1 First Class or Coach? Women as Tourists and Pilgrims, 1888–1928

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Abstract
The concept of touristic travel developed in the 19th century, when travel in general became more accessible to persons of varying socio-economic status. Travel to a pilgrimage destination could be conceived as both a religious and a touristic journey, but were persons who traveled comfortably to pilgrimage sites still considered pilgrims? At the turn of the 20th century, five well-to-do women authors—Emilia Pardo Bazán, Katherine Lee Bates, Catherine Gasquoine Hartley, Edith Wharton, and Georgiana Goddard King—wrote about their travels and their pilgrimages to Lourdes, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela. A detailed reading of their travel narratives and stories brings out their prejudice against "first-class" travelers being considered truly spiritual pilgrims; rather, they are viewed more as religious tourists. Although these authors do not eschew train and boat travel as modes of transportation for pilgrims, the holiness of a pilgrimage is linked to, if not suffering, at least to a more spartan and therefore what they considered to be a more spiritual journey. This idea, at least for Santiago de Compostela, continues today for modern pilgrims and visitors.

Key words: rail travel, 19th century, Pardo Bazán, Goddard King, Gasquoine Hartley, Lourdes, Santiago de Compostela, Rome

Introduction: the Advent of Touristic Pilgrimages

Simply defined, a tourist is a person traveling to a place for pleasure or interest, while a pilgrim travels to a place of special holy significance. The importance of pilgrimage as ritualized travel fluctuates across history and between different religions. In Western Europe, the great age of Christian pilgrimage spanned the 11th through 15th centuries, waning after the Reformation as the new Protestant sects discredited the importance of relics, the cult of saints, the veneration at traditional shrines, and the need for indulgences. Without a religious need to travel, fewer people could find the resources to make long journeys. The numbers of visitors to many minor shrines declined precipitously in the 18th and early 19th centuries, while journeys to distant places out of curiosity and a desire to see and learn about other worlds and peoples became a luxury for the wealthy and well educated.

The concept of tourism is a relatively new category that developed in the changing world of European travel in the 19th century. The advent of relatively inexpensive steam travel

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(both by rail and ship) opened a whole new world of travel possibilities. No longer was travel restricted to the wealthy or upper class making the slow, expensive, and lengthy Grand Tour of the great cities of Europe, nor was the religious excuse of pilgrimage needed as an acceptable reason to leave one's home to make the long, dangerous, often solitary trip to Jerusalem, Rome, or Santiago de Compostela. By the mid-1800s, the introduction of round-trip train tickets, prepaid vouchers for hotels and meals, and travel guides summarizing things to see and do helped establish the early foundations of mass tourism. Entrepreneurs organized groups who traveled together to experience secular events such as fairs and rallies or to visit historical monuments, churches, or religious shrines. As travel became accessible to more persons of lower socio-economic status, families escaped their routine lives through vacations to the sea or the mountains.

First Class or Coach? Distinguishing between Tourism and Pilgrimage

For five intrepid women authors—Emilia Pardo Bazán, Katherine Lee Bates, Catherine Gasquoine Hartley, Edith Wharton, and Georgiana Goddard King—the simple question of how a person chooses to travel is pivotal in distinguishing whether a person is a tourist or pilgrim. Their classification of travelers to sacred places as either pilgrims or as tourists, however, is not mutually exclusive. The mindset of the traveler, the place visited, and the transportation used to arrive at the shrine must be considered. Traveling in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, even with religious intent, to a pilgrimage shrine did not necessarily cause a tourist to be considered a pilgrim. These authors masquerade as pilgrims themselves, and as such, they offer unique insights into expectations of tourists and pilgrims in their travel narratives. Their perception of pilgrimage is nuanced by destination, religious affiliation, transportation modes, and social class, but it is always viewed through the lenses of well-educated, upper-class travelers as they go to Rome, Lourdes, and Santiago de Compostela, three famous but vastly different Christian pilgrimage destinations.

What is the nature of those differences? Rome is the oldest of these three pilgrimages. As the center of the classical West, the birthplace of the Christian Church, and the residence of the pope, it offers something for everyone. With the rise of guided tourism, its multiple layers of culture and history attracted English and American travelers (both Protestant tourists and Catholic pilgrims) who toured both classical and early Christian archaeological sites and visited historic pilgrim churches such as St. Peter's Basilica.

Lourdes, the newest of the three sites, was just a small town in the French Pyrenees prior to the apparitions of the Virgin Mary in the nearby grotto witnessed by 14-year-old Bernadette Soubirous in 1858. Only 4 years later, the local bishop proclaimed the veracity of these sightings and confirmed the healing properties of the grotto's spring waters. As Kaufman (2005) reveals, the French Catholic Church encouraged a new religious-tourist experience by promoting commercial exhibits, mass-produced souvenirs, and guidebooks for both pilgrim activities and local excursions. By 1866, special trains with cars for the ill were arranged and advertised as weeklong national pilgrimages.

