

THE NEWFOUNDLAND PILGRIMAGE TO
STE. ANNE DE BEAUPRE:
SUFFERING AND CELEBRATION A WORLD APART

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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CHERYL A. BROWN



THE NEWFOUNDLAND PILGRIMAGE TO STE. ANNE DE BEAUPRE:
SUFFERING AND CELEBRATION A WORLD APART

by

©Cheryl A. Brown, B.A., Hons.

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fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of:

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the socio-cultural context of the Newfoundland Pilgrimage to Ste. Anne de Beaupré, a St. John's-based pilgrimage organization which has made annual visitations to the Québec shrine for over 25 years.

Examined are the origins of the group, its structural organization, and development. The major symbols and rituals of the shrine are described, focussing on the Newfoundland group's emic interpretations and ritual participation.

Pilgrimage activity in the social/secular realm of the shrine utilizes Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical frame. Special emphasis is placed on communication of social-symbolic messages within the group.

Analysis indicates that gender and age are significant variables, and that the pilgrimage experience has particular appeal for women, especially elderly women.

Six case studies are provided delineating pilgrims' socio-psychological characteristics, motives and pilgrimage experiences.

Symbolic analysis examines the paradoxical message of the shrine, the sanctification of suffering, examining how the Newfoundland pilgrims interpreted this message. It is revealed that through embracing this sacred message socially alienated individuals achieve self-fulfillment and dignity.

The socio-cultural context of the shrine is compared to the socio-cultural order of Newfoundland. It is shown that in both spheres oppressed, alienated individuals and groups gain dignity through self-sacrifice.

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PREFACE

The most precious favor that Saint Anne bestows on her ailing and handicapped pilgrims is not to cure them; it is to teach them the meaning and value of sickness and infirmity (Lefebvre 1977:20).

These words of Father Eugène LeFebvre, Director of the Shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, encapsulate the paradoxical symbolic message of the shrine. This study will examine the Newfoundland pilgrim's emic interpretation of this message, expressed through ritual and social action.

Field research was conducted by participating in the two 1979 pilgrimages made by the St. John's-based Newfoundland Pilgrimage organization. As the organizer believed that publicizing my research interests at the start of the pilgrimage would disturb some pilgrims, I was requested to remain incognito until the final evening of each pilgrimage. For an entire week, to the Newfoundland pilgrims, I was simply 'Cheryl,' a fellow pilgrim. Even after I revealed my academic interests, I was still regarded as one of the group, a Newfoundland pilgrim.

This is one reason why I have chosen to use the subjective personal pronoun 'I' in the text to represent the ethnographer rather than the objective, impersonal 'she.' In addition, on a theoretical level it may be argued that 'I' is the more accurate pronoun, since one's approaches, experiences, and perspectives are also influenced by factors other than one's academic training.

In order to provide a detailed account of the emic concepts, perspectives, and experiences of some individual pilgrims, six 'pilgrim portraits' or case studies are provided in Chapter 6. When these pilgrims are referred to elsewhere in the text, their names are marked by an asterisk*. As requested by the organizer, pseudonyms have been used to protect the anonymity of these and other pilgrims identified in the text. Minor details of their life histories may also have been altered to further protect anonymity. In the case of shrine officiants, actual names are used as they were informed about the nature of my study before information was solicited.

CHAPTER ONE

PILGRIMAGES PAST AND PRESENT: ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVES

Pilgrimage is an intense symbolic and ritualistic experience which entails travel to a sacred space, where "according to believers, some manifestation of the divine or supernatural power had occurred" (Turner 1973:210). Participation in the pilgrimage process invariably involves personal sacrifice in the form of arduous travel, penitential rites and/or economic sacrifices. Since the dawn of time people have undertaken formidable journeys to sacred sites, be they shrines, grottos or simply geographical areas, in order to seek or acknowledge material or spiritual favours.

Archaeological records indicate that in the first century AD Mayan Indians were making pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to the moon and sun deities, while human and material sacrifices were made at a sacred cenote to propitiate the rain gods (Thompson 1955:113-114). In the Near East ancient Semitic peoples paid homage and thanksgiving to their gods by bringing food offerings to shrines, sites often demarcated by distinctive environmental features (Polan 1967:362-363). Christian pilgrimages were initiated in the early centuries AD in order to venerate, seek aid and/or perform acts of penance and thanksgiving at places sanctified by Christ and

the saints, especially the martyrs (McCarthy 1967:363).

Today millions still flock to ancient and nascent pilgrimage sites. Lourdes, a prominent Roman Catholic shrine, attracted 8 million visitors in 1958, the centenary of its foundation (Labande 1967:368). Fatima, where three Portuguese peasant children reported seeing the Virgin Mary in 1917, expected 3 million visitors in 1985 (The Evening Telegram, June 29, 1985, p. 23). Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims have visited a roadside grotto near Ballinaspittle, Ireland, where in July 1984 two women reported seeing a statue of the Virgin Mary move (The Evening Telegram, November 2, 1985, p. 15). Braving bitter temperatures in January 1986, thousands lined up outside a suburban home in Ste. Marthe sur la Lac, Quebec, waiting to venerate the private collection of statues and holy pictures which wept and bled according to reports made by the owners (The Evening Telegram, January 11, 1986, p. 14). The phenomenon received intense national media attention, culminating in the mid-January revelation that the miracles were a hoax (The Globe and Mail, January 15, 1986, p. A1). An editorial cartoon by Aislin in the Montreal Gazette depicted a blood-stained Virgin Mary in prayer, requesting, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do..."

3

A significant social institution, both in the past and in the present day, pilgrimage has been analyzed by scholars of many disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, theology, psychology, folklore and medicine. Being wide-spread, the institution lends itself particularly well to the cross-cultural analytical tools of anthropology.

The most comprehensive and significant anthropological study of pilgrimage to date is Victor and Edith Turner's 1978 Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Based upon their own field work and analysis of the literature of many disciplines and religious cultures, the Turners discerned key pilgrimage characteristics, relating pilgrimage phenomena to central anthropological and social theories. This pivotal study has provided key analytical tools for numerous subsequent pilgrimage studies, including the present one.

Due to the temporal and structural similarities between pilgrimages and tribal initiation rites, one of the central analytical tools utilized by Turner and others (notably Myerhoff) is Arnold van Gennep's (1908) concept of the rite de passage. Reduced to its basic characteristics, a rite de passage consists of three distinct phases: I) Separation, II) Margin or limen, and III) Reaggregation; phases also characteristic of the pilgrimage process (Turner

1974b:56-57; Turner and Turner 1978:249). In Phase I the individual is separated from his normal role and status in the secular world; a type-of symbolic death which often involves travel to a marginal, sacred space. Without the social constraints of class and status, initiates/pilgrims confront each other as an egalitarian aggregate (Turner 1975b:108). Within the sacred space of Phase II the participants are exposed to religious sacra and engage in ritual activities. This liminoid¹ world is 'proto-structural,' revealing and creating an alternate, deeper level of existence (Csikszentimihalyi, citing Turner 1975b:93-94). During Phase III the pilgrims/initiands are integrated back into secular society.

