101. Dr. H. C. Lombard, *Une cure aux bains d'Aix-en-Savoie* (Geneva: Fick, 1853), 16.
102. Ibid.
103. One Albert Constant, in a 1856 report to the ministry of commerce entitled "Des eaux minerales dans leurs rapports avec l'economie publique," estimated that only two of every five persons on holiday actually took a medical cure. (Constant's report is cited in A. Veyrat, *Compte rendu de la saison des eaux thermales pendant l'année 1856* [Chambéry: Impremerie nationale, 1857], 26.) At Aix-les-Bains, for example, only 3,940 persons of an annual total of 7,617 made use of the thermal establishment in 1861. For contemporary comment on this statistic, see J. Boujean, *Guide de l'étranger aux eaux d'Aix-en-Savoie, Chambéry et leurs environs* (Chambery, 1862), 19–20.
104. Weisz, "Water Cures and Science," 401.
105. Extremely ambitious spa doctors, like Louis Berthet of Aix-les-Bains, argued that spas should begin administering cures throughout the year, rather than just in the summer months. Another common idea among doctors was to try to lengthen the average curist's stay at a spa. See Berthet, *Aix-les-Bains et ses thermes* (Chambéry, 1862).
106. Ibid., 216.
107. Ibid, 12.
108. Which is not to suggest that middle-class vacations went to the spas in hungry pursuit of pleasure. For an assessment of their didactic and socially strategic uses of spa vacationing, see Douglas P. Mackaman, "The Landscape of the Ville d'eau: Public Space and Social Practice at the Spas of France, 1850–1890," *Proceedings of the 1992 Meeting of the Western Society for French History* (Las Cruces, NM: New Mexico State University Press, 1992) and *Leisure Settings*, chap. 5.

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Selling Lourdes

Pilgrimage, Tourism, and the Mass-Marketing of the Sacred in Nineteenth-Century France

What is the relationship between the religious act of pilgrimage and the development of secular tourism? This question has been the source of much debate for scholars interested in the development of tourism in Europe and North America. Debate has focused on whether modern mass tourism in the twentieth century is a departure from the traditional act of pilgrimage or its logical extension, a new spiritual search for a sacred center in the modern age. The first position has been effectively argued by scholars like Daniel Boorstin and Paul Fussell. They have characterized the medieval pilgrimage of the Christian world as a form of "serious travel." Like the ancient traveler who searched for new knowledge or the modern literary traveler who followed the grand tour, the medieval pilgrim made a serious journey in search of spiritual truth and divine union. The development of modern tourism, Boorstin and Fussell maintain, put an end to this older form of sophisticated and thoughtful travel. The modern tourist no longer journeys in search of knowledge or truth. Instead, the tourist embarks on a vacation, traveling in comfort and pursuing mindless forms of pleasure.[1]

In response to this interpretation of the decline of the intelligent traveler, a diverse group of sociologists, anthropologists, and historians interested in the study of mass culture have maintained that modern tourism is indeed a serious undertaking. Dean MacCannell, one of the first scholars to argue that tourism was itself a new kind of pilgrimage, set the terms for this revisionist position. He argued that the tourist vacation, as a form of ritualized travel that is set apart from daily life, is also a journey of self-renewal and a search for "authentic" experience. Even while tourists engage in frivolous pleasures and distractions, they are at a deeper level attempting to break with their humdrum daily lives in order to find a more genuine and satisfying encounter with the world. MacCannell concluded that while tourists might not be aware of their deeper search, they are in fact engaged in a pilgrimage quest to re-create a sacred center.[2]

While these two schools of thought present opposing views of tourism in the modern age, their arguments are predicated on an almost identical understanding of Christian pilgrimage as an unchanging and uniform activity. This essay seeks to add another dimension to the discussion of pilgrimage and tourism by examining the historical practices and meanings of modern Catholic pilgrimage. It looks specifically at the development of the Lourdes pilgrimage in late-nineteenth-century France in order to explore how secular and religious forms of travel mutually developed and defined each other in the modern era. Tourism scholars in both camps have constructed a highly idealized image of religious travel that not only oversimplifies the role of traditional pilgrimage in premodern societies, but also overlooks the ways in which pilgrimage itself has changed over time. Boorstin and Fussell make this simplification in order to lament the demise of serious travel. Revisionist scholars, relying on the ideas of Victor Turner, paint a subtler picture of Christian pilgrimage as a liminal event whereby the faithful enter a world of communitas or antistructure through the ritual celebration of the divine. This liminal quality is said to be a key component of modern secular travel, from visiting sites of historical significance to vacationing in Disneyland. While the notion of liminality has enriched new studies on tourism, it has unintentionally perpetuated an ahistorical view of pilgrimage.[3]

I contend that Catholic pilgrimage in western Europe was altered by the very developments that created modern tourism during the second half of the nineteenth century: the advancement of railway technology, modern advertising techniques, the mass press, and the manufacturing of mass-produced consumer goods. In short, the emergence of a consumer-oriented society in the late nineteenth century not only paved the way for modern tourism in Europe, as many have argued, but also created new forms and practices of Catholic pilgrimage. Using Lourdes as a case study, I argue that the rise of consumer culture during this period transformed the act of pilgrimage into an early form of tourism characterized by inexpensive church-organized voyages and the buying and selling of mass-produced sacred goods.[4]

Furthermore, this new type of pilgrimage experience had a profound and unsettling impact on modern French society. As the act of pilgrimage was connected to the practices of mass consumption, the Lourdes shrine became a site of conflict over the relationship between religion and commercialized tourism. Church officials, faithful Catholics, and even anticlerical observers all feared the social effects of large-scale pilgrimages and the mechanical reproduction of religious goods, even as they fought over the precise meanings of these new activities. For the devout, the critical questions were these: What type of religious value did mass-produced sacred goods have, and what constituted appropriate behavior for a pilgrimage that merged penance with secular amusements? On the other hand, anticlerical critics of Lourdes wondered

if the progressive nature of capitalism could be destroyed by the blending of religion and commerce. Both sides wanted to determine the difference between religion and commerce, pilgrimage and tourism, and ultimately the sacred and the secular. These tensions now defined not only the modern pilgrimage experience but broader social debates as well.[5]

The Development of a Modern Pilgrimage Site

The sacred grotto of Lourdes in the French Pyrenees was the most popular healing shrine in late-nineteenth-century France and much of the Western world. It is still the best-known site of Christian pilgrimage in the world today, with the possible exceptions of Jerusalem and Rome. Each year almost six million pilgrims visit the sanctuary. The history of this most celebrated pilgrimage began with the visions of Bernadette Soubirous. On February 11, 1858, this fourteen-year-old peasant girl saw her first vision of the Virgin Mary in a grotto called Massabieille. Bernadette saw the Virgin seventeen more times before thousands of witnesses during the next five months. In the course of these continuing visions, Bernadette discovered a spring of water and revealed that the lady in the apparition called herself the Immaculate Conception. Immediately, local inhabitants sought out the spring for its curative powers and made Lourdes a site of local pilgrimage. News of the visions and proclaimed miracles soon spread throughout France, and by the summer of 1858 Lourdes was attracting faithful pilgrims and curious onlookers from as far away as Paris.[6]

This display of popular religiosity was not extraordinary for the period. Throughout the nineteenth century women and children claimed to have visions of the Virgin Mary. Popular cults quickly developed around these seers, and the places of their supernatural experiences became sites of pilgrimage.[7] What was extraordinary at Lourdes was the church's quick approval of the Marian visions and the rapid development of the local pilgrimage site. The local bishop, Monsignor Bertrand-Sévère Laurence of Tarbes, astutely recognized the staying power of the Lourdes piety and called for an episcopal commission in July 1858 (five months after Bernadette's first visions) to investigate the apparitions and the miraculous cures being claimed at the grotto. The resolve to investigate Bernadette's visions was followed by another decision to discredit other visionaries who were also claiming to have seen the Virgin Mary at Lourdes or in nearby villages. Bernadette's fame had unleashed a rash of visions by other young women and children who tried to claim some of the sacred authority that Bernadette had gained among the local populace. The church investigated these incidents but quickly silenced most of the visionaries and effectively suppressed the spread of these other apparitions. Under

these circumstances, the bishop felt assured of his control over the emerging sacred site. Thus in 1862, just four years after the initial visions, the bishop proclaimed that the Virgin Mary had truly appeared to Bernadette. He also recognized seven cures as miraculous.[8]