In contrast, Santiago de Compostela, the burial site of St. James the Apostle, the third of the "big three" of medieval pilgrimages (with Rome and Jerusalem),[1] did not undergo the 19th-century revival of pilgrimage or tourism. While the Compostela cathedral was not empty of worshipers, it had faded to a local shrine for Galician and Portuguese pilgrims on *romería*.[2] Its remoteness, once its strength as the shrine at the furthest reach of Christendom, was now its undoing. The missing element for its rebirth, whether as pilgrim shrine or tourist destination—easy, direct, mass transportation and sufficient tourist amenities, most notably hotels and other lodging—came late in comparison to Rome and Lourdes. Although a small spur rail line from Carril (in the Ría Arousa) to Santiago opened in 1873, a complete rail connection from the port of Vigo to Santiago was only established in 1899. No direct rail line to Compostela from outside of Galicia existed until 1944 (Pazos, 2020, p. 109). The first mass pilgrimage, sponsored by the Catholic Association of England via steamship to Vigo, only arrived in 1909, and then with just 50 members. Compostela's relative

isolation caused the town to be a relic of a bygone era. All three of these pilgrimage centers, especially Santiago de Compostela, however, held a fascination for our five women travel writers.

Five Turn-of-the-century First-class Women Pilgrims

Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851–1921) was an only child, born into an aristocratic Galician family. A precocious child and a devout Catholic, she married at 16, gave birth to three children, but separated from her husband in 1886. She introduced French naturalism to Spain via her most famous novel, *Los Pazos de Ulloa* (Pardo Bazán, 1886), published over 600 short stories and novellas, was an essayist for multiple periodicals, and became the first female professor of neo-Latin literature at the Central University of Madrid. Her works specifically devoted to pilgrimage are a travel narrative, *Mi Romería* (Pardo Bazán, 1888), two short stories, "El peregrino" (Pardo Bazán, 1891) and "La danza del peregrino" (Pardo Bazán, 1916), and two magazine articles about the Compostela Holy Year (Pardo Bazán, 1897a, b).

Katherine Lee Bates (1859–1929) is primarily known as the author of "America the Beautiful," (Lewis, 2019) but this is only one of her many published works. Her father was a Congregationalist minister who died shortly after her birth; she was raised by her mother and her aunt. She was a member of the second graduating class at Wellesley College; she then became a high school teacher. After publishing her first young adult novel *Rose and Thorn: a Story for the Young* (Bates, 1889), she traveled to England and studied at Oxford. Upon her return, she became a professor of English literature at Wellesley, where she remained until her death. In February 1899, her travels through Spain originated in crossing the border at Biarritz, traveling south to Seville, then journeying back north to the Basque provinces from whence she and a friend followed the traditional pilgrimage route to Compostela. They arrived in time to attend the St. James's Day celebrations (25 July), after which they set sail from Vigo to the USA. About these adventures, Bates wrote a travel narrative, *Spanish Highways and Byways* (Bates, 1900), and a young adult novel, *In Sunny Spain with Pilarica and Rafael* (Bates, 1913).

Catherine Gasquoine Hartley (1866 or 1867–1928) was born in Madagascar where her father, Reverend Richard Griffiths Hartley, was a missionary. When the family returned to England, she became a teacher. She was the second wife of journalist and writer Walter Gallichan. The couple traveled (primarily in Spain) and wrote about their lifestyle; together they wrote *The Story of Seville* (Gallichan and Hartley, 1903) for the Medieval Town series, which was published by J.M. Dent & Co. Hartley studied art and wrote several books about Spanish artists whose works hang in the Prado museum. Individually, she wrote another Medieval Town book, *The Story of Santiago de Compostela* (Hartley, 1912).[3] Hartley had earlier written a more personal book, *Spain Revisited: a Summer Holiday in Galicia* (Hartley, 1911), about her 1910 voyage to Vigo and travels up the coast to Compostela.

Edith Wharton (1862–1937) is the most well-known literary figure of these five women. She was born into a socially prominent and wealthy New York family. After the American Civil War, the family traveled frequently to France, Italy, Germany, and Spain. She married Edward Wharton in 1885. The couple spent 4 months abroad each year in the early years of their marriage before divorcing. She remained in Paris during World War I, and ultimately died and was buried there in the Protestant cemetery. About her travels to Santiago de Compostela, we have only her unpublished "Spain Diary" (notes from 1925) and "Back to Compostela," an undated, unpublished essay from *c.*1930 (edited and translated in 2011). She described her visit to Lourdes in *A Motor-Flight Through France* (Wharton, 1908).

Georgiana Goddard King (1871–1939) was born in Virginia. Her father worked with the railroad while her mother, who died when Georgiana was only 13, was active in literary clubs in Norfolk. She attended Bryn Mawr College, graduating with a Master of Arts in English literature as well as degrees in philosophy and political science. After graduation she continued her studies for 6 months in Paris. When she returned, she taught at the Graham School in New York City, where she met Archer Huntington,

founder of the Hispanic Society of America. In 1906, she returned to Bryn Mawr as a professor of modern languages and later founder of the Art History Department. King's three-volume work *The Way of Saint James* (King, 1920) began as a scholarly work about the sources of Romanesque and Gothic architecture, but it grew "from a mere pedantic exercise in architecture, to a very pilgrimage, to following ardently along the ancient way where all the centuries have gone" (King, 1920, v. I, p. 22).

Although each of these five authors appropriated different travel modes and journeyed for different purposes to Rome, Lourdes, and Compostela, each expresses remarkably similar observations about other travelers and pilgrims to those sites.