However, there are several critical differences between tribal initiation rites and pilgrimages. Initiation rites and their modern homologues such as baptism and confirmation, are dictates of the socio-religious hierarchy; transitional rites in which the actor is deemed "inwardly and outwardly changed." The initiate's changed status is acknowledged by his acquisition of a new social position upon his return to society (Turner 1978:249). Pilgrimage, on the other hand, is characteristically a democratic undertaking, embarked upon by individual choice, rather than by direct dictate of the religious hierarchy. Even the Islamic hadj,

[or hajj] which is one of the five basic obligations of Islam, is essentially voluntary, as the poor are exempted from this duty, and even many of the financially secure never make the pilgrimage (Wensinck 1971:33). Because pilgrimage is a non-hierarchical ritual, it does not involve permanent change in ritual status upon re-entering society (Turner and Turner 1978:31-32).

Despite the differences in the voluntary nature of pilgrimage versus the obligatory nature of rites of passage, some basic characteristics delineated by van Gennep and later theorists provide useful tools for analysis, particularly for Phases I and II of the pilgrimage ritual process. Turner observes that during Phase I initiands/pilgrims are often symbolically 'levelled' by removing signs of their secular status and replacing them with signs of their liminal/liminoid non-status (1974b:59). In the case of pilgrimage ritual he notes that this stage is often marked by stops at lesser sacred sites before reaching the ultimate goal. Turner argues that through this process of spacial and symbolic removal from the bounds of social structure, the pilgrim is exposed to a threshold infused with brotherhood and equality, suitably labelled communitas (1973:221; Turner and Turner 1978:32).

Within the a-social setting of Phase II, pilgrims are exposed to alternate/ultimate meanings for existence expressed through symbol and ritual, and they aspire to move into a deeper level of religious experience (Turner and Turner 1978:8,14-15). At pilgrimage sites these ultimate meanings are often communicated through a multiplicity of symbols, the objects of worship and ritual (cf. Turner & Turner 1978:113). Both Turner (1974b) and Leach (1961:132-136) note that this sacred, liminoid stage may be replete with ritual and symbolic reversals. Turner observes that "the social order may seem to have been turned upside down,.... [and] sacred spacetime ...may also include subversive and ludic events" (Turner 1974b:59). Leach contends that the liminal phase often involves reversals of dress, behaviour and time itself: "It is symbolic of a complete transfer from the secular to the sacred; normal time has stopped, sacred time is played in reverse, death is converted into birth" (1961:136). Leach postulates that one of the major functions of religious dogma is to repudiate the linear nature of time and the finality of death by maintaining that time is cyclical or oscillatory in nature (1961:125,129-130,134).

Barbara Myerhoff's analysis of the Peyote Hunt pilgrimage of Mexico's Huichol Indians vividly illustrates the applicability of Turner's theoretical model. Here the impoverished, yet proud, Huichol pilgrims travel to the remote [marginal] ancestral land of the Wirikuta to "retrieve their spiritual and historic beginnings" (1974:50). This travel back to sacred time is manifested by symbols and rituals of reversal. At the edge of Wirikuta pilgrims pass through "La Puerta", "The Door" in Spanish, or "The Vagina" in Huichol (Myerhoff 1974:139). Within Wirikuta there are continuous rituals of reversal, some of which are ludic in nature. In the words of the mara'akame (shaman/priest) who leads the pilgrimage, "everything should be upside down and backward" (1974:149). These reversals symbolically deny opposition and change, the forces which have resulted in the Huichol's present debased social position. In Wirikuta the pilgrims achieve a type of mystic ecstasy through being united with each other and their gods.²

This unity, or communitas, is expressed in symbolic and ritual action throughout the Huichol pilgrimage. In

preparation for departure, a cord is circulated amongst the pilgrims signifying that they have left their mortal states [i.e., symbolizing departure from the secular world according to Phase I of the rite de passage sequence]. Later, upon entry into Wirikuta, a knot is tied in the cord for each pilgrim, symbolizing the total unity of the group (Myerhoff 1974:134-137). Within this sacred space absolute comradeship and oneness of spirit is stressed, and pilgrims experience a love of life and each other (Myerhoff 1974:155-157). However, in accordance with Turner's model, this spiritual unity is not carried over into the secular realm. Upon their return home, the pilgrims' bonds are severed by the ceremonial unknitting of the sacred cord, and pilgrims do not form any type of corporate group in the secular world (Myerhoff 1974:176).

While not based on any theoretical model, Malcolm Little's (Malcolm X's) account of his pilgrimage to Mecca highlights many of the characteristics identified by Turner, particularly the communitas element. During Phase I the first noteworthy point is the function of ritual dress, whose symbolic role was noted by both Leach and Turner. In

preparation for departure all Muslim pilgrims assume traditional dress; its dramatic levelling effect is vividly described by Little: "You could be a king or a peasant and no one would know" (1965:328). Departure from the secular world was marked by prayers said before taking off from Cairo and upon landing at Jeddah. Friends and relatives accompanying pilgrims to the airport asked them to pray for them at Mecca (1965:328-329).

Communitas first manifested itself enroute on the airplane. This spontaneous, emotional unity--in contrast to the regulated divisions of the secular world--is graphically depicted by Little:

"Thongs of people, obviously Muslims from everywhere... were hugging and embracing. They were of all complexions, the whole atmosphere was of warmth and friendliness. The feeling hit me that there really wasn't any color problem here. The effect was as though I had just stepped out of a prison (1965:326).

At Mecca, Little relates that: "Love, humility, and true brotherhood was almost a physical feeling wherever I turned" (1965:330). One manifestation of this communitas was that fellow pilgrims frequently asked Little to eat with

them (1965:334). Turner (1973:218) denotes commensality as a symbol of communitas also evident in other pilgrimages. Little deemed the atmosphere of brotherhood the most outstanding element of the pilgrimage (1965:343), and observed that it accentuated the shrine's sacred message of "the Oneness of Man under One God" (1965:335). In the sacred, marginal world of Mecca, inequalities and divisions of the secular world are symbolically eradicated, and behavioural expression is a complete reversal of the discrimination and alienation characteristic of secular life.

Although the pilgrimage experience does not entail a change in status in the secular world, it may entail a change in attitude and perception due to exposure to the sacred message of the shrine. The profound and lasting impact which this experience had on Malcolm X is clearly illustrated in the Ossie Davis' postscript to Little's autobiography: "No one who knew him before and after his trip to Mecca could doubt that he had completely abandoned racism, separatism, and hatred" (1965:454).

Both the Huichol Peyote Hunt and Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca are illustrative of pilgrimages undertaken in

response to perceived inequalities and injustices of the secular world. Through participation in pilgrimage the disadvantaged pilgrim "hopes that the religion's paradigms and symbols will restore order and meaning to a sad and senseless state of personal and interpersonal affairs..." (Turner and Turner 1978: 14).

Based on his cross-cultural studies, Turner concludes that pilgrimages are embarked upon almost solely by members of the lower classes of society:

the optimal conditions for flourishing pilgrimage systems ...are societies based mainly on agriculture, but with a fairly advanced degree of division of craft labor, with patrimonial or feudal political regimes, with a well-marked urban-rural division, but with, at most, only a limited development of modern industry (1973:195).