After authorizing the new cult of the grotto of Lourdes, the bishop acted swiftly to transform the site into an official Catholic pilgrimage shrine. He gathered church resources to buy the territory of the grotto and build a chapel on the site.[9] In 1866 Bishop Laurence dispatched a full-time missionary order to run the shrine. The Missionaries of the Immaculate Conception, known simply as the Grotto fathers, soon gained ecclesiastic jurisdiction over all matters at the site. They initially organized regional pilgrimages and were quick to use various technologies like the railway to bring large crowds to the shrine. One of their first acts in 1866 was the transportation of sixty thousand pilgrims to Lourdes for the celebration of the inauguration of the crypt of the future basilica. The construction of a trunk railway line connecting Lourdes to the departmental capital of Tarbes in the 1860s was a critical ingredient to developing mass pilgrimages to the grotto.[10]

The Augustinian Fathers of the Assumption were later given full responsibility for the organization of the pilgrimages to Lourdes. They too used the railway in innovative ways as they sought to augment the number of pilgrims coming to the sacred site. They coordinated special trains for pilgrimages, designed compartments to transport sick and disabled pilgrims, and secured reductions in prices of 20 to 30 percent for third-class tickets. Their most important innovation was the creation of a three-day annual pilgrimage known as the National Pilgrimage to Lourdes.[11] Launched in 1873, the first National Pilgrimage met with only marginal success, drawing fewer than a thousand pilgrims. However, the Augustinian Fathers (commonly called the Assumptionists) soon learned to use the mass press, especially their daily *La Croix* and the weekly journal *Le Pèlerin*, to publicize the event to a national audience. Within ten years an estimated twenty thousand French men and women were participating each year in the National Pilgrimage to Lourdes.[12]

While the Assumptionists used their energies to attract and organize thousands of faithful Catholics from all over France, the Grotto fathers concentrated on transforming the actual site of the grotto into a well-run, modern pilgrimage shrine. The grotto administration seized on every opportunity to renovate the town of Lourdes and develop commercial activities during the 1870s and 1880s. The administration actively worked with municipal authorities to rebuild older neighborhoods and construct new city streets. Joint projects included the installation of electricity at Lourdes, the construction of hotels along the new Boulevard de la Grotte, and the building of tramways and a funicular. The most important of these projects was the construction of a

new boulevard connecting national Route 21 directly to the shrine without detours through the town of Lourdes. Citing issues of public safety, both municipal leaders and church authorities sought to minimize the congestion within the town due to the constant flow of pilgrims descending to the grotto via narrow and often steep older roads.[13]

The grotto administration also took up the project so it could create a better view of the shrine for the throng of arriving pilgrims. A government report in 1899 noted the complaints made by the Grotto fathers about the old road to the shrine: "The visitor, upon arriving, would not be struck by a single glimpse of the religious monuments as a whole; the picturesque tableau that nature has made of these monuments was not put to good use." The report added: "The general perspective, in short, left much to be desired: For the grotto administration needs the imagination of the pilgrim to be sparked at first glance by the spectacle before his eyes." The construction of the new boulevard created an impressive vista whereby the basilica and the complex of buildings could be seen almost immediately upon entering the town.[14]

The grotto administration also developed its own commercial establishments that sold religious goods to the public. Among the most successful enterprises was the sanctuary's candle boutique. One skeptical government official noted with dismay the huge profits being made from the candle shop and discussed the church's business tactics in some detail. Located next to the grotto, the shop was legally leased to a Lourdes resident, one Monsieur Berger. However, according to the government report of commissioner-administrator Monsourat, "Everyone in Lourdes is convinced that Berger is only a front man." Monsourat concluded that "the taper business is very important: the resulting benefits are certainly considerable and I am convinced that the holy fathers themselves are profiting from this store through the intermediary of Berger." Monsourat reasoned that by pretending to rent this business for a sum of four thousand francs to Berger, the fathers avoided paying sales taxes. If one accepts Monsourat's argument, the profits made from the sale of candles were indeed considerable. The commissioner-administrator estimated revenues at one hundred thousand francs for the year 1899.[15]

However, it was the sale of sacred Lourdes water that became the most profitable marketing venture for the shrine. Although the Grotto fathers did not charge for the water itself, they did impose a price to cover the cost of the bottles, corks, carpentry, labor, and transport. Monsourat calculated that the Grotto fathers made a profit of approximately sixty to eight-five centimes on each bottle shipped. He concluded that "the fathers, according to accounts received, shipped around one hundred thousand bottles per year." Thus the Lourdes sanctuary earned at least sixty thousand francs from the sale of its sacred water in the year 1899. Monsourat confidently concluded that "the

Advertising for the distiller Sabatier-Lavigne (1887). The Grotto Fathers threatened to sue the distilling company Maison Victor Sabatier in 1887 for printing the phrase "se vend au profit des oeuvres de la grotte." The company eliminated the phrase from its advertising materials. (AG, 6PI, Publicité commerciale, commercialization de l'eau.)

returns realized by the fathers of Lourdes are considerable; establishing above all that the fathers do not neglect a single resource in their power to add to the revenues of the shrine."[16]

The success of the Lourdes shrine was due largely to the church's use of modern-day advertising techniques. At the height of the pilgrimages to Lourdes, in the late 1890s and early 1900s, the religious authorities began advertising the sanctuary on a whole new scale. The church produced specialized guidebooks and manuals for the Lourdes shrine that promoted not just the pilgrimage but the hundreds of attractions and events going on in the town. These guidebooks were a mix of spiritual meditation about the meaning of the pilgrimage and secular concerns for touring the region and seeing the town's many attractions. Capitalizing on the creation of new leisure activities and tourism for the middle class, the church also promoted Lourdes as an ideal vacation spot. Yet these guidebooks were careful to list restaurants, lodgings, and special outings that even the most humble pilgrim could afford. All the faithful, rich and poor alike, were expected to participate in the activities of Lourdes.

A guidebook from 1893 written by Abbé Martin typified this advertising genre. A religious manual intended to instruct pilgrims on proper behavior at Lourdes, it provided needed details about Bernadette's apparitions and the creation of the shrine. This same handbook also suggested daily outings and sight-seeing. The guide listed day trips to the Pyrenees and longer visits to other thermal resorts. The guide also promoted such tourist attractions as a diorama that showed the grotto "at the moment of the first apparition, with such exactitude of detail that one might believe oneself present at the marvelous scene of the Blessed Virgin speaking to Bernadette." Another diorama portrayed the death of Bernadette at the convent of Saint-Gildard in Nevers. The tableau presented the Virgin, surrounded by angels, descending from heaven to give Bernadette a crown. Not only could one see these dioramas for fifty centimes each, but the guidebook also boasted of a more elaborate panorama that represented the seventeenth apparition of the Virgin in which the flame of Bernadette's candle touched her own hand without burning it. The guide remarked that "this scene is reproduced by the artists with such an accent of truth that one is defenseless against the emotions it produces."[17]

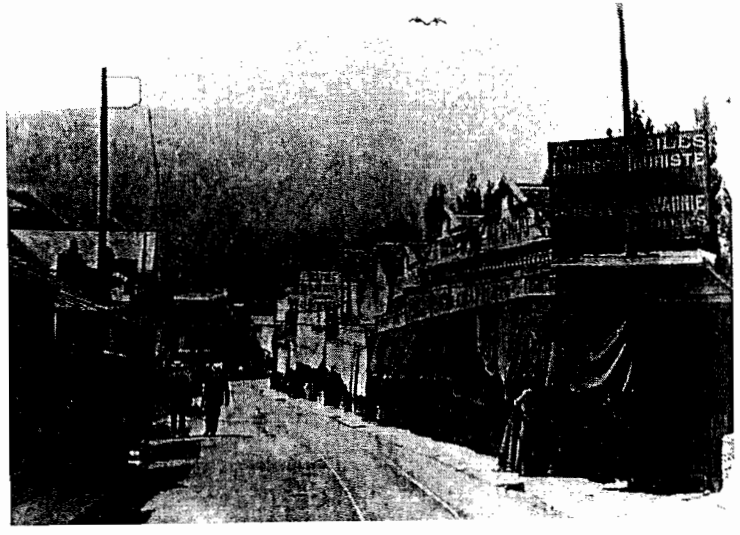
Not unlike the dioramas and attractions displayed during the same period at the Paris Expositions or the wax exhibits at the Musée Grévin, these expositions reproduced the shrine and various religious moments from the past for a mass audience—anyone who could pay the small fee of fifty centimes or a franc. Thus pilgrims could actively participate in present-day religious processions at the shrine and simultaneously indulge their fantasies of being part of a sacred past. By claiming that visitors could "authentically" experience re-created moments from the Lourdes sacred past, these guides

encouraged pilgrims to venerate commercialized attractions as holy sites. Thus Lourdes guide books not only educated visitors to be good pilgrims, but also taught them to be good consumers of the shrine.[18]