Women Pilgrims' Observations and Encounters

Emilia Pardo Bazán participated in an organized Catholic pilgrimage to Rome when she traveled with the 300-strong Spanish delegation to attend the Jubilee celebration of Pope Leo XIII's (1810–1903; Pope from 1878) ordination as priest. She shared her personal pilgrim experience in *Mi Romería* (Pardo Bazán, 1888), a collection of 18 articles originally published as color commentary supporting the news reports about the delegation in *El Imparcial*, a daily Madrid newspaper.[4] She claimed she was traveling as a spiritual pilgrim but promised to be balanced in her observations, "not dipping my pen into holy water, but rather in inks of various colors, so as not to bore the secular reader" (Pardo Bazán, 1888, p. 9).[5]

The preface of *Mi Romería* opens with a catalogue of the souvenirs she has brought home from her trip: (i) rosaries of semi-precious stones; (ii) brooches with cameos of Pope Leo XIII; (iii) archeological finds (a clay lamp from the catacombs, a cup from the excavations at Capua, an amphora from the Via Appia, etc.); (iv) crystal from Venice; and (v) photographs of places and people. Despite her assertion that she traveled as a pilgrim, her souvenirs confirm her touristic role on the journey as well.

In her first article ("Madrid, 18 December"), Pardo Bazán sets forth her own first-class values about pilgrimage when she tells about procuring her trip vouchers from the sacristy of the San Luis Obispo church. She reports complaining to the administrator about the round-trip price—not that it is too expensive, but that the trains should be charging just a bit more so that the *romeros* (she refuses to use the word pilgrims as they would be traveling to Rome) could check a bag; her fear is that some of her fellow passengers will arrive into Rome dirty and shabby-looking. She is discomfited when an old woman, while turning rosary beads between her fingers, chides her, reminding her that the purpose of the trip is to see the Pope, a dream that the woman (clearly a domestic servant) has been saving towards her whole life. She carries her own food and plans to sleep rough in Rome. Momentarily, Pardo Bazán (1888, p. 14) is chastised:

> This primal soul moved me; I must confess. She is right. Blessed are the poor in spirit. We have become so fussy, so demanding … and our hearts weigh us down as if they were made of lead … we want to go on pilgrimage like one makes a summer trip to the beach.[6]

However, Pardo Bazán's sense of humility stretches to the boarding of the train, but not far enough for her to exchange her first-class ticket for coach.

> The pilgrimage … refreshes my love toward the holy Church; and it almost angers me to think about how, in the coming trip, the train will be divided into first, second, and third class cars, for I wish we were all traveling as equals, like family.
>
> (Pardo Bazán, 1888, pp. 14–15)[7]

She continues her travels in her first-class car.

Although in her dispatch from Pau, France (20 December) she suggests that the Spanish pilgrims represent the gamut of national beliefs and that her companions symbolize a microcosm of the Catholic spirit, her own train car does not embody a wide range of Spanish society. Within her compartment there are no other women. Present are a retired military gentleman, a bishop, a young Andalusian priest, a Carlist soldier[8] turned poet, a businessman, and an experienced pilgrim who has traveled to Lourdes before.

Even traveling in first class, Pardo Bazán need not have worried about the lack of physical

hardships she believed were a requirement of pilgrimage. She repeatedly complains about the lack of trip organization, cumbersome documentation requirements, confusing ticket transfers ("Toulouse, 21 December"), long layovers, lack of food stops, and poor service ("Ventimiglia, 22 December") during their 5-day, 6-night trip.

Only once on the trip does she mention a positive religious communal experience across all travel classes. As the train passes by Lourdes, she describes their picturesque view of the new basilica magically appearing with a backdrop of snowcapped mountains, like scenery from a theater. The train slowed its pace, and Pardo Bazán is overwhelmed, not only with the vision, but with the spontaneous acclamations of "*Viva la Virgen!*" and with the singing of religious hymns from each compartment as the sanctuary comes into view. This description corroborates Kaufman's (2005, pp. 32–36) premise that Lourdes was remade, literally, in order to market itself as a marvelous religious spectacle.

When the delegation finally arrived at the goal of their pilgrimage—the Jubilee celebration itself in St. Peter's Basilica—Pardo Bazán, seated in the tribune with a view of the altar and nave, is once again separated from, and confronted by, the faithfulness of the poor who are out in the plaza continuing their cheers of "*Viva el Papa rey!*" long after the "proper people" of the galleries had stopped. She writes, "I felt it lamentable that I didn't know how to show the newness of heart that the pueblo did. I returned to being a spectator, not indifferent, but a curious observer of each detail" (Pardo Bazán, 1988, p. 86).[9] When the Pope raised the Host, however, Pardo Bazán is surprised to realize that she is crying.

> I knew I was Catholic, just not that I was so passionately so; I knew I wasn't dead like Lazarus, but I was unaware that my being possessed such elasticity and would respond like a lyre's string upon contact with a divine finger … I, at that point, understood all the spiritual resources that can move and push the soul.
>
> (Pardo Bazán, 1988, p. 88)[10]

After sharing this intimate spiritual moment, Pardo Bazán admits she is still jealous of the poor whose daily faith does not require such extraordinary events.