The findings of many other academic and non-academic writers support Turner's conclusions. The majority of pilgrims visiting the localized Catholic shrines at Joazeiro and Bom Jesus da Lapa, Brazil were lower-class agriculturalists (cf. della Cava 1970 and Gross 1971 respectively). Fals-Borda (1962:215-227) documented a pilgrimage of Roman Catholic peasants in the Colombian Andes. Beevers (1954) chronicled the 19th and 20th c. Marian apparitions in Europe, citing

that the apparitions invariably appeared to commoners, usually peasant children; and that the vast majority of pilgrims who subsequently flocked to these sites were peasants. Elizabeth Fernea's studies of two Muslim pilgrimages to localized shrines in Iraq (1965:217) and Morocco (1975:269), reveal that most pilgrims were poor and illiterate, but that there was a significant representation from the upper classes. M. J. Field also found a significant number of wealthy and well-educated pilgrims in addition to rural peasants visiting Ghanaian shrines (1960:54).

Thus social inequality emerges as an integral factor in the pilgrimage complex, possibly because social class has traditionally been a focal point of social research, faithfully analyzed and documented by scholars of pilgrimage. Other demographic characteristics, on the other hand, have been given scant attention. Only cursory mention is made of the age and sex of pilgrims, even though evidence suggests that these characteristics may be of critical empirical and analytical importance. Evidence documented in four sources alludes to the possibility that women have a particular affinity for pilgrimage. Daniel Gross, in his study of the pilgrimage to Bom Jesus de Lapa, Brazil, stated that it is women who are most often repeat pilgrims (1971:138). In Richardson and Bode's study of Costa Rican

folk medicine, they observed that it is the mother who nightly prays to her favorite saints to look after her family's health (1969:37). At Moulay Ibrahim, Morocco, a special inner courtyard in the Muslim shrine is reserved for women "who lacked something in their lives, the sick, the barren, the defeated, the 'sorrowing women'" (Fernea 1975:277-278). At each new moon, a mausoleum of a high priest in Bagdad is "visited by thousands of Jews and especially by barren women" (Franco 1901:38).

While not examining pilgrimage groups, Lewis' (1966) study of spirit possession and deprivation cults offers some valuable insights into why women and other socially deprived groups and individuals are frequently involved in non-mainstream religious cults, positing that their display of abnormal behaviour and illness commands attention and recognition by dominant individuals and groups.

Gender and age were two of the most salient characteristics of the Newfoundland pilgrimage--even more notable than social class. Since, in my opinion, age and sex have a great deal of relevance in understanding why certain segments of this religious culture--specifically older women--undertook a pilgrimage and what it meant to them, considerable attention will be given to the analysis of these factors, primarily in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Another social characteristic of pilgrimage noted by the Turners and others is that both the institution and its participants are adverse to the social mores and values of the modern world (1978:14,19). Turner and Turner postulate that pilgrimage is a "'metasocial commentary'³ on the troubles of this epoch," notably warfare, revolution, and pollution; in short, it is an implicit critique of modern society (1978:38). John Beevers, a religious writer, takes this even further, claiming that the profusion of Marian apparitions which occurred throughout Europe between 1830 and 1950 were in direct response to the mounting evils of the modern world, among them: war and revolution, exploitative capitalism, social inequality and injustice, materialism, socialism, communism, and rejection of the Church (1954:196). He warns that these apparitions are a divine signal to repent through penance and prayer.

Since pilgrimage is an individually chosen enterprise, many scholars have examined the social-psychological factors and belief systems which motivate people to undertake these sacred journeys. Turner and Turner (1978) theorize that pilgrimage brings spiritual and/or physical relief from universal human miseries; principally disease, death, and guilt. Their identification of illness and death as key

elements of pilgrimage is not surprising since these crises have always been major concerns of religious cosmologies. As mentioned earlier, Leach contends that one of the primary functions of religious dogma is to symbolically repudiate the finite horror of death (1961:125,129-130,134). As Robin Horton explains, illness is disruptive, disordering, and frightening--especially when no common sense explanations or cures are available--thus traditional peoples turn to religion for treatment and/or higher-level cosmic explanations (1967:51-54). Romano-V comes to a similar conclusion in his study of Mexican folk-medicine, positing that folk Catholic religious healers and belief systems provide "a meaningful point of stability during a moment of instability which has been brought about by an illness or incapacitation of some kind" (1965:1170). Gross postulates that making a vow to go on a pilgrimage offers psychological relief when faced with a crisis such as impending death (1971:144). According to Horton, religious cosmologies operate not unlike Western scientific thought--they employ a process of abstraction, analysis and reintegration (1967:62). He argues that cosmological exposition functions to buoy up the patient's spirits, which may lead to bodily cure (1967:56-57), and at the very least it provides comfort by providing an explanation in the face of seeming chaos (1967:178).

Several studies (Young 1976, Friedson 1970, and Richardson and Bode, 1969) address the social context of Western medical and/or traditional healing practices. These findings illustrate that the nature of the treatment process and the roles of the patient, healer and the community are radically different within each system; they operate according to different principles, and even the aims of treatment are often radically different. However, one system is not necessarily "better" than the other; each has its relative advantages and disadvantages. Of critical importance is that modern and traditional therapies are not necessarily mutually exclusive or rival systems--in fact they may be complementary (cf. Young 1976:10; Richardson and Bode 1969:23).

This complementarity is vividly illustrated in Richardson and Bode's study of popular medicine in Puntarenas, Costa Rica. They discovered that nearly 70% of the population petitioned saints for cures (1969:22), and that even if a home remedy or physician's prescription was involved in the treatment, all cures were credited to faith and the power of the saints (1969:23,27). Gross discovered an analogous belief system among the peasant population of Northeastern Brazil: all cures, whether they involved

medical intervention or were spontaneous, were credited to the miraculous powers of the saints (1971:144). Young refers to this conceptual process as "assimilation," the incorporation of alien medical practice(s) into one's own medical belief system (1976:10).

In the folk Catholic belief system of Puntarenas, often the petition to the saint is accompanied by a promessa, or vow.⁴ A key component of folk Catholicism throughout Latin America, the promessa consists of a promise made to a saint in the hopes that a favour will be granted. The promessa is only fulfilled if the favour is granted, and may range from a simple prayer, to specific rites to be performed at home, in church, or at a pilgrimage site (cf. Gross 1971:142-143; Richardson and Bode 1969:22-23). Vows are also key practices in other folk Catholic subcultures and some non-Christian sub-cultures.⁵

Young relates that critical to understanding why people retain traditional medical systems is recognition of the various meanings of the term "work" in the context of treatment practices. In Western medical practice this concept is usually narrowly defined, meaning strictly,

"remission of symptoms" (1976:6-7). Traditional cures, on the other hand, may not bring the desired remission of symptoms, but always "work" because they function to "communicate and legitimize the [sickness] episode's outcome...according to [cultural] rules shared by sick persons, healers and audiences" (Young 1976:16). It is interesting to note that in Puntarenas, Western medicine often does not "work," even in its own context, as the dilapidated local hospital is known as 'the place where they kill you' (Richardson and Bode 1969:14).

A key characteristic of traditional folk medical belief is that there is "a tendency to trace serious ailments to purposive and often anthropomorphic agents, which...often choose their victims according to moral and social criteria rather than universalistic biophysical ones..." (Young 1976:11). Another key characteristic is that:

people rarely see a failure to cure as challenging their assumptions about their medical system or the cosmological ideas to which it is bound. Either they ignore the ostensible conflicts...or they believe that these failures conform with rather than challenge these assumptions (Young 1976:9).