The successful selling of Lourdes was manifested in a steady flow of pilgrims, estimated at two hundred thousand per year into the first decade of the twentieth century. The high point for these pilgrimages came in 1908, when over one million pilgrims went to Lourdes to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Bernadette's apparitions.[19] This constant flow of visitors transformed both the town of Lourdes and the entire region of the Pyrenees. What was once a sleepy village of little consequence to the region became a key center of commerce and leisure activity. One measure of the town's accelerated economic importance was its tenfold increase in communal revenues from land clearance, construction, rents, and the sale of drinking water during the period 1860 to 1906. Its communal budget also increased tenfold during this same period. Furthermore, important financial institutions like the Banque de France, Crédit Lyonnais, and Société Générale had investments in the small city of Lourdes. Older thermal stations in the Pyrenees like Gavarnie and Cauterets, once thriving centers of recreation and rehabilitation for the upper classes, were indebted to the sanctuary for bringing new customers to its spas; about half of the clientele who went to thermal resorts in the Pyrenees were also on a pilgrimage to Lourdes. According to one government report written in 1908, the sacred shrine had by this time become a commercial center "that has incontestable economic repercussions . . . not only on the town of Lourdes, but also on the region and even the entire country."[20]

The economic development of the shrine thus transformed the pilgrimage itself into a mass-produced religious experience. Through the shrine's marketing of sacred water as well as the commercial production of religious souvenirs, Lourdes was able to reach even those individuals unable to make the journey. One advertisement for the *Pastilles de Lourdes*, lozenges made with Lourdes water and sugar, proudly trumpeted its ability to make the sacred source available to all who needed it: "Not everyone can come to the waters of the Fountain and respond to the inclination of their heart . . . but the waters of the fountain can go to everyone." The advertisement promised that its goods would "allow parents and friends remaining at home to be supplied with perfectly authentic souvenirs of a pilgrimage that the privileged alone can carry out." The commercialization of the site would aid in bringing needed religious comfort to the world.[21]

Not only were pilgrims able to bring back a piece of the sacred in the form of souvenirs, bottled water, and inexpensive religious trinkets, they were also able to experience life in a thriving commercial center. The grotto administration and private entrepreneurs used innovative advertising techniques to capture a mass audience and capitalized on forms of entertainment found



La Rue de la Grotte (Avenue of the Grotto), 1912. (Photograph collection, Musée Pyrénéen, château fort, Lourdes.)

mainly in large cities to and edify these pious visitors. While Lourdes was no Paris, it was an important town where early forms of mass consumption and cross-class leisure activities were developed for a largely rural populace. Marcel Jouhandeau wrote in his memoirs that his grandmother discovered a larger universe by going to Lourdes, the first and only voyage she made outside the region where she was born: "She discovered there the world around her, never having suspected its scope and almost having departed the world without knowing it."[22]

A Pilgrimage Transformed: Interpreting the Lourdes Sanctuary

The church worked hard to make Lourdes a national shrine that attracted thousands of Catholics on an annual basis. For the Grotto fathers and the Assumptionists, the success of the National Pilgrimage to Lourdes was a sign of the re-Christianization of France. It was a valuable weapon in the fight against the anticlerical laws of the Third Republic.[23] Yet the very success of the National Pilgrimage forced the church to confront a deep ambivalence about

its own commercial activities and the appropriate relationship between commerce and piety. While the church encouraged secular amusements, tourist excursions, and religious panoramas, it also consciously warned against making the Lourdes pilgrimage into a tourist holiday. Religious guidebooks and manuals of the 1890s attempted to separate religious worship from mere tourism. By the turn of the century the church began to emphasize proper pilgrimage behavior and orthodox Catholic ritual. An 1899 Lourdes manual cautioned that "a pilgrimage is not a journey of pleasure but of expiation." Another manual from the Archdiocese of Auch made the same point: "A pilgrimage is not an ordinary journey, much less . . . one of pleasure. It is a religious act. Praying, doing penance, giving thanks to God and Mary . . . such are the goals of pilgrimage." An 1898 guidebook, *Lourdes, guide pratique à l'usage des pèlerins,* began by asserting that "this guide is not made for tourists, but for pilgrims." It also stated that the grotto "is the center and entire reason for the pilgrimages to Lourdes." Despite its reassertion of proper religious values over crass tourism, the guidebook still focused attention on "promenades" and "excursions" in the Pyrenees as well as practical information for taking advantage of the town's many attractions.[24]

The commercial life at Lourdes also engendered ambivalent feelings for pious Catholics. For while the devout had long merged religious and commercial activities at pilgrimage sites, the appearance of sacred merchandising at Lourdes prompted a new concern that such behavior was now inappropriate. The sanctuary received numerous letters from worried and sometimes displeased pilgrims, voicing their dismay over the excesses of commercialized religion. In 1888 a pilgrim from Toulouse wrote to the head of the Grotto fathers to express his outrage over the selling of the newfangled *Pastille de Lourdes:* "During my last pilgrimage to Notre-Dame de Lourdes, I was struck by the existence of a steam-works that manufactures, people say, lozenges from *Lourdes water.* My reaction was sorrow and pain." Clarifying his outrage, he explained that "the thought came to me that this so-called factory had no other purpose than realizing great profits . . . from a blessed and sacred thing." The very idea that businessmen or the church should be making money from sacred worship was intolerable for some Catholics. This particular pilgrim ended his letter by asking the director why he was not doing all he could to stop this "desecration."[25]

Another pressing matter for believing Catholics was the spread of fraudulent vendors selling counterfeit sacred goods throughout the countryside. Itinerant peddling of religious articles, once a valuable means of providing access to sacred artifacts and *objets de piété,* now began to seem suspect in an age of mass consumption. The Lourdes sanctuary received numerous letters complaining that such dealers were selling forged or overpriced religious

goods and relics from Lourdes. Maire Rataboul, a woman from the town of Lauzerte in the department of Tarn-et-Garonne, wrote to the director of the sanctuary about two individuals who passed through her town selling "objects having belonged to Bernadette." She was concerned because "they were selling these objects at highly inflated prices." The two peddlers insisted that the money would be used to celebrate masses at the grotto. One of the peddlers stated, moreover, that he had been cured from a long-suffering illness with the aid of Lourdes water. The woman's letter ended with a plea to know if these two men were legitimate vendors of relics: "As we live in a century where swindlers are everywhere, I beseech you, Director, to tell me if all these things are truthful and if not, to put a halt to these individuals who would so exploit the faith of worthy people."[26] The source of Maire Rataboul's anxiety lay in the threat of being cheated by smooth-talking swindlers. As she so aptly stated, living in the modern world meant living in an age of con men and charlatans. Her fears of being taken by such crooks betray an even profounder anxiety that the authentic nature of the sacred, embodied in sacred relics, was being compromised by the ability to mechanically reproduce such objects.[27]

Not only were peddlers selling sacred relics from Lourdes, but they were also selling all sorts of mass-produced statuettes, medals, and other religious merchandise. A man expressed his outrage over traveling peddlers who "have the audacity . . . to promise healing by means of plastic medallions." He ended his letter to the sanctuary by urging that the grotto "put a stop to this state of things and punish these brutes who mock the faithful." That mass-produced plastic goods were being sold as sacred items with healing powers seemed to undermine the notion of the religious relic. Jules Robert wrote: "Be so kind as to tell us if it is really true that these men are sent by you . . . and if they are charged with selling rosaries, statuettes, medals, and other religious objects."[28] If plastic religious objects had the same sacred power as "genuine" sacred relics from Lourdes, what did the sacred signify in the modern age? Confronted by scores of itinerant peddlers selling a variety of homemade and mass-produced religious goods, believing Catholics wanted to be reassured of the authentic nature of the miraculous.