"*Acqua Vergine*," written in Lourdes on 21 January is the last article in *Mi Romería*. Pardo Bazán was less moved during her stay at Lourdes on her return trip than she was with her initial view of it from the train. She seems only to observe the candlelight processions and the baths, without taking part in any of these orchestrated pilgrim rituals. In detail she describes the grotto, with its hundreds of crutches left behind by those who were healed, and she concludes with her own lengthy personal prayer addressed to the image of the Virgin. She is unimpressed with the modern constructions, considering them sterile imitations of the old cathedrals; for her the moving elements are the grotto itself, the mountain, and the panorama (a tourist attraction with scenes of Bernadette's life painted on a long canvas).

She admits that every detail of Lourdes has been considered—comfortable lodgings, soft beds, good food, lovely souvenirs, nice promenades, and wonderful carriages to rent—so that the pious pilgrims find themselves without a single bother or privation. She does not describe any individual pilgrim, however. The upscale delights, meant to dazzle and impress the poor rural pilgrims, left no lasting spiritual impression on her, for she was a well-traveled, cosmopolitan woman, a pilgrim when she went to Rome, but only a religious tourist when visiting Lourdes.

Traveling strictly as a tourist 20 years later, Edith Wharton is not as charitable as Pardo Bazán in her description of Lourdes in *A Motor-Flight Through France*. Wharton (1908, p. 1) opens her travel narrative condemning train travel in general, with its forced schedules and fixed routes, preferring the car which "restores the romance of travel" to the adventure and novelty of past journeys. She comes upon Lourdes as she travels out from Poitiers, exploring the small towns of the French Pyrenees. She condemns the shrine for destroying Lourdes's original medieval beauty: "There are two Lourdes, the 'grey' and the 'white.' The former, undescribed and unvisited, is simply one of the most picturesque and feudal-looking hill villages in Europe" (Wharton, 1908, p. 105).

The "white" town is that of the Basilica and its surrounding hotels, souvenir shops, and tourist exhibitions, a "vast sea of vulgarism" in which the grotto may be regarded as "the casino of an eminently successful watering-place" where the original shrine has been:

> overlaid by the machinery of a vast 'business enterprise,' a scheme of life in which every

> heart-beat is itemised, tariffed and exploited, so that even the invocations encrusting by thousands the Basilica walls seem to record so many cases of definite 'give and take,' so many bargains struck with heaven.
>
> (Wharton, 1908, pp. 106–107)

She sees no pilgrims, only hypochondriac tourists who are robbed of the simplicity and natural beauty of the site by its commercialism. For Wharton, wealthy, sophisticated, and well-travelled, the modern Lourdes is the antithesis of a spiritual shrine in contrast to her memories of the sacredness of the romanticized medieval village and its unspoiled nature.

In contrast to her disgust over the commercialism and newness of Lourdes, Wharton's lyrical appraisal of Santiago de Compostela (*c.*1930) praises its continued connection to the early pilgrims who:

> did not know much about Santiago or Spain, or anything they were likely to meet in the way to that far off mysterious shrine which was calling on all ... Christendom ~~to it~~ to come; but they went, drawn by its powerful suggestion & when they came back they did not know much more, except that their eyes were full of divine apprehended beauty and their souls of the murmur of ~~eternity~~ heaven. ... prayer & ~~praise~~ penitence. This is the pavement of the court of heaven—was what they must have felt and so did we [sic].
>
> (Wharton, 2011, p. 164)

This association of the unique spirituality of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela as being intimately interwoven with its history and the strong symbolic visual ties to a pilgrim's calling is highlighted by all of our authors.

Specific attention to the historical importance of the pilgrimage journey to Compostela is emphasized in additional visitor guides as well. Nineteenth-century travelers to Compostela had access to Richard Ford's extremely popular guidebook, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (eight editions, 1845–1892). In the *Handbook*, Ford warns about dangerous areas encountered on the way to Santiago, notably on the road into Lugo where beggars and vagabonds who "have their tattered rags hitched together by huge scallop-shells, and *profess* to be pilgrims on their way to or from the shrine of St. James, gathered to pester travelers" (Ford, 1882, p. 224; emphasis in original). Scallop shells are traditional symbols of St. James, and their wearers hope to benefit from the traditional generosity toward pilgrims. Ford conveys Compostela's historic reputation, fossilizing its connections with the tomb of St. James. The sights of the town are all medieval; there are no new modern wonders to behold. Visitors are guided around the outside of the cathedral, then inside to the chapels and the Pórtico de la Gloria. At the main altar, the guidebook portrays a traditional pilgrim ritual whereby:

> the newly-arrived ascends some steps behind the image, places his hands on the shoulders, and kisses the hood. This osculation is essential, and is called *el fin del Romaje*, the end, the object of the pilgrimage.
>
> (Ford, 1882, p. 264)

The reader is then apprised of the additional steps required (i.e. confession, communion, penance, etc.)[11] for a pilgrim to receive a "Compostela," a document given by the cathedral's Pilgrims' Office that still today serves as a proof of completion of a spiritual pilgrimage to Santiago. Pilgrims are quaint sights recognizable by their traditional garb: short capes with scallop-shell decorations, wide-brimmed, up-turned hats, carrying a staff with a water gourd affixed. For visitors to Santiago de Compostela in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this appearance becomes the only acceptable portrayal for recognizing a true pilgrim. It serves, like a sacrament, as an outward and visible sign of an inward, invisible grace, whether described in a tourist guidebook such as Ford's, travel narratives like those by Bates, Hartley, and King, or literary works by Pardo Bazán.