Mary Douglas attributes an analogous thought system to the strong group, strong grid structure of Roman Catholics (1973:169). Her reasoning will be discussed presently.

Young distinguishes between traditional and modern treatment practices by stating that the former is often dramaturgical in nature, with the patient actively involved in "the play," while in Western medicine the patient is expected to be a passive object--a "prop", one might say, to continue the analogy (1976:18-19).

Young bases his depiction of Western medicine on Eliot Freidson's insightful analysis of the dehumanizing nature of modern Western medical practice. In Western society the physician's authority is usually conceded as absolute, particularly by the middle and upper classes, who generally recognize no other medical system and thus have "no place to run" (Young 1976:19, cf. Freidson 1970:319). Often the patient has little or no choice with regards to his treatment, and he may be shuttled like a pawn from one specialist to another by the medical authorities (Freidson 1970:324-325). Due to this asymmetrical relationship the patient often feels helpless, dependent and demoralized

because he loses his identity as an adult, self-determining person (Freidson 1970:329). Demoralization is further exacerbated by the fact that in institutionalized care the patient is physically and socially isolated from friends and family (Freidson 1970:326).

In contrast, the dramatic nature of traditional medical systems involves full participation of the healer, patient and audience (friends, family, etc.). Through the "play" of ritual, social and cosmological ideas are communicated through the use of expressive symbols, creating an atmosphere infused with emotion (Young 1976:18, citing Turner 1968:274; Geertz 1966:29-34; Fabrega 1972:185; Young 1975).

Young posits that one factor accounting for the lure of dramaturgical medical systems is that "sickness episodes are marked by strong social pressure on the sick person (or his proxy) to do something about his sickness" (Young 1976:13, emphasis added) because:

In both Western and other societies it seems that in the face of actual or threatened disaster, to do something is psychologically satisfying and a way of relieving anxiety; anything is better than just remaining passive and waiting for it to happen (Young 1976:13, citing Beattie 1964:207).

The efficacy of the traditional dramaturgical response to illness is vividly illustrated by Jerome Frank's (1974) account of the pilgrimage to Lourdes, which is also a prime example of the elements of reversal, and communitas identified by Turner. According to Frank, the emotional build-up begins during the preparatory period (or Phase I, according to the rite de passage typology). The patient is actively involved and/or is the center of attention for "collecting funds for the journey, arranging for medical examinations, and making...travel plans" (Frank 1974:67). Often the community or parish is also involved, offering prayers, Masses and/or financial aid to the pilgrim. On the way to the shrine, the pilgrim is usually accompanied by family or friends, and joins in prayer and ritual with fellow pilgrims. A type of emotionally uplifting ritual of reversal takes place--the patient is physically and symbolically transferred "from the periphery of his group to its center" (Frank 1974:67): No longer is the sick person isolated as he was in everyday secular life; he is now an integral, indeed a cardinal, part of a communitas group.

Ritual reversal continues to take place at the shrine, and is particularly evident in the procession, where it is the most seriously afflicted who are accorded the foremost position:

Every afternoon all the pilgrims and invalids...gather...in front of the shrine for the procession that is the climax of each day's activities. The bedridden are placed nearest the shrine, those who can sit up behind them, the ambulatory invalids behind them, while the hordes of visitors fill the rest of the space....[creating the] enormous emotional and aesthetic impact of the procession (1974:67).

Frank notes that many of the healing rituals, and indeed even the travel to Lourdes, may be excruciating for the invalid. However, since these trials are contained in a supportive human and cosmological context, they have a positive rather than a negative effect on the pilgrim's well-being. Frank observed that the heightened physical/emotional experience of the pilgrim often resulted in psychological improvement, and sometimes even dramatic physical healing (1974:69,71-72).

Another psychologically beneficial factor is that "throughout the ceremonies the emphasis is on self-forgetfulness and devotion to the welfare of others. The pilgrims pray for the sick and the sick for each other, not

themselves" (Frank 1974:69). Frank summarizes the power of Lourdes as follows:

In short, the healing ceremonials at Lourdes, like those of primitive tribes, involve a climatic union of the patient, his family, the larger group, and the supernatural world by means of a dramatic, emotionally charged, aesthetically rich ritual that expresses and reinforces a shared ideology (1974:72).

Other healing agents characteristic of pilgrimage sites are folk healers, who may either be human or supernatural in nature; both of which may exist at the same pilgrimage site. Typically only the supernatural healers are recognized as having bona fide power in the eyes of the religious hierarchy. Even members of the clergy who are credited with divine healing power by the folk are generally not recognized as having any special powers by church authorities.

Romano-V (1965) devised a hierarchical classification of folk healers based on the extent of their geographical and social spheres of influence. Healers associated with formal pilgrimage shrines usually have a wide sphere of influence, occupying the upper end of Romano's 10-step hierarchical spectrum, stages: 8) International healer

(living), 9) International, religious, folk-saint, and, 10) International, religious, formal saint (1965:1154).

The international healer, Romano asserts, is associated with a cycle of stories concerning various healing experiences. Romano posits that another key characteristic of the international healer is that although he attracts a considerable following he does "not flaunt wealth in any ostentatious manner unless it is directly related to his practice" (1965:1157). The healer attains the status of international, religious folk-saint if testimonials as to his curative powers continue after his death. The folk may venerate him in the same manner as a saint, offering prayers, a wreath of flowers, or lighting candles before his picture, as he is now considered nearer the supreme source of his power (Romano 1965:1157).

The highest status is accorded to the formal saint whose considerable powers believers attribute to the saint's proximity to the ultimate deity. While saints "function in a number of different contexts," some are recognized as having a "particular specialty in healing, such as Our Lady of Lourdes"⁷ (Romano 1965:1158).

Of particular interest is Romano's delineation of the charismatic qualities associated with folk healers. Based on his study of charismatic (folk healer, Don Pedrito^B, Romano asserts that the charismatic healer in the Christian tradition performs his role with confidence, yet at the same time has a selfless personality, crediting all of his healing powers to God (1965:1153). Romano relates that other scholars have defined charisma as an innovative, creative force, challenging standard rules of thought and action (cf. Gerth and Mills 1946:267ff; Naegele 1961:1221; and Bendix 1960:301-303 re Weber's definition of charisma). Berger claims that charisma "substitutes new meanings for old and radically redefines the assumptions of human existence" (1963b:127).

Romano argues (although this is not well developed) that it is actually the religious cosmology, i.e. standard doctrine, which provides this new definition of earthly existence, but that the charismatic healer serves as the potent vehicle through which this is expressed. He posits that:

Don Pedrito...singularly reasserted tradition, by making the pre-existent 'ideal' into a tangible and recognizable entity. [He] was more of a renovator than an innovator, and ...this quality constituted substantially the basis of his charismatic impact (1965:1170).

The charismatic potency of Don Pedrito is eloquently expressed by one of his followers: "...Don Pedrito was like a nerve, a part of me, and of everybody....Don Pedrito was...God" (cited in Romano 1965:1161).