Interestingly, most of the believing Catholics who wrote to the sanctuary had already bought the goods in question. They clearly wanted to believe in the authentic character of the objects and had already endowed them with some religious meaning. Yet the nature of the commercial transactions coupled with the mass-produced quality of some of the goods generated fears that these *objets de piété* might not be the "real things." The church was finally compelled to take action against fraudulent peddlers as a way to calm the worries of the faithful and reclaim its position as the true arbitrator of the sacred. The bishop

of Tarbes issued a mandate to the Catholic populace and the clergy condemning the commercial exploitation of the Lourdes shrine and particularly denouncing crooked peddlers. The mandate began with a general declaration of prevailing abuses connected to the Lourdes sanctuary: "The bishop of Tarbes is compelled to point out and stigmatize certain abuses that are being committed, in various places, with the name, water, sacred objects, and (souvenirs) of Notre-Dame de Lourdes." The bishop specified three types of abuses: "There is, first, industrial exploitation that hides behind the appearance of religion (and that can fool the credulous)," and second, "the odious hoaxes of the peddlers, who, with their sacred objects, sell pretended *relics of the grotto.*" The third threat came from "those swindlers who demand several sous for the sanctuary to cover the fees of saying a mass celebrated at Lourdes."[29]

To prohibit inappropriate forms of commercialism, the church had to label and distinguish proper and improper commercial transactions in the domain of religion. The bishop's mandate did this by advising the faithful to be "warned to regard as false all those individuals who do not carry the signature and the seal of arms of the bishop of Tarbes in an authentic manner."[30] Thus the church did not actually condemn the buying and selling of mass-produced *objets de piété.* Rather, it maintained that the faithful must procure such goods from the church alone. The selling of religious objects was not wrong in itself if conducted by the Catholic Church. The bishop's mandate, in many ways, usurped the power of these commercial practices and made them part of the official worship of the church. The solution, however, ignored the very fact that many of the peddlers had forged papers claiming they were authorized by the sanctuary to sell their wares. Thus while the mandate intended to make the church the final judge over religious commerce, it in fact granted a certain degree of decision-making power to the faithful, who ultimately had to determine whether the peddlers and the goods they sold were genuine. In an age of large-scale pilgrimages and mass-marketing of religious goods, it was impossible for the church to have complete control over the religious commerce associated with Lourdes. Increasingly, the faithful had to decide which goods were authentic and incorporate them into their worship as they saw fit.

Many prominent Catholics were unhappy with the church's stance toward the burgeoning religious commerce at Lourdes. Some believed that the church had compromised itself and desecrated the Catholic religion by condoning the business activities that grew up around mass pilgrimages to Lourdes. One Catholic intellectual who vociferously condemned the new religious practices of mass pilgrimage was Joris Karl Huysmans. By the early twentieth century, the famed decadent writer had become a devout Catholic, visiting the Lourdes sanctuary on more than one occasion. While Huysmans was inspired by the sacred aura of the grotto, he was offended by the crowds of Catholics

who overran the site every year. They were too easily caught up in the buying of goods and seeing the attractions around the town. For Huysmans, these pilgrims not only misunderstood the religious significance of Lourdes, but they were instrumental in corrupting it. In a letter to a friend, Huysmans lamented that the inhabitants of Lourdes had "given up work to sell sausages and rosaries and bleed the pilgrims dry."[31]

Huysmans soon made public his criticisms of the Lourdes sanctuary. Published in 1906, his last novel, *Les Foules de Lourdes (The Crowds of Lourdes),* ridiculed this commercialization of the shrine. Huysmans had already in 1884 in his novel *A Rebours (Against the Grain)* attacked the church for allowing modern market practices to contaminate the Catholic religion.[32] In the last years of his life, he turned his full attention to Lourdes itself, focusing his disgust on this most popular shrine in France. Huysmans lamented that the irresistible trade in religious goods was destroying the sacred aura of the grotto. With caustic humor and hyperbole, his final novel created an image of an ever-increasing supply of sacred kitsch that engulfed the touring pilgrims:

> Not a single shop is without its medals and candles and rosaries and scapulars and pamphlets full of miracles; both old and new Lourdes are crammed with them; even the hotels have them on sale; and that goes on in street after street for miles, starting from old Lourdes with the poor woman who hawks little rosaries with steel chains and crosses and huge characteristic Lourdes rosaries of chocolate-coloured wood . . . and harshly tinted chromos of Bernadette kneeling taper in hand at the Virgin's feet, and Lilliputian statues and medals . . . and all these things grow better and bigger and larger as you get nearer the new town; the statues swarm increasingly and end by becoming, not less ugly, but enormous.

For Huysmans, this never-ending wave of goods seemed to overwhelm the pilgrims. As the crowds became swept up in their desires for sacred merchandise, they lost all rational control: "And then begins a frantic competition; you are hooked in at every step by the shops all over the town; and you go to and from and turn this way and that amidst the tumult."[33]

Huysmans's critique of Lourdes was grounded in a type of antimodernist elitism. He saw the commerce at Lourdes as an entirely new and unpleasant phenomenon associated with the rise of the masses and new forms of capitalist development. For Huysmans, the development of mass pilgrimages to the site had created an elaborate commercial life that reduced the shrine to a place of vulgar trafficking in goods and irrational spending by naive pilgrims. Huysmans's novel not only revealed his anxiety over the state of modern religious worship but also betrayed his fears over the democratizing impulse of mass consumption. Now that the ordinary person could come to Lourdes, the reli-

gious site had become spoiled, and its aura was lost. The economic benefits to be made from mass pilgrimage would ultimately destroy the sacred value of the shrine. Huysmans feared that religious life was becoming commodified as it became available to a mass audience.[34]

Elite Catholic intellectuals were not the only critics of Lourdes to use this line of reasoning. Anticlerical republicans also condemned the merchandising of religious goods and the selling of Lourdes as a vacation spot. As the government of the Third Republic waged its battle with the Catholic Church, Lourdes played an increasingly public and polemical role in the republican debates about the reactionary nature of the church. Like Huysmans, republicans felt threatened by the huge numbers of people visiting the shrine. While Huysmans bemoaned the impact the new shrine was having on religious worship, republicans feared that Lourdes threatened the health of the Third Republic. These sentiments were vividly expressed in the republican press, which made the Lourdes sanctuary a favorite topic of ridicule and criticism in the late nineteenth century.[35]

An article of 1893 in the radical republican newspaper *La Lanterne* captured the mocking yet fearful tone of much of this anti-Lourdes rhetoric. Titled "The Virgin for Sale: Scapularies, Cookies, Candies, and Benedictions," it began with ironic praise for the French clergy's ability to make money for the church: "The clerics, who invented indulgences . . . and direct tickets to heaven (round-trip), are savvy salesmen; we must give them their due." Turning its full attention to Lourdes, the article noted the latest entrepreneural efforts of the church: "The businesses at Lourdes no longer operate as before, now they have put into action the Blessed Virgin of this country to incorporate a limited company with variable capital from the products of Lourdes." Listing the diverse products sold at the sanctuary from typical objects of piety to rather bizarre sacred foodstuffs, the article enlisted common sense to criticize the selling of such absurd goods: "To begin with, there are the scapularies, the rosaries, the medals, etc., then come the Béarnaise waffles, the Saint Mary vanilla cookies, the Lourdes lozenges, the Virgins, Christs, saints covered in chocolate or barley sugar. All this will be blessed." In the final paragraph of the tirade, the author revealed his utter contempt for the devout populace itself who too readily bought this sacred kitsch and thus helped to enrich a debased clergy: "We are not inventing this; our information is authentic. What fate is in store for this kind of enterprise? We will ignore it. But there are so many imbeciles on earth that it is quite possible that it will do a thriving business."[36]

Republican attacks upon the commerce at Lourdes often focused on the problem of authenticity. Republicans seemed as concerned as Catholics that the religious goods could be fraudulent. However, they feared that naive pilgrims were being duped not by peddlers or businessmen but by the church itself. Journalists often presented their concerns as honest journalistic investi-

gations into the unfair selling practices of religious authorities. An article in *Le XIXe Siècle* claimed to have uncovered the unscrupulous practices of one religious shop. The shop in question charged two francs per liter for Lourdes water which, the journalist proclaimed, was outright exploitation. Not only were the clerics who ran the business making a huge profit from such sales, but one could not even be sure if the water was authentic. Another article in a republican daily, *La Dépêche,* presented an investigation into the printing of phony miracle stories in the religious press. After examining two such stories, the article concluded that "if all of the miracles at Lourdes recounted by *L'Univers* and other exploiters of public credulity resemble these two, we are in a fine mess."[37]

In attacking the commerce at Lourdes, the republican press was expressing its own discomfort with the blending of religion and commerce. While this blending made Catholics fear that they had lost an authentic sacred experience, republicans worried that it compromised the true nature of capitalism, which was progressive and forward-looking. The fact that a religious institution, the supposed embodiment of reactionary politics, could be caught up in modern commercial activity produced profound anxieties over the meaning of such commercialism and capitalist enterprise in the first place. Even while the republicans were engaged in a war with the church for being obscurantist and antimodern, they assailed and feared the church's use of modern technology and newfangled merchandising techniques. Ironically, the republican press condemned the church for *not* remaining outside of modern economic developments even while it called the church a bastion of reactionary superstition. This desire to keep religion separate from modern commercial life was an attempt to maintain the distinctions between secular-minded republicans and reactionary Catholics in an age when those distinctions were no longer clear.