Pardo Bazán does not write about herself as either a pilgrim or a traveler to Santiago de Compostela; as a native of Galicia, she traveled there often and was familiar with the town, which served as a backdrop to many of her literary works, including two stories about a traditional Santiago pilgrim. In the opening paragraph of "El peregrino" (Pardo Bazán, 1891), a story about a Compostela pilgrim who is invited to participate in the post-*romería* celebrations in a small Galician parish, Pardo Bazán revisits her first-class-versus-coach mindset originally set forth in *Mi Romería*. From the comfort of her car, she observes beggars along the roadside, aligning them with her vision of medieval pilgrims—gaunt,

shoeless, wearing threadbare travel capes adorned with pink shells, and carrying a bag filled with food from charity—similar to those outside of Lugo as described by Ford. She muses about the time of "simple faith" before the advent of organized pilgrimages by train with all their luxuries. For Pardo Bazán, spiritual, that is "real," pilgrims must wear traditional pilgrim trappings and depend upon the charity of strangers, based on her romantic assumptions about the faith of medieval pilgrims.

The conflation of simple faith and the medieval appearance of pilgrims reoccurs in another short story, "La danza del peregrino" (Pardo Bazán, 1916). While attending the very pompous ceremony of the granting of the Ofrenda (the national tithe to St. James as patron of Spain) on 25 July, Pardo Bazán watches an old man, dressed in archaic pilgrim's attire, who kneels before the altar, fixated on it like a statue. She imagines him as a medieval pilgrim from a far-away land, having risked his life to travel to the shrine. A man standing next to her interrupts her daydreams, telling her the pilgrim is simply a local man who lives through charity. At the end of the ceremony, while the giants and bigheaded dancing puppets (Fig. 1.1)[12] pass in front of the crowd as they leave the cathedral, the pilgrim transforms, his face radiating joy. She sees him longing to dance, "the homage of the humble," but he dares not, for no one else does. Pardo Bazán praises his devotion and sincere, humble beliefs, reminding her readers:

> We do enough (or think we do) by joining (spiritually) to that man's impulse [to dance], who in the silent basilica prostrates himself one more time ... like those who came singing the words of hymns [of medieval pilgrims] that today are unknown.
>
> (Pardo Bazán, 1916, n.p.)[13]

The cathedral is crowded with worshippers, but for Pardo Bazán, the only pilgrims in attendance are the poor, set apart through their dress, actions, and defiance of societal norms.

Bates, Hartley, and King all write personal travel narratives about their journeys to Santiago de Compostela that perpetuate the romantic notion that Santiago pilgrims must be clothed and behave similarly to those in Pardo Bazán's stories. To these upper-class, educated Protestant women, there is comfort in the fact that Compostela as a town has maintained its medieval heritage. Their descriptions often sound as

Fig. 1.1. Giants and bigheads (*gigantes y cabezudos*) in Santiago de Compostela. Photo-postcard by Ksado. *c*.1920. Photo courtesy of the author, ©2021, from a work in the public domain. Used with permission.

if the town were a large living history museum, set up for their delight as they escape their normal, mundane lives. Bates and King call their travels to Compostela pilgrimages, but as Protestants they have no theological mindset for their journeys and clearly set their pilgrim designation on reasons other than faith.

Although Katherine Lee Bates does not initially start out to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, in her travel memoir, *Spanish Highways and Byways* (Bates, 1900), she announces that, after several months of travels through southern and central Spain, she felt that, in order to be "historically respectful," she needed to make a pilgrimage to Compostela before leaving Spain. She and a friend leave San Sebastian in early July of 1899 in order to arrive in Santiago de Compostela by 25 July. Her personal sense of making a pilgrimage does not entail suffering for, as she admits, "Degenerate pilgrims that we were, we had taken a first-class [train] carriage reserved for ladies" (Bates, 1900, p. 394). What follows is a humorous recitation of the women's attempt to maintain the privacy of their compartment:

> We remembered that queen of Portugal who made the pilgrimage to Compostela on foot, begging her way. In the close-packed third-class carriages it must have been a cramped and weary night, and we did not wonder that young socialists occasionally tried to raid our fortress. But we clung stoutly to the door-handles, lustily sounding our war cry of 'Ladies only' in lieu of 'Santiago'.
>
> (Bates, 1900, p. 398)

Their lodgings in Compostela entailed another fight befitting true pilgrims. She describes life in their rooms as "an incessant battle against dirt, bad smells, and … vermin [which] were a penance that must have met all pilgrim requirements" (Bates, 1900, p. 399).