Besides the capacity to bring spiritual or temporal relief from illness, another major benefit which the Turners accredit to pilgrimage is the alleviation of guilt. They note that particularly in small-scale societies, petty grievances and bickerings between relatives and neighbours may build up over the years to the extent that these may result in factionalism of the group. Mary Douglas (1973) postulates that demanding social obligations are characteristic of high group, high grid societies: social duties are inescapable, and disruptions to the demanded social unity cause individual and social stress. The Turners posit that pilgrimage alleviates this tension-ridden situation in two ways, firstly by offering an escape from the social order, and secondly by providing the opportunity to repent through penance (1978:7). By performing these penitential exercises, pilgrims atone for both personal and collective sins committed in the realm of social structure (Turner and Turner 1978:133).

Christian pilgrimage flourished in the Middle Ages, developing as a means to attain salvation within a dualistic cosmology which devalued earthly existence, and emphasized the afterlife (cf. Peacock and Kirsch, 1973:169,199). Bellah explains that in the historic religions this life is considered insignificant because the afterlife is conceived of as being either infinitely better or infinitely worse, than worldly life; hence concentration is on assuring a favoured position in the afterlife (1965:43). Thus pilgrimage developed as an act begging forgiveness for what is acknowledged as man's inherent sinfulness in the hopes of attaining a blessed afterlife (Peacock and Kirsch 1973:199; see also Turner 1973:215; Turner and Turner 1978:8).

Fundamental to the above is belief in a Just Universe, one in which the good (faithful) are rewarded and the bad (sinful) are punished, either in this life or in the afterlife. Mary Douglas credits this belief system to all strong group (strong social ties), strong grid (strict structural obligations) social groups, and elaborates as follows:

Pain and suffering are either the proper punishments of individual misdeeds or accounted by transcendental bookkeeping so that the effects of one man's virtue are chalked up for the common good and his faults are likewise charged to the community. It is a complex regulative cosmos (1973:169).

Such a belief system is characteristic of Roman Catholicism and is manifested in the pilgrimage complex by the application of the Doctrine of Indulgences. According to this doctrine, through penance one can be granted plenary or partial indulgences, a remission of temporal punishment owing for sins committed (cf. Hardon 1980:275). Penance can also be performed on behalf of the dead: "a pilgrim can shorten or even terminate the purgatory of a dead relative or friend by obtaining a papal indulgence [through penance] and then applying the remission of temporal punishment...to the loved one" (Turner and Turner 1978:121). Although this doctrine was de-emphasized following Vatican II, it remains a central component of pilgrimage, particularly in Ireland, where the church has traditionally been ascetic and monastic in nature (Turner and Turner 1978:121,128).

Another closely related tenet of Catholicism is the doctrine of the Communion of Saints which "posits a spiritual solidarity linking 'the faithful on earth, the souls in purgatory, and the saints in heaven'" (Turner and Turner 1978:203, citing Sollier 1911:171).

Hierarchy is another key and pervasive element in historic religions. The fundamental division is between the debased worldly life and the sacred, all-powerful afterlife; however, there are countless hierarchical orders stemming from this fundamental dyad. As Robert Bellah explains:

Not only is the supernatural realm 'above' this world in terms of both value and control but both the supernatural and earthly worlds are themselves organized in terms of a religiously legitimized hierarchy (1965:43).

Thus even in this world, persons, objects, and even geographical spaces are credited with varying degrees of secular or sacred power and value. In terms of religious action, separation and withdrawal from the (evil) world is highly valued (Bellah 1965:44), especially that which involves retreat to sacred spacial/geographical areas. Pilgrimage sites are amongst the world's most sacred interstices, since it is believed that there the divine has manifested itself. Prayer and ritual performed at these sites are held to be particularly efficacious due to their proximity to the divine, which led the Turners to liken shrines to a "hot line" to the Almighty" (1978:16).

Poised between heaven and earth, the liminoid pilgrimage sites and, in particular, the symbols contained therein, are credited with immense power. Sacred symbols such as icons, relics and sacred springs abound at pilgrimage sites, and are the focus of considerable prayer and ritual attention. Turner and Turner postulate that in any religious culture which relies heavily upon nonverbal symbolic vehicles for conveying its messages, believers are apt to endow these vehicles with magical power. In effect, the symbols cease to be symbolic, but become instruments through which to attain concrete blessings, such as cures⁹ (Turner and Turner 1978:28).

Mary Douglas makes a similar argument in *Natural Symbols* (1973:26-28). She posits that ritualism is most highly developed in religious cultures where symbolic action is held to be strongly efficacious, and that magic and the Christian sacraments are similar since both value external forms and credit them with special powers. She postulates that while sacramental efficacy is supposed to work internally and magical efficacy externally (1973:28), in reality the two are closely intertwined and, in effect, "...the doctrine of the Eucharist is as magically sacramental as any tribal religion" (1973:64).

Due to the intense magico-religious power attributed to sacred symbols, belief in the tactile transmission of grace occupies a central position in Roman Catholic and Islamic pilgrimages, often manifested in the pilgrims touching and kissing the relics and symbols of the shrine (cf. Turner and Turner 1978:71). Pilgrims to Mecca aspire to kiss the Ka'ba. At a Muslim shrine in Moulay Ibrahim, Morocco, pilgrims attempt to touch or tear a thread from the garments of a sacrificial camel which is believed to absorb all the miseries of the pilgrims, eradicating them with its death (Fernea 1975:272). After the slaughter many pilgrims try to soak up some of the spilled blood with their handkerchiefs in order to utilize its curative power at home (Fernea 1975:275). At Bom Jesus da Lapa, Brazilian pilgrims attempt to touch and kiss the saint's image. Their actions led the ethnographer to conclude that many pilgrims regarded the image as the saint himself (Gross 1971:142).

Turner and Turner posit that the symbols' propensity for acquiring magical meaning is responsible for the fact that members of the religious hierarchy are often hesitant to endorse pilgrimages (1978:144). The Turners relate that even at established pilgrimage shrines there is a continuing tension between structure and liminality. Much

catechizing is directed towards preventing the pilgrims' tendency to take the symbols literally, thus transforming icons into objects of idolatry rather than veneration (1978:28). A point somewhat overlooked by the Turners is that not only the symbols, but the human personages (lay or clergy) associated with the shrine may also be credited with magical powers by the folk. Such was the case with Mexican folk healer Don Pedrito (cf. Romano 1965), and Padre Cicero of Joazeiro, Brazil (cf. della Cava 1971), and numerous others. This also creates an atmosphere of ambiguity due to the juxtaposition of sacred and magical attributes. In cases where the hierarchy judge that the magical elements supersede those of standard doctrine, the pilgrimage practice is condemned.¹⁰

Despite the magical connotations, religious officials may be reluctant to deprecate the symbol vehicles and human personages associated with pilgrimage sites, as the miracles associated with them not only present a challenge to standard doctrine, but also a means through which faith is rejuvenated. Indeed the Turners accredit the dynamic nature of pilgrimage to the interaction between the emotion-laden particular (the symbols themselves)¹¹ and the cognitive general (religious doctrine) (1978:136). They claim that

images of pilgrimage shrines serve as "the Bibles" of the poor and illiterate, mak[ing] abstract doctrine concrete" (1978:48).