An article in *Le Journal* expressed these tensions as it attacked a church brochure, *Lourdes: Autrefois, aujourd'hui et demain,* for its crass selling of the sanctuary as a vacation spot. Maligning the religious order that published it, the article claimed, "This order begins to manage Lourdes as others might run a seaside resort or a spa." The pamphlet "resembles, almost to perfection, those exquisitely illustrated brochures prepared by the railroad companies to excite the tourist." The author was dismayed that the church was resorting to tourist schemes to attract the faithful into making this pilgrimage: "It is curious to see the church . . . using new procedures for calling to its sanctuaries the crowds." For secular-minded Parisians, religion became even more dangerous when it was mixed up in these commercial ventures. If the church promoted Lourdes like any other tourist site, then secular-minded citizens might be attracted to the shrine.[38] Republicans feared that the selling of Lourdes could entice the masses into the hands of the church and Catholic superstition.

The republican daily *Le Siècle* warned that "once again, we must put the faithful on guard against certain advertising in which the commercial spirit allies itself with a sacrilegious abuse of piety." Rather than condemn the Catholic religion altogether, the newspaper criticized the mixing of business with religion. Religious worship was legitimate if it remained in its proper sphere, which was outside of modern economic life. *Le Siècle* was outraged that various businesses were advertising their goods as "therapeutic" because they were made with Lourdes water. The article asserted:

> Sometime ago, we reported the manufacture of unleavened bread supposedly prepared with the water from the Lourdes grotto. Today, it is the syrup of Notre-Dame de Lourdes, the miraculous elixir of Notre-Dame de Lourdes . . . the miraculous liqueur of Notre-Dame de Lourdes. . . . Suffice it to say that we disapprove of such practices and we pray that the faithful will look upon them as unworthy of the Christian spirit.

Such comments reveal a profound unease with the conditions of modern religious life. These remarks even betray a certain nostalgic yearning for a traditional faith untainted by commercialism.[39]

Another republican critic of Lourdes was the writer Émile Zola. At the time of his first visit to the sacred city in 1891, he declared that "there was material here for just the sort of novel that I like to write—a novel in which great masses of men can be shown in motion." He returned the next year to participate in the three-day National Pilgrimage and recorded each moment of the event in his exacting naturalist style. At the time of his visit, Zola was already a national celebrity and a known republican. His visit and the eventual publication of the book *Lourdes* in 1894 was a major publicity event in itself, as the religious and secular press commented upon the actual voyage as well as the novel. Zola thus helped to bring Lourdes into the public spotlight in the 1890s. The radical republican daily *La Lanterne* criticized the church for its attempt to profit from Zola's novel. In an article titled "Pious Begging," a journalist censured the Grotto fathers for their vulgar commercialism and concluded that the success of Zola's novel unwittingly "has suggested to the clergy the idea of profiting from the publicity created by the author of the Rougon-Macquart series for the grotto of Bernadette Soubirous in order to start up, itself, a little business."[40]

Zola's novel was not an outright attack upon Lourdes. Rather, it was a depiction of the role religion still played in the lives of those who suffered, those without hope. While the novel did parody the church, passages looked sympathetically at poor and sick individuals who turned to religion. In seven hundred sweeping pages, filled with nearly a hundred characters, the

novel traced the journey of pilgrims, priests, doctors, and other curious visitors who came to Lourdes for a National Pilgrimage. Zola depicted the train ride, the processions, the grotto pools, and the people in the street. He detailed the bustling commerce at the site and described the thousands of shops that lined the boulevards around the sanctuary. The religious commerce of Lourdes was an essential part of the pilgrimage experience that Zola was determined to capture. These shops "formed a regular bazaar of open stalls, encroaching on the pavements so as to tempt people to stop as they passed along. For more than three hundred yards no other trade was plied: a river of chaplets, medals, and statuettes streamed without end behind the windows."[41]

Zola was intent on capturing the spectacular nature of Lourdes. He had already written about crowds when he composed *Germinal* (published in 1885) and had devoted serious attention to the development of mass consumption as embodied in the new, exotic department stores of Paris in his *Au Bonheur des Dames (The Ladies' Paradise)*, published in 1884.[42] Now he turned his attention to Lourdes, where his interest in the crowd and modern consumption collided. Indeed, the crowd and the religious goods themselves dominated large sections of the novel. Capturing not only the bustling commerce at Lourdes, Zola's novel also showed the frenzied collecting of sacred objects by hordes of pilgrims at the end of their three-day stay:

> The thousands of pilgrims of the national pilgrimage streamed along the thoroughfares and besieged the shops in a final scramble. You would have taken the cries, the jostling, and the sudden rushes for those at some fair just breaking up amidst a ceaseless roll of vehicles. Many, providing themselves with provisions for the journey, cleared the open-air stalls where bread and slices of sausages and ham were sold. . . . But what the crowd more particularly purchased were religious articles, and those hawkers whose barrows were loaded with statuettes and sacred engravings were reaping golden gains.

While Zola did not blatantly condemn this religious commerce as republican journalists did, his description nonetheless betrayed a sense of anxiety at the unrestrained desires to buy at Lourdes:

> And the fever of dealing, the pleasure of spending one's money, of returning home with one's pockets crammed with photographs and medals, lit up all the faces with a holiday expression, transforming the radiant gathering into a fair-field crowd with appetites either beyond control or satisfied.[43]

As Zola described the frenzied commercial transactions of the pilgrims, he tried to convince his readers that Lourdes was no longer a traditional religious shrine. It was now a fairground or holiday getaway. This transformation disturbed Zola because it made the religious site unduly alluring to a French populace eager for inexpensive forms of recreation. For Zola, Lourdes came to symbolize a new kind of religious experience, one that used marketing ploys and advertising techniques to renovate the Catholic faith and keep superstition alive. He, like other anticlerical republicans, tried to undermine the appeal of mass pilgrimage by depicting it as frenzied, irrational, and contrary to traditional religious worship. In many ways, republicans sounded like their Catholic adversaries when they talked about the problem of religious commerce and mass pilgrimage. By condemning the Lourdes shrine, they tried to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate forms of worship. In the end, republican critics were instrumental in defining Catholic pilgrimage as a traditional, premodern act even while it was undergoing changes that made it a part of modern mass society.

The development of the Lourdes shrine and the debates over religious commerce in late-nineteenth-century France suggest new directions for the study of pilgrimage and tourism. Firstly, scholars of tourism need to move beyond an idealized view of Christian pilgrimage that depicts it as a premodern act immune to change. In fact, this definition of pilgrimage is itself a nineteenth-century creation. It emerged at the exact moment when pilgrimage and tourism were becoming indistinguishable. As pilgrimage was transformed into a mass cultural event that entailed the mechanical reproduction of sacred objects and the promotion of inexpensive amusements, both faithful Catholics and secular observers sought to differentiate the sacred from the secular. While Catholics needed reassurance that pilgrimage was still connected to divine power, critics of the church wanted to distance religious worship from emerging forms of secular entertainment and progressive capitalist development. Thus both sides sought to reconstruct pilgrimage and tourism as antithetic activities. Yet the inability to maintain this distinction between pilgrimage and tourism was a clear reminder of the impossibility of the task.

In this way, Lourdes was prototypical of a pilgrimage experience that became normative in the twentieth century. Today, the Catholic Church, its faithful followers, and its critics are still struggling to sort out legitimate and illegitimate religious commerce and trying to designate appropriate behavior for pilgrims. At Lourdes, debates among the faithful over the value of plastic Madonnas and other sacred trinkets continue. Furthermore, the church now claims that even secular tourists can be touched by the spiritual message of the shrine.[44] The case of Lourdes thus turns around the question commonly asked by scholars of tourism: Is modern tourism informed by religious pilgrimage?

Such a question accepts the nineteenth-century discourse that produced the two activities as binary oppositions. Instead, one might ask how pilgrimage and tourism have mutually influenced each other and what is at stake in viewing them as essentially different activities. Once we understand that pilgrimage and tourism have always been unstable constructs with a long history of convergence, we might in turn ask these same questions about the construction of the sacred and the secular in the modern era.

NOTES

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1. See Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Atheneum, 1987), 77–117; and Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). See also Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London, 1975).

2. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken, 1976). For interpretations that have further elaborated the tourist-as-modern-pilgrim thesis, see J. B. Allcock, "Tourism as a Sacred Journey," *Loisir et Société* 11, no. 1 (1988): 33–48; Nelson H. Graburn, "Tourism: The Sacred Journey," in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, ed. Valene L. Smith (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 21–36; Alexander Moore, "Walt Disney World: Bounded Ritual Space and the Playful Pilgrimage Center," *Anthropological Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (1980): 207–18; Bryan Pfaffenberger, "Serious Pilgrims and Frivolous Tourists," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1983): 57–74; Jean-Didier Urbain, *L'Idiot du voyage: Histoires de touristes* (Paris: Plon, 1991).

3. On Turner's idea of pilgrimage as a liminal experience, see Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978), 1–39, 243–55. Central to their argument is the belief that the liminal experience of the pilgrimage brings about a leveling of social hierarchies and creates a moment of common humanity that lasts throughout the pilgrimage. Some anthropologists and sociologists of tourism have begun to question this concept of pilgrimage. In a 1992 special issue of *Annals of Tourism Research*, devoted to examining the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism, several scholars criticized Turner's use of liminality because it posited (rather than interrogated) an opposition between the sacred and the secular elements of the pilgrimage journey. Three of the articles in this issue have helped to shape my own argument; see John Eade, "Pilgrimage and Tourism at Lourdes, France," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 18–32; Erik Cohen, "Pilgrimage Centers: Concentric and Exocentric," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 33–50; Boris Vukonic, "Medjugorje's Religion and Pilgrimage Connection," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 79–91. See also Erik Cohen, "Pilgrimage and Tourism: Convergence and Divergence," in *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, ed. E. Alan Morinis (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1992), 47–61; and

Boris Vukonic, *Tourism and Religion* (New York: Pergamon, 1996), especially chaps. 8, 9, and 14.

4. I am not arguing that the twinning of commerce and religion was a new phenomenon. Indeed, since at least the early medieval period, major sacred sites all over western Europe have sold religious goods. Medieval shrine tenders and special guilds specialized in the selling of medals, badges, and printed broadsheets as well as trading sacred relics. Itinerant peddlers also hawked religious and secular goods around the holy site. When pilgrims went to religious shrines, they wanted and expected to buy these religious souvenirs. Such commercial exchanges not only satisfied the desires of pilgrims but also served to spread the word of the holy site and thus acted as a form of early religious publicity. Furthermore, these medieval and early-modern pilgrimages often coincided with seasonal fairs and festivals that created an atmosphere of both the popular marketplace and the carnival. Thus commerce and piety have been deeply interconnected activities for the devout who went on pilgrimage. Yet I do want to argue that the scale and scope of using capitalist market practices in the nineteenth century not only transformed the act of pilgrimage into a mass-produced experience but now confronted a mass public with conflicts over the appropriate relationship between commerce and faith. For a discussion of the commerce around medieval and early modern religious shrines and pilgrimage sites, see Jean Chélini and Henry Branthomme, *Les Chemins de Dieu: Histoire des pèlerinages chrétiens des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Hachette, 1982); William A. Christian, Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), and *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Alphonse Dupront, *Du sacré: Croisades et pèlerinages, images et langages* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987); Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (Totowa, NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), especially chaps. 2 and 3; Pierre André Sigal, *Les Marcheurs de Dieu: Pèlerinages et pèlerins au Moyen Age* (Paris: A. Colin, 1974).

5. It is surprising how little attention historians of religion have paid to the commercialization of religious life in nineteenth-century France. Despite a wealth of new scholarship that examines the relationship between religious practice and the political, social and cultural life of modern France, much of this literature has either ignored or slighted the role of commerce in the lives of religious believers. This is not to say that historians have denied the Church's innovative use of new technologies and modern market practices in cultivating worship. Indeed, work on nineteenth-century Catholic pilgrimage has established that the railway and mass press enabled large numbers of pilgrims to reach hitherto-remote sacred sites. Historians have also noted that new commercial practices brought great wealth to certain religious orders and specific pilgrimage towns. Yet few scholars of modern pilgrimage have sought to explore how commercialization has shaped the devotional practices and beliefs of ordinary lay Catholics. By this I mean that the emergence of new forms of commercial activity actually altered, in fundamental ways, how modern Catholics intereacted with the sacred. The important new study of Lourdes by Ruth Harris (cited below), for example, provides no analysis of the commercialization of religious practices at the shrine. For seminal historical work that examines French Catholic pilgrimage in the nineteenth century, see Philippe Boutry and Michel Cinquin, *Deux Pèlerinages au XIXe Siècle: Ars et Paray-le-Monial* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1980); Gérard Cholvy and Yves Marie Hilaire, *Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine, 1800–1880,* 2 vols. (Toulouse: Privat, 1985–86); Judith Devlin, *The Superstitious Mind: French Peasants and the Supernatural*

in the Nineteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789–1914* (London: Routledge, 1989); Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (New York: Viking, 1999); Raymond A. Jonas, "Restoring a Sacred Center: Pilgrimage, Politics, and the Sacré-Coeur," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 20, no. 1 (winter 1994): 95–123; Thomas A. Kselman, *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983); Michael R. Marrus, "Cultures on the Move: Pilgrims and Pilgrimages in Nineteenth-Century France," *Stanford French Review* 1 (1977): 205–20; Barbara Corrado Pope, "Immaculate and Powerful: The Marian Revival in the Nineteenth Century," in *Immaculate and Powerful: The Female in Sacred Image and Social Reality,* ed. Clarissa W. Atkinson, Constance H. Buchanan, and Margaret R. Miles (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 173–200; Bonnie G. Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). Also see David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Knopf, 1994) for an important analysis of Catholic pilgrimage in Germany.

6. For a more comprehensive analysis of the apparitions of Bernadette Soubirous, see Harris, *Lourdes,* chapters 1–3. Also see the seven-volume compilation of documents concerning the apparitions and later development of the pilgrimage site, edited and annotated by René Laurentin and Bernard Billet: *Lourdes: Dossier des documents authentiques,* 7 vols. (Paris: P. Lethielleax, 1957–62). As priests and the church-authorized chroniclers of the Lourdes apparitions, Laurentin and Billet promote an uncritical view of the supernatural events at the grotto. See also Kselman, *Miracles and Prophesies,* for an analysis of Lourdes in the context of nineteenth-century religiosity.

7. This manifestation of popular faith has been interpreted by many historians as part of a larger process of feminization of Catholic practice. Not only were the seers women and children but the faithful who flocked to these new places of pilgrimage were also predominantly women. Lourdes was no exception to this phenomenon. During the five months of Bernadette's visionary experience women outnumbered men as pious witnesses at the site. They continued to outnumber men as pilgrims throughout the nineteenth century. For works that address the predominance of women in Catholic worship and analyze the meaning of this feminization of religious experience, see Boutry and Cinquin, *Deux pèlerinages;* Cholvy and Hilaire, *Histoire religieuse;* Gibson, *Social History;* Olwen Hufton, "The Reconstruction of a Church, 1796–1801," in *Beyond the Terror: Essays in French Regional and Social History, 1794–1815,* ed. Gwynne Lewis and Colin Lucas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 21–52; Kselman, *Miracles and Prophecies;* Claude Langlois, *Le Catholicisme au féminin: Les congrégations françaises à supérieure générale au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1984); Pope, "Immaculate and Powerful," 173–200; Smith, *Ladies of Leisure Class;* Sandra L. Zimdars-Swartz, *Encountering Mary from La Salette to Medjugorje* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). For a summary of this material with an attempt to locate the causes and ramifications of this feminization, see Ralph Gibson, "Le Catholicisme et les femmes en France au XIXe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 79 (1993): 63–93. Historians who have looked at the feminization of religious experience in different national and religious contexts include Blackbourn, *Marpingen;* Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1977); and Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

8. Of the hundreds of proclaimed apparitions in nineteenth-century France, the

church recognized only three others as authentic. They were the visions of Catherine Labouré in Paris (1830), of Mélanie Calvat and Maximin Giraud at La Salette (1846), and of five peasant children in Pontmain (1871). The church was reluctant to accept popular visionary experience because it threatened the hierarchy and doctrine of the male-dominated faith. However, once the church investigated the situation and acknowledged the staying power of such displays of popular piety, it successfully incorporated them into mainstream Catholic thought. Lourdes was typical of this pattern of behavior by the church. When religious authorities took control of the grotto at Lourdes, they consciously tried to limit any further activity by Bernadette. In 1860, the local curé arranged for Bernadette to be a boarder at the hospice school of the Sisters of Charity in Lourdes. In 1866 Bernadette was accepted into the order of the Sisters of Charity and moved to the town of Nevers, where she spent the rest of her short life in the convent of Saint-Gildard. She died on April 16, 1879. For the church's attitude toward the Marian piety of the nineteenth century, see Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, chap. 1; Kselman, *Miracles and Prophesies*, chap. 1; Pope, "Immaculate and Powerful"; Zimdars-Swartz, *Encountering Mary*, 25–92, 165–90. For the church's attitude toward Bernadette and her life after the apparitions, see Harris, *Lourdes*, chapters 3–5.

