the President at the time, that the times were dangerous and full of impiety, and seemed to threaten with 'a general defection from faith, which precedes the coming of the Antichrist'. Shaw felt himself 'unable to imbarck in a foul vessel and on a tempestuous sea'. Therefore, Father 'Harry' Parker, aged thirty seven, who was to be the symbol of St Edmund's in its darkest hour and to preserve its thin thread of life, was chosen as prior in October of that fateful year, 1789. Drummers and fisherwomen turned up, as was the custom, to complement him on taking office. Thoughts of the burdens of the office, with a Community which had 'the spirit of independence', and his own short-comings, 'a mutable temper,... unsteady zeal,...liable to take disgusts, and to vary in maxims of conduct', gave him a sleepless night and he too initially refused the office, until prevailed upon to accept. It

is Henry Parker's correspondence which provides us with a detailed account of the fortunes of St Edmund's during the revolutionary period.

As the attack on the church by the revolutionary government grew, the sources of the Community's income came under scrutiny when the decree renouncing feudal dues was passed in November 1789. The procurator, Father Augustine Kellet was 'killing himself' with the huge task of drawing up the detailed inventories of property and income of the monastery, which still survive, for the authorities. He was determined not to surrender the property, and was desperate for any lodgers to fill the empty rooms to increase income. St Edmund's was still somehow able to attract notable visitors. In August 1790, the distinguished engraver, Robert Strange, an old friend of the Community, was one of the lodgers, and engaged on an engraving of the Annunciation and making a copy of a painting of the Infant Jesus and St John the Baptist by a Spanish painter. In November 1790, Parker was in good spirits but pessimistic about the future of the monastery. Some of the young monks had adopted lay dress by the end of 1790, following 'the example of the French religious in general', and the radical Cisalpine monk, Father Cuthbert Wilks, who had alienated the bishops in England because of his extreme views, sought to return to his monastery that same year, adding to an already explosive mixture. By 1791, these young monks were demanding a new prior elected 'according to the Constitution in France', but Prior Henry Parker was re-elected, much to everyone's relief.

Parker had petitioned the authorities to preserve the monastery, despite the secularisation of many of the French religious houses, because it was English, and had been purchased by the English. He suspected, however, that there were plans to force the Community to join other dispossessed Benedictines in the makeshift community at Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Meanwhile, he set his hopes on the monastery's fortunes being restored by the emergence of counter-revolution. In early 1793, there were only nine monks attached to the Community, some living elsewhere. The organ was dismantled about this time, and many of its pipes were incorporated eventually into the instrument in the church of St Thomas Aquinas in Paris. In October 1793, as a result of the confiscation of British property, the authorities took over the monastery and imprisoned the Community in its own house, with other foreigners and French suspects. Here they remained for a year, though their final weeks were spent in the Luxembourg prison. According to an eye-witness account of one of the prisoners in St Edmund's, the coffin of James II was prized open, and the embalmed body was exhibited by the sans-culottes on payment of a fee. Prior Parker, who was one of the prisoners, took the corpse by the hand. He wrote in the margin of a 1703 copy of the will of the king, 'The coffin...being opened, the body was found entire in the best preservation...one [of the prisoners] Miss Betty O'Keefe, now living, saluted the king on the cheek, and the undersigned [i.e. Parker himself] took him by the hand; but he was never able to discover the sequel into what particular place the king's body with many others was thrown'. It was during this time, when the monastery served as a house of detention, that the crowns carved on the panelling around the royal mortuary chapel, as emblems of monarchy, must have been obliterated.

9. From Paris to Douai

After Thermidor in the summer of 1794, the monks were freed, and in January 1795 their monastery was returned to them. They found much of the library had survived,

with the furnishings of four of the monks' cells. The library was eventually transferred to the Irish College, Paris, after 1805, when the various British establishments in France were united into one body. By 1796, Parker realised that St Edmund's was so distressed financially that he predicted that soon the two to four monks left of the Community would not even be able to afford to buy bread, and yet they had no surplus money to pay for transport to leave. At this time, Parker was acting as prior and chaplain to the Augustinian canonesses at Fossés Saint-Victor, and Augustine Kellet remained procurator. Of the other monks, Richard Harris was ill, and John Turner, having flirted with the idea of becoming a national guardsman, was given a licence to teach English in Paris.

At La Celle, the superior, Father Maurus Shaw was still resident, though much of the property had been sold by 1797. He and another monk had been imprisoned in 1793, but were released in early 1795, and began to act as parochial clergy for the district. Shaw ended his days as chaplain to the Cambrai nuns, settled after the Revolution at Abbots Salford, Worcestershire, where he died in 1814. Father John Turner, the English tutor and national guardsman, returned to his old monastery and compiled the large collection of revolutionary pamphlets which bears his name and is now on loan to the University of Reading. He died at Ampleforth in 1844. Father Cuthbert Wilks' sojourn in St Edmund's was brief, and he went on an extensive tour of England and the continent. Ironically, Wilks was the only Paris monk to return to the Community when it re-established itself at Douai. Here he died in 1829, the only direct link between St Edmund's, Paris and St Edmund's, Douai.

Two figures stand out in the midst of the anarchy which gripped the Community in the 1780s and 1790s, Henry Parker, the prior, who died in 1817 and Augustine Kellet, the procurator, who died in 1808. It is difficult to believe that the Community would have survived if it had not been for their efforts, and the community's history during these troubled years is bound up in their personal stories. Parker seems to have carried on in the monastery until the summer of 1803 when, as the new director of the British ex-religious establishments in France, he began to live at the Irish College in Paris and took the archives of the monastery with him. He was the last Edmundian to reside in Paris, and on his death, July 18 1817, he brought two centuries of the Community's sojourn in Paris to a close.

The eighteenth century was arguably for the Community of St. Edmund, despite the marked individualism of its members and its few numbers, and perhaps partly because of these, a time when it reached the apogee of its distinction and influence. The nineteenth-century Community, settled at Douai from 1823, reacted against the tolerance, rational philanthropy and scientific spirit of its eighteenth-century forbear. Encased within high walls, the monks and college at Douai became an English enclave in a French town, where the monastery and seminary remained private and remote, with a strong sense of being suspended in a temporary exile until the time of repatriation in its native land dawned in 1903.