Rather than condemning pilgrimages and their symbols as aberrant, often the efforts of the religious hierarchy are directed towards bringing pilgrimages and their miraculous symbols and personages into standard structure (Turner and Turner 1978:192). The Turners (1978:78) note that the Catholic church has been particularly astute in recognizing the value of supporting emotive national symbols. By doing so, the Church subliminally strengthens loyalty to the universal church; to deprecate these symbols may shatter rather than purify the faith of the masses. In the Roman Catholic tradition this is accomplished through a formal intensive investigation known as the Apostolic Process (Turner and Turner 1978:78-79). Investigation of miracles may be completed within a few years or the process not be initiated or completed until long after the initial reports¹² (cf. Beevers 1954, passim). The process of beatification and sanctification is not completed until long after a person's death--and years of working continued miracles for the faithful. Thus the church hierarchy, or

what Robert Redfield would label the "Great Tradition," attempts to theologically, liturgically and economically control the elements of the "Little Tradition" associated with pilgrimage. Even so, many members of the clergy do not advocate pilgrimages, even to authenticated sites, as pilgrimage remains paradoxical in nature, a syncretism of both strongly pious and magical elements (cf. Turner 1973:209).

Associated with symbolic efficacy and the tactile transmission of grace is the prolific trade in religious souvenirs which characterizes many pilgrimage sites. At Moulay Ibrahim, Muslim pilgrims buy souvenirs for their children, including charms to ward off the Evil Eye (Fernea 1975:275). Chinese pilgrims visiting the temple on a god's feastday purchase many religious souvenirs and toys (Yang 1961:86). Della Cava postulates that the tiny hamlet of Joaseiro, Brazil was transformed into "a burgeoning agricultural, commercial and artisan emporium...within less than twenty years" by catering to pilgrims, many of whom became permanent settlers (1970:4). Religious articles manufactured and traded at Joaseiro included statues of saints; tin, silver and gold crucifixes and medals; rosaries, scapulas and holy pictures (1970:92). Fals-Borda relates

that Colombian pilgrims purchased a great number of holy pictures and religious calendars (1962:219), which brought in a "handsome revenue for both the municipality and the church" (1962:216).

However, the lucrative trade in religious articles may also result in competition and/or dissension between ecclesiastical and secular authorities, as the church attempts to control not only the theological, but also the economic aspects of pilgrimage. At Fatima, shrine officiants were distressed at the number of trinket shops and restaurants, and appealed to residents and pilgrims "not to turn the shrine into a marketplace" (The Evening Telegram, June 29, 1985, p. 23). In Bom Jesus de Lapa, pilgrims were urged from the altar to buy their religious articles from the church souvenir shop rather than from the shops and temporary stalls operated by lay people. The goods sold in both arenas were identical, consisting mainly of "loquets, rosaries, wall plaques, crudely framed pictures of saints...medallions, and plastic altars," most of which depicted Christ crucified, the patron saint of the shrine (Gross 1971:132-133). Secular vendors also sold standard tourist items such as costume jewellery, toys, hats, sun glasses and leather items (Gross 1971:133).

At pilgrimage sites, pilgrims utilize the shrine's sacred symbols to communicate with, and perhaps favourably influence, the powerful supernatural. Although pilgrims may hope for a change in the present state of affairs, it is acknowledged that ultimate control is solely in the hands of the hierarchy, a precept which remains unchallenged. As Peacock and Kirsch explain, within the hierarchically ordered cosmos of historic religions: "Each creature had its place on this continuum, each formed one link in the Great Chain. Each was expected to submit to God's plan, stay in place, and thereby contribute to the harmony and order of the universe" (1970:200). According to the cosmology of historic religions, the individual gains his personal worth through obedience and acceptance of the will of his superiors.

Daniel Gross (1971) postulates that ritual acknowledgement of hierarchy is the central feature of the Brazilian pilgrimage to Bom Jesus da Lapa. He observes that the majority of pilgrimages are made in fulfillment of a promessa made during a crisis situation, such as the serious illness of a close relative. Upon the patient's recovery, the supplicant acknowledges the sacred debt owed to the saint by undertaking a pilgrimage (Gross 1971:142). It is believed

that if the promessa is not fulfilled, the soul's chances to enter heaven will be jeopardized. Inferring from these beliefs, Gross hypothesizes that the principal sanction regarding fulfillment of a promessa is internalized guilt (1971:144).

Gross observes that this same intense feeling of obligation towards payment of a debt is evident in the secular patron-client relationships which typify Brazilian society; peasants pride themselves on the fact that they pay their debts (1971:141). Gross maintains that the peasant behaves in an analogous subservient fashion towards both his secular and sacred patrons because, in their separate spheres, both hierarchical figures hold the power of life and death over their dependents (1971:145).

Gross concludes that Brazilian pilgrimage "through its emphasis on an individualized relationship with a virtually omnipotent authority," provides ideological support for "the atomistic, vertical ties characteristic of rural Brazilian social structure" (1971:146). He contends that communitas is not characteristic of this pilgrimage (1971:145), and that rather than being an escape or denial of social structure, Brazilian pilgrimage is a sanctification of

hierarchical relations. Gross posits that as a result of this reliance on supernatural help, coupled with the acceptance of divine will, the peasant pilgrims are "all but discouraged" from seeking medical aid, or taking action to correct social injustices (1971:145-146). Thus the pilgrimage complex is a classic example of what Clifford Geertz terms a "model of" cum "model for" society. Through the symbol and ritual of pilgrimage, the Brazilian peasant comes to view himself as one powerless individual among a multitude of other powerless individuals, whose only hope for survival in this world and the next is through respect for and dedication to the hierarchy.

One of the dominant images sanctifying hierarchy in historic religions is the family. As Peacock and Kirsch explain:

God, the Father, superintended the deeds of men, his children. The church was the Holy Mother, the priest was father to his flock, monks and nuns were brothers and sisters. Just as religion drew its imagery from the family, so the family gained sanctity from religion. The family was an integral part of nature established by God... (1973:215).

Both the family and other hierarchical social relations are sanctioned by the church (Turner 1973:216). Berger posits that this "cosmization of institutions" gives believers an ultimate sense of "rightness" of the social order and one's place in it (1967:37).

The family image is a predominant expression of the symbol vehicles of many Roman Catholic pilgrimage centers. Turner observes that the greatest Mexican shrines are devoted to "universalized and supernatural father and mother figures..."¹³ (1973:226). Again, as Geertz postulates, the image is both a 'model of' and a 'model for' society.

Symbolic messages associated with supernatural personages, in particular the founder of the religion, play a central role in the pilgrimage complex. These messages, which revolve around key points in their lives, provide "root paradigms (metaphors) for believers" (Turner and Turner 1978:10-11). At pilgrimage sites pilgrims often engage in ritual reenactment of these key actions of the supernatural, symbolically uniting themselves with these deities, and/or acknowledging metaphorical relationships. Turner and Turner posit that pilgrimage may be thought of as extroverted mysticism--and mysticism as introverted pilgrimage (1978:33).

According to Sherry Ortner's (1973) symbolic typology, a "root metaphor"¹⁴ is a type of elaborating symbol which provides conceptual categories for sorting out other aspects of experience (1973:1340-1341). She postulates that another related elaborating symbol is the "key

scenario." Based upon the world view conceptualized by the root metaphor, a key scenario prescribes culturally appropriate goals and means for achieving them (1973:1341-1342). She offers the Horatio Alger myth as an example of a key scenario in American culture.