9. He bought the grotto of Massabieille in 1861 for a mere 971 francs and continued to acquire substantial amounts of property around the site and in the city of Lourdes until 1882. Information about these financial transactions comes from an 1899 government report appraising the economic worth of the Lourdes shrine. The government administrator, M. Monsourat, divided the bishop's acquisitions into two distinct periods: acquisitions from 1861 through 1874 comprising the buying of the grotto property and the surrounding territory needed for the goal "of enlarging the domain of the Grotto administration" and a second period from 1875 through 1882 that included the buying of land in the city of Lourdes "in order to permit the widening of the Boulevard de la grotte." See Archives Nationales (hereafter AN) BB18 1589, Affaires criminelles, "Administration de la mense épiscopale de Tarbes: Rapport de M. Monsourat, Commissaire-Administrateur," December 27, 1899, 63–85. For a discussion of the church's decision to buy the property of the grotto, see Kselman, *Miracles and Prophesies*, 156–57.

10. Kselman, *Miracles and Prophesies*, 160–66, 172–79; Laurentin and Billet, *Lourdes*, 7:11; Marrus, "Cultures on the Move," 213–20. Marrus argues convincingly that local village pilgrimages to older sacred sites died out in the late nineteenth century and were replaced by church-run national pilgrimages to newer sites like Lourdes. The church's use of the railway and the mass press to promote Lourdes played a key role in this shift.

11. Founded in 1843 by Father Emmanuel d'Alzon, the Augustinian Fathers of the Assumption (the Assumptionists) were a nationwide missionary order dedicated to fighting against "the de-Christianization of the nation" by promoting a more sentimental and popular form of Catholicism. The impact of the Assumptionists on French Catholicism cannot be overestimated. The ultramontane religious order came to prominence immediately after France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Many Frenchmen and women, shocked by France's loss in the war and even more shocked by Thiers's violent suppression of the Commune, looked to religious explanations to make sense of these events. During the thirty years from 1871 to 1901, the Assumptionists exploited this sense of horror and guilt over 1871 and promoted various forms of public prayer and ritual. The National Pilgrimage to Lourdes was one of the most successful of these public rituals dedicated to a renewal of faith among the masses in

France. René Rémond, in analyzing the period after the Franco-Prussian War, has concluded that the Assumptionists were largely responsible for shaping the religious revival of the 1870s and 1880s. See René Rémond, *The Right Wing in France from 1815 to De Gaulle*, trans. James M. Laux (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966), 184–88. Also see Cholvy and Hilaire, *Histoire religieuse*, 1:166–67, 194–95. For a discussion of the personal motivations of key members of the Assumptionists and how these motivations shaped the public behavior and political activities of the order, see Harris, *Lourdes*, chapter 7.

12. Kselman, *Miracles and Prophesies*, 163; Marrus, "Culture on the Move," 216–18; Pope, "Immaculate and Powerful," 185–87. These sources differ slightly on the number of pilgrims going to Lourdes on national pilgrimages. I cite the most conservative estimates.

13. While the plan to build the national route was approved by the central government in August 1875, the protests of Lourdes inhabitants stalled construction until 1880. Many townspeople feared a loss of revenue to their shops if pilgrims were rerouted away from the inner city and went directly to the sanctuary below. The dispute was finally settled when the municipality of Lourdes agreed that the new route be linked to the city by two adjoining streets (AN BB18 1589, "Administration de la mense," 76–78). For the joint projects of the 1880s, see Archives de l'Oeuvre de la Grotte (hereafter AG) A16, Rapports avec la Mairie de Lourdes/police de la grotte, carton I, dossier 4, Lettre de Père Sempé au maire de Lourdes, Lourdes, March 23, 1881; AG 1E1, Etat comparatif des avantages procurés à la ville de Lourdes par la movement des pèlerinages (1860–1906).

14. AN BB18 1589, "Administration de la mense," 76.

15. AN BB18 1589, "Administration de la mense," 14, 43.

16. AN BB18 1589, "Administration de la mense," 40–45, 87.

17. Abbé Martin, *Guide de Lourdes et ses environs à l'usage des pèlerins* (Saumur: C. Charier, 1893), 37. See pages 8–18 for discussions of the proper religious behavior of pilgrims and for the presentation of the history of Bernadette and the shrine, pages 47–55 for practical information for making the pilgrimage, and 25–46 for suggestions for excursions into the countryside and other sight-seeing activities. For other typical guidebooks of the period see G. Marès, *Lourdes et ses environs* (Bordeaux: Impr. de G. Gounouilhou, 1894); Bernard Dauberive, *Lourdes et ses environs, Guide du Pèlerin et du Touriste* (Poitiers: G. Bonamy, 1896); J. Couret, *Guide-Almanach de Notre-Dame de Lourdes 1900* (Bordeaux, 1900).

18. For an examination of the Paris Exposition of 1900 and its relationship to the emerging consumer culture of France at the turn of the century, see Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), chap. 3. For an analysis of the Musée Grévin's wax exhibits and the dioramas of Paris as new forms of commercial entertainment for a mass audience, see Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), chaps. 3 and 4. By the 1890s, the Lourdes sanctuary was capitalizing on these same forms of commercial entertainment innovated by Parisian entrepreneurs.

19. For church and government statistics on the numbers of pilgrims and visitors to the shrine, see AG 18E3, Listes des pèlerinages, Journal des chapelains, 1903–1909, statistique envoyée à M. le Chanoine Berengers; AN F7 12734, Rapport du préfet des Hautes-Pyrénées au ministère de l'Intérieur, Tarbes, November 15, 1908, 1–5. By the early twentieth century pilgrims from every region of France went to Lourdes on orga-

nized church pilgrimages. The majority of these organized pilgrims came by train on either diocesan pilgrimages or national pilgrimages. Yet despite the increase in the number of pilgrims and the growth in regional diversity, the profile of the average pilgrim remained remarkably similar to the early followers of Bernadette. Church records reveal that women outnumbered men as participants in organized pilgrimage until the outbreak of World War I. The records show that at least twice as many women as men were bathed in the sacred waters of the grotto pools during the period 1893 to 1913. See AG 18E4, Statistiques généralités (1893–1977), Statistiques fournies par l'hospitalité. Furthermore, organized pilgrimages from the southwest of France far outweighed the number of organized pilgrimages from other regions of France. The dioceses around Brittany and the north were a close second and third. There were virtually no pilgrimages from the east of France and few from Paris. During the period 1866 to 1887 there were only six diocesan pilgrimages from Paris, sending an estimated twenty-five hundred pilgrims. See AG 12E2, Liste des localités venues en pèlerinage à Lourdes (1868–87). The social and economic positions of these pilgrims are much harder to determine. According to early government reports, the initial followers of Bernadette came from both the lower and upper classes of village society. Church authorities also noted the class differences during the early regional pilgrimages of the 1860s. See AN F19 2374 for the series of letters from Commissaire Jacomet to Préfet Massy, February–June 1858 and AG 1HD1, Processions, guérisons et pèlerinages divers (1866–1950), Journal du Sanctuaire de Notre-Dame de Lourdes, especially years 1867–68. Yet these distinctions were recorded less often once the church developed the National Pilgrimage in the 1870s and used a more inclusive language of nationalism to describe the processions. However, given the prosperity of entrepreneurs who ran restaurants and hotels for people of varying economic levels, I suspect that a cross-class dimension remained a pronounced part of the Lourdes pilgrimage experience.

20. For exact figures on the growth of the Lourdes communal revenues and budget, see AG 1E1, Etat comparatif des avantages procurés à la ville de Lourdes, sections 2 and 3; see section 13 for information on thermal spas in the region. For information on the investments of various financial institutions, see AN F7 12734, Rapport du préfet des Hautes-Pyrénées au ministère de l'Intérieur, Tarbes, November 15, 1908, 6–8, 9–13. It is interesting to note that the population of Lourdes did not increase as dramatically as its revenues did. During the same period (1861–1906) the population almost doubled from 4,510 to 8,708 permanent inhabitants; see AG 1E1, Etat comparatif, section 1. However, this figure does not include the hundreds of laborers who came to Lourdes for seasonal employment during the pilgrimage months (May through September). By the early twentieth century, Lourdes functioned like a modern tourist city. A small permanent population catered to a mass influx of visitors, dramatically increasing the wealth of the town and the entire region.