Once settled in Compostela, Bates describes in detail the large crowd attending the St. James's Day services, comprised largely of locals and families; she does not count them among the few pilgrims she sees. She talks with an old woman claiming to be a beggar from a nearby village, who admits she only came to please the priest and do a little penance. Others at the cathedral are "village folk of Portugal" (Bates, 1900, p. 424). Only two men with whom she speaks meet her standards of a true pilgrim: a middle-aged man who had walked from Astorga and spent his time in Santiago inside the cathedral in worship, and a German man (a former Lutheran) who "was shod in genuine sandal shoon" wearing a gourd tied to his belt and an upturned hat with a shell (Bates, 1900, p. 424). He had previously walked to Jerusalem. Bates is quickly reminded of the medieval pilgrims who once arrived in droves to Compostela. In all, however, her assessment of the current state of the pilgrimage is negative: "taken all together, these modern wearers of the shell were but a sorry handful as representing those noble multitudes who came, in ages past, to bow before the shrine" (Bates, 1900, p. 428).

By the time of Bates' visit to Compostela, the bones of St. James had been found, but for her (a Protestant):

> that magnificent silver casket, the centre of the Santiago faith, could arouse no thrill of worship, the Pilgrim City itself and its storied, strange cathedral were the most impressive sights of Spain.
>
> (Bates, 1900, p. 422)

Her own pilgrim status is play-acting, as she spends her time as a tourist in the town enjoying the St. James's Day festivities.

Of the five authors, Catherine Gasquoine Hartley best describes Santiago de Compostela's appeal to modern travelers, whether they arrive as tourists or pilgrims. In *Spain Revisited* (1911) she writes:

> Here is the perfect type of an old religious city, where the spell has not been broken either by an inrush of commercial activities nor by the desecrating presence of tourists. … Santiago is still the goal for pilgrims, who come, indeed, to the city to-day, not, perhaps, for the same reasons that brought them there of yore, but still with that reverence which is the spirit of worship.
>
> (Hartley, 1911, pp. 104–105)

The implication is that for many visitors this sacred site links historic spiritual experiences and religious sensibilities, but without overt Catholic sacramental importance.

Although Hartley does not speak with, nor describe, any individual pilgrim, she confirms that when one encounters them in their curious and "old pilgrim's garb" (Hartley, 1912, p. 309), they are not incongruous. She acknowledges the decline in traditional pilgrims from afar but she is positive about Compostela's return to its former

glory, primarily because of improvements in the transportation system. Paradoxically, in spite of her belief that first-class travel will invite more tourists and pilgrims, in *The Story of Santiago de Compostela* (Hartley, 1912) she recognizes the spiritual renewal that comes from nature and from walking on pilgrimage. She offers a compromise between the superficial modern tourist traveling to see the wonders of the cathedral's Pórtico de la Gloria and the richer, immersive experience that can happen if the visitor will get off the train (having arrived in Vigo via a vessel of the "excellent Booth Steam Line") (Hartley, 2012, p. 73). Preferably at Puentecesures or at least at Padrón, the traveler will approach the city reverentially. Hartley implies that first-class (i.e. rapid) travel contradicts the spiritual importance of time and reflection, both of which are required to be a true pilgrim. In this sense, Hartley's description of pilgrimage comes closest to today's attitude about the differences between pilgrims and tourists to Compostela.

Distinct from the others, Georgiana Goddard King is the only one to specifically set out to write about the medieval pilgrimage route across northern Spain. In *The Way of Saint James*, King (1920, v. I, pp. 19–20) affirms that she "followed step by step the route laid down by Aymery Picaud"[14] and so calls herself a pilgrim to Santiago de Compostela, with a third-class train story to confirm it. King tells how, in her years of study and travel along the Camino, she had walked into Santiago from all directions, but once, being tired, caught the train east of Palencia, riding in a third-class car. After a quick junction stop, she is surprised when a member of the Spanish nobility sits down beside her. They speak (in French) about the other travelers around them who are pilgrims to Santiago; he admits he is heading "as always" to Compostela for the Holy Year (1915) festivities. When they reach the Palencia station, King narrates the following exchange:

> 'Aren't you going to your own carriage?' and he, — 'Aren't you?' 'This is mine. I am making the pilgrimage.' It was evidently unintelligible. Then the member of the Spanish nobility took off his hat and went to his own place.
>
> (King, 1920, v. III, pp. 4–5)

Again, there is this idea that King's third-class ticket qualifies her as a pilgrim, but a Spanish aristocrat, travelling via first-class ticket to the festivities of St. James, is a tourist to a pilgrimage city, no matter his religion or spiritual beliefs.

Compostela was replete with visitors in 1915, including Boy Scout troops and pilgrims from local parishes, but the municipality, not the Church, sponsored the concerts, fireworks, and other amusements to bring in tourists, with the excuse of pilgrimage. Like Pardo Bazán, King describes beggars "tricked out" as medieval pilgrims, quite similar to those described in Richard Ford's aforementioned guidebook. She encounters only one authentic pilgrim in traditional dress, whom she watches pray; as he leaves, she asks to take his photograph (see Fig. 1.2) and in return, she gives him alms (King, 1920, v. III, p. 23).

While Hartley believed the medieval sense of pilgrimage could be recreated by modern tourists through the slowing of time, solitude, and walking, King imagines the medieval throngs of pilgrims to be much more modern. She suggests that:

> this church must have been—God forgive me!—rather like Coney Island … [as] immense crowds kept arriving, and tramping through, like a dozen Cook's parties in a day, and everything had to be shown to them, and everything explained so that those on the outskirts could hear, and offering had to be accepted and if necessary stimulated, and the sacraments of penance and the Mass somehow put through.
>
> (King, 1920, v. III, pp. 173–174)

And so, in full circle, the separation of tourists and pilgrims is obscured. King imagines Santiago's medieval pilgrims arriving and acting as tourists, clamoring to see and hear and participate in new marvelous experiences, while among the modern tourists the only real pilgrim is the one masquerading as a medieval one.