In the pilgrimage complex these "root paradigms" or "key scenarios" often focus on life crises, in particular illness, affliction and death. Through symbol and ritual action focussed on the lives of the founders, pilgrimage provides vivid images for new, alternative means of conceptualizing and dealing with these disordering crises. As Nancy Munn postulates, "symbolic action achieves its ends through its capacity to create expressive iconic models within which the restructuring of a situation can take place" (1973:597).

Thus pilgrims are drawn to pilgrimage centers in the "incalculable hopes that the religion's paradigms and symbols will restore order and meaning to a sad and senseless state of personal and interpersonal affairs" (Turner and Turner 1978:14). Berger (1967:58) makes a similar argument, asserting that the individual would like relief from life's physical and psychological torments, but more importantly he

needs to know why, what is the ultimate meaning of his misfortune. He summarizes: "It is not happiness that theodicy¹⁵ primarily provides, but meaning" (1967: 58). Levi-Strauss contends, in the realm of symbolic efficacy, "the cure consists in rendering thinkable a situation at first given only in affective terms: rendering acceptable for the mind the pain which the body refuses to tolerate" (1967b:192, cited in Babcock 1978a:295, emphasis in original).

Often the symbolic "cure" will involve totally redefining or inverting normal experience, giving affliction and death a new, higher order meaning. Babcock (1978) defines symbolic inversion as: "...any act of expressive behavior which inverts, contradicts, abrogates, or in some fashion presents an alternative to commonly held cultural codes, values and norms" (1978:14, citing Babcock 1972, unpublished abstract, American Anthropological Association). She contends that through inverted symbolic expressions one gains new perceptions, and new modes of interaction with others (1978:31). However, based on the theoretical premise of Burke (1968), Babcock asserts that these attributes are not characteristic of religious symbolism. Religious symbolism, she posits, is simply 'negative', not the

'negative of a negative' which she attributes to symbolic inversion (1978:18-19). Notwithstanding her own assertion, the applicability of Babcock's theoretical model to religious symbolic inversion is vividly illustrated by the Huichol pilgrimage and Malcolm X's pilgrimage experience and subsequent perceptual/behavioural change. Babcock's model is no less applicable in the case of Christian cosmology and pilgrimage.

One of the primary 'inverted messages' of Roman Catholic pilgrimage is that suffering and death is desirable, even enjoyable; for it is held that only through death may one join the exalted realm of the supernatural, and that one of the principle modes for attaining salvation is through the patient endurance of earthly suffering. The primary symbolic referent, or 'key scenario,' for this tenet is the life of Christ: he who obeyed the will of God and endured excruciating physical and psychological torture on earth, was rewarded by an afterlife of supreme bliss "at the right hand of God."

The final scourging of Christ is the focal point of symbol and ritual activity at Roman Catholic pilgrimage

sites; and in congruence with this, the Turners observed that the dominant sacraments of Catholic pilgrimage are the Eucharist and penance (1978:32). At the pilgrimage site the pilgrim 'offers up' his secular suffering to God and also engages in penitential exercises to "atone for sins, both personal and collective, committed in the realm of social structure" (Turner and Turner 1978:133). Infused with new positive meaning for suffering, the pilgrim experiences uplifting joy. Along with his fellow pilgrims he creates and experiences "an atemporal world of *communitas*, a community of sufferers--a purgatory full of hope, since such annealing suffering is thought to be the way to blessedness" (Turner and Turner 1978:133).

Intensely vivid and elaborate symbolic representations of death, particularly the death of Christ, are predominant in Latin American culture (cf. Gillin 1955:498; Kimball 1980:28; Richardson, Pardo and Bode 1971:246-257; Wolf 1965:152). Some observers of this culture fail to appreciate the positive meaning believers ascribe to Christ's suffering and crucifixion; for instance, Wolf postulates that the grotesque statuary represents Latin Americans' "fascination with death," and the crucified Christ symbolizes "despair and...death" (1965:152).

However Richardson, Pardo and Bode's (1971) study of Holy Week celebrations in San Pedro, Colombia provides a particularly insightful analysis of the positive meaning believers derive from the Crucifixion, a positiveness which remarkably stems not from the redemption, but from Christ's suffering itself. They posit that despite the fact that Christ's pain is vividly depicted through grotesque statuary, in the eyes of the faithful, the agonizing Christ is not a fatalistic figure, but an inspiring example of how to suffer and die with divine dignity (1971:246,249).

Through the manner of his death Christ epitomizes the key Spanish American values of patience, respect, faith, conformity and resignation (1971:248-249). It is believed that by suffering in this manner, man, like Christ, retains his personal worth, his sacred human qualities, signified by the term cultura. In contrast, by fighting suffering (for example through endless supplication), man loses his dignified control, succumbs to these dehumanizing experiences, and as a result, suffers all the more (1971:248-250). The authors allude to the premise that, in Latin America, believers are motivated to suffer like Christ due to the highly esteemed qualities attributed to the manner of his death, rather than the promise of salvation.

Another critical quality attributed to symbols is that they may embody many meanings. Turner (1964,1973) posits that "extreme multivocality" is characteristic of dominant or central symbols (cited in Babcock 1978a:297). Berger (1967:20) argues that "...there is an inherent logic that impels every nomos [socially constructed order] to expand into wider areas of meaning." Munn (1973:592) postulates that the condensation of a multiplicity of meanings within symbol vehicles creates the "communicative economy" and "generalizing power" of ritual, the ability to communicate innumerable meanings simultaneously. The multiplicity of meanings may be a result of the accretion of meanings over time, meanings which reflect the social-cultural context of believers and the shrine (cf. Turner and Turner 1978:143).

It is noteworthy that some of these meanings may be contradictory or paradoxical in nature. For instance, Christ and the saints represent beneficent, compassionate healers, manifested by the miracles they perform; but at the same time they symbolize resigned sufferers, exemplified by their martyrdom. Besides providing an analytical challenge for the

ethnographer, these contradictions may also be confusing--and even distressing--for the native ritualist. This is an area which has not been adequately explored in the anthropological literature. An example of such a case is described in Chapter 5.

Pilgrimage centres are not only characterized by dominant symbols embodying a multiplicity of meanings, but also by a multiplicity of symbols. In congruence with this, the Turners observed that most pilgrimage centers are composed of several foci of worship (1978:113). Fredrik Barth posits that this situation may also result in confusion and/or ignorance of the meaning of many elements, especially for novices (1975:209, cited in Babcock 1978a:294). Turner posits that due to the profusion of symbols at pilgrimage sites, it is not unusual for pilgrims to be unfamiliar with some of the imagery. The rich symbolism of pilgrimage may be overwhelming, and even confusing for pilgrims, especially novices. This may result in abbreviated or incomplete perception of the multiplicity of symbolic messages.