21. See AG 7P3, Affaire vente d'eau de la grotte (1879–88), Advertising brochure for *Pastilles à l'Eau de Lourdes*, F. Valette & Co., 1888.

22. Marcel Jouhandeau, *Mémorial*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1951), 51. This reference comes from Eugen Weber, *France: Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 189–90.

23. With the founding of the Third Republic in 1870, republican politicians tried to limit the institutional power of the Catholic Church. Embracing Enlightenment ideals of scientific progress and secularism, they saw the church as an antiliberal force to be contained. By 1879 the republicans had defeated their enemies and were in a position to enact their anticlerical program, which pushed the church out of educational, military, and civic spheres of French society. The laic laws of the 1880s created tax-supported public primary education, reducing Catholic influence over schooling. All ecclesiastical members were removed from the high council of education, while lay teachers replaced priests and nuns in public primary schools. Further anticlerical legislation passed in the 1890s sought to regulate all religious orders and outlawed nonauthorized ones. This legislation culminated in the separation of church and state in 1905. For a brief history of anticlericalism in this period, see Paul A. Gagnon, *France since 1789* (New York, 1964), 198–238. For a more detailed account of the Third Republic's anticlerical campaigns of the 1890s, see Pierre Sorlin, *Waldeck-Rousseau* (Paris: A. Colin, 1966); and Malcolm O. Partin, *Waldeck-Rousseau, Combes, and the Church: The Politics of Anti-Clericalism, 1899–1905* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1969). For an analysis of the impact of these antliclerical laws on one region in France, see Caroline Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France: Religion and Political Identity in Brittany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), especially chaps. 5 and 6.

24. *Manuel du Pèlerinage Lorrain à Notre-Dame de Lourdes*, 12th ed. (Saint-Dié: Imp. de Humbert, 1899), 8; *Manuel des Pèlerins de l'Archidiocèse d'Auch à Notre-Dame de Lourdes* (Arras (Pas de Calais): Imprimerie de la Presse Populaire, 1911), 16; *Lourdes, guide pratique à l'usage des pèlerins* (Paris and Poitiers: H. Oudin, 1898), 3, 5–8, 10–13.

25. AG 7P3, Affaire vente d'eau de la grotte (1879–88), dossier 1, Lettre de Louis Baron au Père Sempé, Toulouse, April 12, 1888.

26. AG 7P3, Affaire vente d'eau de la grotte (1879–88), dossier 2, Lettre de Maire Rataboul au Directeur du sanctuaire de Lourdes, Lauzerte (Tarn-et-Garonne), n.d.

27. My analysis here is shaped by the work of Walter Benjamin. In "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Benjamin noted that with the mechanical reproduction of art (especially photography and later film), art lost its "aura," its uniqueness and authenticity: "The technique of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition. By making many reproductions it substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence." (*Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn [New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968], 221). Benjamin's analysis of art lends itself to an analysis of the religious experience at Lourdes in the late nineteenth century. A traditional Christian pilgrimage site and its sacred objects are endowed with both a sense of sacred aura and miraculous power by their association with a unique divine power: Jesus, Mary, or a saint. This sacred aura and miraculous power was thrown into question at Lourdes by the mass-marketing of the shrine and its goods.

28. AG 7P3, Affaire vente d'eau de la grotte (1879–88), dossier 2, Lettre anonyme au Directeur du sanctuaire de Lourdes, January 4, 1888; Lettre de Jules Robert au Supérieur des missionnaires de Notre-Dame de Lourdes, January 9, 1888. There are numerous letters in AG, 7P3 that discuss other cases of fraud committed against the Lourdes sanctuary and the family of Bernadette.

29. AG 7P3, Affaire vente d'eau de la grotte (1879–88), dossier 1, Mandat de l'évêque de Tarbes, Tarbes, May 2, 1888.

30. AG 7P3, Mandat de l'évêque de Tarbes, Tarbes, May 2, 1888.

31. Letter from Joris Karl Huysmans to Henry Céard, Lourdes, March 19, 1903, in *The Road From Decadence: From Brothel to Cloister, Selected Letters of J.-K. Huysmans*, ed. Barbara Beaumont (London: Athlone, 1989), 219.

32. Rosalind Williams provides an interesting analysis of Huysmans's *A Rebours* in *Dream Worlds*, 126–50. Williams looks at Huysmans's attack on the emerging mass consumption in French society, which included a critique of the church's acceptance of modern market practices and values.

33. Joris Karl Huysmans, *The Crowds of Lourdes,* trans. W. H. Mitchell (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1925), 27–28.

34. Huysmans was not alone in his views. His ideas fit into a larger elite response to mass consumption in the late nineteenth century. See Williams, *Dream Worlds,* chaps. 4–8, for an analysis of both elite and democratic responses to the rise of mass consumer culture.

35. In her analysis of the debates around the consumer revolution in the late nineteenth century (*Dream Worlds,* chaps. 4–8), Williams found that republicans expressed great anxiety around the issue of the democratization of luxury. These same fears were voiced over religious matters when republicans discussed the commercialization of the Lourdes shrine at the turn of the century.

36. AN F19 2376, Coupures de presse, "La Vierge en Actions: Scapulaires, biscuits, bonbons, et bénédictions," *La Lanterne,* May 29, 1893.

37. AN F19 2376, Coupures de presse, "Pharmacie Cléricale chez Le Marchand d'Eau de Lourdes," *Le XIXe Siècle,* September 24, 1890; AN F19 2374, Cultes, "Jonglerie Charlatanisme," *La Dépêche,* September 25, 1881.

38. AN F19 2376, Coupures de presse, "Une réclame bien faite," *Le Journal,* July 27, 1893.

39. AN F19 2376, Coupures de presse, "La Concurrence à Lourdes," *Le Siècle,* January 20, 1904.

40. Ernest A. Vizetelly, preface to Émile Zola, *The Three Cities: Lourdes,* trans. Ernest A. Vizetelly, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 1:v; AN F19 2374, Coupures de presse, "Pieuse Mendicité," *La Lanterne,* May 5, 1894. Zola's extended visit to Lourdes in 1892 also received serious attention in the left- and right-wing press; see "Le Pèlerinage de Lourdes," *Le Gaulois,* August 19, 1892; "Encore M. Zola à Lourdes," *Le Monde,* August 28, 1892; "M. Zola et le pèlerinage de Lourdes," *Le Temps,* August 26, 1892.

41. Zola, *The Three Cities,* 2:281.

42. For a historical analysis of Zola's interest in the crowd as it was depicted in *Germinal,* see Susanna Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors: Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981). For a discussion of Zola's interest in consumer culture and the department store, see Williams, *Dream Worlds,* 67–68, 198–99, 315–16; and the introduction by Kristin Ross of Émile Zola, *The Ladies' Paradise* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

43. Zola, *The Three Cities,* 2:279–80.

44. See Eade, "Pilgrimage and Tourism," 27–29.

CATHERINE COCKS 4

The Chamber of Commerce's Carnival

City Festivals and Urban Tourism in the United States, 1890–1915

Nineteenth-century urban Americans were fond of parades and processions. Military troops and brass bands, carriages full of public officials, smartly marching schoolboys, and various fraternal and benevolent associations poured into the streets to celebrate the Fourth of July and other holidays. Working men constructed floats to demonstrate their trades and manufacturers to advertise their products. Yet, although these events were grand spectacles drawing huge crowds, they were not primarily tourist attractions. The loosely organized network of elected and other civic leaders who planned such events made little reference to, and few arrangements for, out-of-town visitors. Civic ceremonies composed of the various corporate bodies into which urban citizens organized themselves, these events enacted in the most public fashion possible the city's social order.[1]

But in 1899 the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* complained, "Long ranks of troops all in the same low-toned uniforms, Knights of Pythias, letter carriers, citizens in carriages, civic bodies, etc., are well enough in their way, but they furnish no spectacle for the eye and speedily they grow monotonous." In asserting that "What our processions need is life, diversity, picturesqueness, and rich color effects . . . ," he merely affirmed a change already well under way in celebratory practices. From the 1890s on, city festivals largely organized by urban business associations displaced the enactment of civic order in favor of grand historical and carnival spectacles. A San Francisco parade celebrating the city's Spanish origins included floats representing historical sites, such as the Mission Dolores, as well as some bearing Chinese sages, Japanese samurai, Philip of Macedon, and the intrepid tea-hurlers of 1773, among others.[2]

Such events offered onlookers a lavish public party whose meaning lay more in the capacity of fun to soothe the stresses of industrial life than in the expression of the city's social organization. The change in emphasis corresponded with businessmen's growing interest in attracting tourists. Once