By Way of Summary: Identifying Pilgrims and Tourists

In their late 19th- and early 20th-century writings, all of the five women discussed in this chapter—Emilia Pardo Barzán, Katherine Lee Bates, Catherine Gasquoine Hartley, Edith Wharton, and Georgiana Goddard King—align being a pilgrim to social class, often interpreted by the manner of transportation one used. As a

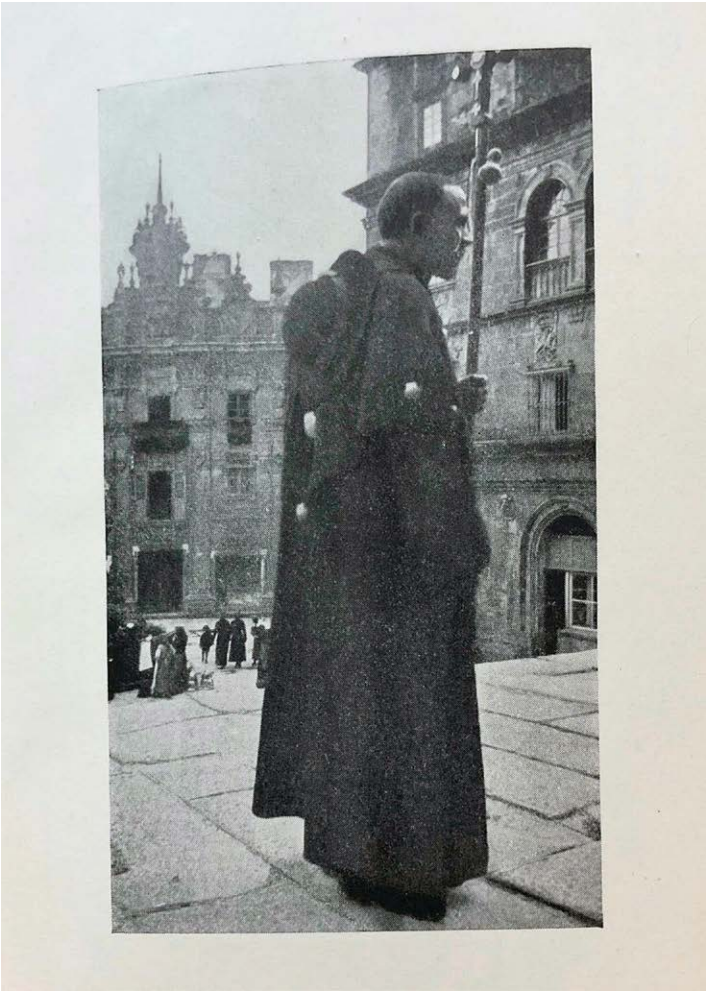

Fig. 1.2. "A Pilgrim in Santiago," from King, 1920, *The Way of Saint James*, Vol. II, p. 483. Photo courtesy of the author, ©2021, from a work in the public domain. Used with permission.

Catholic, Pardo Bazán traveled first class as a modern, self-proclaimed pilgrim to Rome, but was concerned that the hardships of third-class travel represented the greater faith of her fellow travelers. She was a religious tourist (not a pilgrim) to Lourdes, considering its accommodations too convenient and comfortable for sincere pilgrims.

Wharton also could not find the sacred in the commercialized pilgrim center of Lourdes, but like Pardo Bazán, saw it in her memories of the medieval pilgrims of Santiago. Bates called herself a degenerate pilgrim for having traveled to Compostela via first-class train passage but assured her readers that she suffered enough through the condition of her lodgings. She mourned the loss of the medieval spirit of pilgrimage, seeing it only in the traditional figures who arrived infrequently at the cathedral.

For King, upper-class persons traveling via first-class train carriage were not pilgrims, a designation reserved for the poor working-class families with whom she traveled in a third-class coach. Her perception of medieval pilgrims as acting like modern religious tourists fits with her initial statement about being a pilgrim because she herself followed the route of the 12th-century pilgrim's guidebook.

Finally, Hartley allows that first-class travelers may consider themselves pilgrims. She alone recognizes that only the development of more efficient and comfortable transportation will return Santiago de Compostela to its former glory as an international pilgrim destination. She also is the only author to associate the process of walking with spiritual renewal, a connection to the modern distinction between pilgrims and tourists to Santiago de Compostela.[15]

The secondary recognition of a pilgrim for these authors depended on destination and appearance. Persons visiting Rome or Lourdes as pilgrims had no official "look" with which they were expected to comply. There were no official requirements for them to fulfill; "pilgrim" was a self-designated label, although both Pardo Bazán and Wharton believed modern materialism and comfort lessened the spiritual piety of visitors to both places. Santiago de Compostela was different. Ford's (1882) *Handbook* detailed the rituals required of a pilgrim arriving in Santiago to obtain a "Compostela" certifying the recipient as a pilgrim, yet not one of these five authors mentions this document, nor the process for acquiring it. For each of them, true pilgrims were discerned primarily by their outward appearance. Local cathedral visitors (of lower or upper social class) may have been truly devout in their worship, but in these authors' views they did not attain pilgrim status unless they wore stereotypic medieval pilgrim clothing.

Today the "Compostela" still exists as a coveted souvenir for many, a valuable proof of being a pilgrim for others. Making confession and commulgating are no longer requirements to obtain it; hugging the apostle at the altar is, for many, a touristic rather than a religious experience. Pilgrims wear Under Armor® shirts and ball caps, use collapsible metal walking poles, and carry their water in Camelbaks®. There may be a pilgrim "look," but it is certainly not medieval. The only visible and measurable requirement to obtain a "Compostela" today is still the mode of transportation: pilgrims must prove they have walked a minimum of the last 100 km into Santiago de Compostela. (Interestingly, Hartley's (1912, p. 74) suggestion of Puentecesures as a walking starting point is only 27 km.) In addition, they must state they have done so for religious or spiritual purposes. In the opinions of many, including the five women showcased here, true pilgrims must expend extra effort and suffer discomfort; indeed, some of today's long-distance (i.e. over 300 km) pilgrims consider these 100 km pilgrims as the tourist-pilgrims of yesteryear. For many, no matter the personal devotion to St. James, whether in the 19th or 21st century, a "first-class" traveler to Compostela will never be a true pilgrim.

Notes

[1] In the 13th century, Dante, in *La vita nova*, designated as "peregrino" (pilgrim) someone who visited Santiago de Compostela from other lands, while pilgrims to Rome were called "romers" and those to Jerusalem were known as "palmers" (because they carried palm leaves) (Davidson and Gitlitz, 2002, p.257).

[2] English is woefully inadequate in the vocabulary it uses to describe religious travel to a shrine. Spanish continues to use *peregrino*/*peregrinación* as generic terms for pilgrim/pilgrimage, but with the implication of more distant travel and more important, solemn status, while *romero*/*romería* indicates attendance at a local or regional shrine of less formal significance.

[3] Annette Meakin, author of *Galicia: the Switzerland of Spain* (1909) sued Hartley for plagiarism for *The Story of Santiago de Compostela*. Hartley was found guilty and the book was removed from libraries and struck from the Medieval Town series. Meakin's work is not considered here, as it lacks personal reflections about pilgrims or pilgrimage.

[4] Sixteen articles were evidently submitted to *El Imparcial*, but only 11 articles were published during her month-long travels (19 December 1887–27 January 1888). Two more, with political topics based on her visit with Don Carlos de Borbón, the exiled Carlist claimant to the Spanish throne, are only included in the epilogue.

[5] "*no mojar la pluma en agua bendita, sino en tinta de variados colores, a fin de no hacerme tediosa al lector profano*". All English translations in this chapter are by Maryjane Dunn.

[6] "*Esta alma primitiva me conmovió, he de confesarlo. Ella tiene razón: bienaventurados los pobres de espíritu. Nos hemos vuelto tan remilgados, tan exigentes … y el corazón nos pesa más que si fuera de plomo … queremos hace una romería como se hace un viaje de veraneo a baños de mar*."

[7] "*La romería … refresca mi cariño hacia la Iglesia santa; y casi me irrita pensar que en el próximo viaje se dividirá el tren, como siempre, en coches de primera, segunda y tercera, pues desearía que fuésemos iguales todos, como hermanos*."
[8] Carlists were followers of Carlos de Borbón against the supporters of Queen Isabel II after the death of her father King Ferdinand VII (d.1833). The Carlist battle cry was "God, Country, and King" as members fought to preserve Spanish tradition and an autocratic monarchy. See also note 4.
[9] "*me impulsaba a lamentar no parecerme siempre al pueblo en la frescura del corazón. Volví a ser la espectadora, no indiferente, pero si curiosa*."
[10] "*Sabía que era católica, no que lo fuese tan apasionadamente; no me juzgaba muerta como Lázaro, pero ignoraba que la fibra poseyese tanta elasticidad y respondiese como la cuerda de una lira al contacto del dedo divino … Yo en aquel punto comprendía todos los resortes espirituales que pueden mover y precipitar a un alma*."
[11] Nothing is said about the tomb-crypt, as St. James's bones, hidden in the 16th century for safekeeping, had not yet been rediscovered.
[12] "*Gigantes y cabezudos*" are large (almost 2 m tall) costumed puppet figures made of papier-mâché applied over a wire frame. Men inside them carry the figures as they dance through the streets on religious and other major holidays throughout Spain.
[13] "*Harto hacemos (o lo creemos así) con sumarnos (espiritualmente) a ese impulso del hombre que, silenciosa ya la basílica, se postra una vez más ante el Señor Santiago, como se postraban «aquéllos» que en otros días andaban tierras, para llegar, un día feliz, a este templo, cantando himnos de palabras que hoy se ignoran*."
[14] Supposed author of Book V, the *Pilgrims' Guide*, of the 12th-century *Codex Calixtinus*.
[15] Today's pilgrims may only receive the "Compostela" after having either walked 100 km or bicycled 200 km; no matter their religious intentions, persons who come by mechanized vehicles are not considered eligible for the "Compostela."

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