Of key importance at this point is the role of the "management" of the pilgrimage experience, as religious and/or lay leaders play a key part in structuring the pilgrimage experience and interpreting and communicating its symbolic messages. Most obviously, the management includes the ritual specialists associated with the pilgrimage centre. Romano's (1965) study illustrates the profound impact of charismatic folk healer Don Pedrito. In the case of group pilgrimages, another key figure is the pilgrimage leader. Most often a lay person, he/she not only organizes the travel arrangements, but may also have a strong influence on structuring and interpreting the ritual and symbolic activities of the group at the pilgrimage center. Despite the critical importance of this individual, scant attention has been paid to his/her role in the pilgrimage literature.¹⁶

Even on a more general level, there is a marked scarcity of scholarly literature on group pilgrimages. This is a significant and somewhat puzzling void since group pilgrimages have been associated with shrines since time immemorial. Christian group pilgrimage reached its heights during the Middle Ages in congruence with the church's new

policy of indulgences. Boulter describes this thriving practice: "As the Middle Ages advanced, pilgrimage became a well-organized business; the personally conducted tour was a bigger thing five hundred years ago than it has ever been under the auspices of Thomas Cook and Son" (1928:2). Motives of Christian pilgrims during this period were often selfish more so than sanctimonious or sacrificial. Many simply desired to experience the adventure of exotic travel, and the pleasure of boasting about one's experiences upon return home (Jarrett 1911:87; Labande 1967:367). As such, making pilgrimages became a popular and esteemed activity of medieval nobility (Jarrett 1911:90-96). Today groups of various size and composition continue to flock to pilgrimage sites.

Due to the fact that there has been little research focussing on organized pilgrimages, there is a critical lack of data on the structure and social history of such institutions. Concomitantly, there is little data on the effect of the pilgrimage organization on the experience of its constituent pilgrims, both synchronically and diachronically. An interesting phenomenon often associated with group pilgrimages is "repeat pilgrims," people who

regularly travel with a particular group. A detailed description and analysis of these factors in the context of the Newfoundland pilgrimage is contained in Chapters

4-7.¹⁷

In the absence of substantive analytical tools arising from the pilgrimage literature, Erving Goffman's (1959) analysis of the role playing which characterizes public performances in everyday life, provides some interesting and utilitarian concepts for analyzing the role of the pilgrimage leader, and the pilgrimage process itself.

Goffman posits that public social encounters, such as those which occur in restaurants and retail stores, are analogous to theatrical performances--"players" project a certain image of themselves, and the situation in general, through their dress, speech and behaviour. The image players wish to project is derived from the cultural values associated with a particular situation, which in turn "determine in detail how the participants are to feel about many matters and at the same time establish a framework of appearances..." (Goffman 1959:241). Usually the image projected by the players is an idealized version of these

values and associated behaviours (Goffman 1959:34). Every effort is made to avoid, conceal or block out any incidents which contradict this moral ideal (Goffman 1959:14,41,83,254), since such incidents can prove very disruptive and distressing for both players and audiences creating anomy (Goffman 1959:12,208,212). Psychoanalysts refer to this "blocking out" of contradictory experience as "repression" or "dissociation," while Goffman prefers the term "self-distantiation" (1959:83).

As in theatrical productions, the role of the "director" is crucial in assuring a "quality performance" with minimal disruptions. Goffman ascribes a number of key roles to the director (1959:98). Firstly he/she dictates the proper 'personal front' for players, the appropriate appearance and expressive manner (cf. 1959:24). The director also stimulates proper performance, and sanctions members whose performance is unsuitable. In addition, the director allocates specific parts or roles in the performance. I would also add to this list 'selecting the cast.' Goffman (1959:91) postulates that performers tend to select teammates "who can be trusted to perform properly" but, as in the theatre, it is usually the director, rather than the players, who makes this selection.

Goffman relates that much of the director's "staging talk" occurs in the "back regions" or backstage. Here past performances are reviewed, players are chastised or praised, and suggestions are made on how to improve the performance (1959:167). Backstages provide not only places for polishing performances, they can provide an escape from the constraints of role requirements. Beyond the scrutiny of the audience (and the director), players can 'remove their masks', and act in a manner contrary to the ideal impression (cf. Goffman 1959:112). Here players may reveal moods, behaviours and cynicism forbidden in the public front.

Pilgrimages are highly structured activities in which the participant is immersed in ritual activity directed by liturgy, the clergy and/or the pilgrimage organizer. Csikszentmihalyi (1975a, 1975b) labels activities which have highly ordered internal structures demanding the total involvement and concentration, "flow experiences." He postulates that the total involvement demanded by flow activities such as games, sports, the arts, and religious ritual is "intrinsically rewarding" (1975a:49,55; 1975b:32,73).

Csikszentmihalyi observes that in normal life one is bombarded by innumerable, sometimes conflicting, demands --a situation which creates anxiety (1975a:56). Flow activities provide an escape and an alternate to this chaos by simplifying/restricting reality "to the point that [it] is understandable, definable, and manageable" (Csikszentmihalyi 1975a:49). Within this limited stimulus field there are clearly defined, non-contradictory, rules for action (1975a:41; 1975b:48). The individual concentrates and acts solely within this framework; ideally all potentially intruding stimuli are eliminated or ignored (Csikszentmihalyi 1975a:47).

Flow experiences challenge but do not overwhelm a person's physical, intellectual, emotional and social abilities (1975a:45, 56; 1975b:xiii, 32, 100). Ideally, flow activities "offer a wide range of 'flow channels' at various levels of skill and commitment" (Csikszentmihalyi 1975b:20). Hence individuals can commence at a level commensurate with their skills, and also progress according to their desire and ability, transcending their initial limitations (1975a:60-61; 1975b:26, 33).

Csikszentmihalyi posits that by restricting one's attention to a manageable pattern of items, one feels in control of one's actions and the environment (1975a:41, 50; 1975b:192). He specifies that this "control" rather than a feeling of mastery, is more akin to not being worried about lack of control or the ultimate outcome (1975a:50; 1975b:35). In other words, the actor becomes one with his environment; stimulus and response appear automatic, with one action flowing into another (1975a:43). Csikszentmihalyi refers to this state as "a total merging of action and awareness" (1971:46; 1975a:44; 1975b:87), and notes that it is often marked by a loss or distortion of the sense of time (1975a:43; 1975b:87). Immersed in the flow activity, one experiences a transcendence of the self and "selfish" concerns (Csikszentmihalyi 1971:56; 1975a:41, 49); any previous feelings of boredom, worry or anxiety are forgotten (cf. Csikszentmihalyi 1975a:55; 1975b:48).

Csikszentmihalyi relates that in some flow, or "autotelic," experiences this transcendence of self is accompanied by "...a warm feeling of closeness to others," or what Turner refers to as "communitas" (1975b:30). It may also result in "psychic integration with metapersonal systems" (1975b:41).

An interesting point posited by Csikszentmihalyi is that many people initially need some kind of inducement to participate in flow experiences--the intrinsic rewards are only discovered after becoming involved (1975a:48; 1975b:42). He also posits that some individuals are more "autotelic" than others (1975b:181), contending that in general, "older people, females, and those with higher socioeconomic backgrounds and education will tend to perceive intrinsic rewards as more important" (1975b:20).

A central thesis posited by Csikszentmihalyi is that flow activities are often not pleasurable in the usual sense of the word; however, by meeting the various physical, social and psychological demands of the flow activity, one feels a deep sense of fulfillment (1975b:198). He posits that in the modern world which is marked by social alienation and individual meaninglessness, there is an intense need for such experiences (1975b:197). In fact he postulates that "the effectiveness of political, religious and cultural movements depends in part on the amount of flow experiences they make possible" (1975a:61). In the religious realm this entails providing "clearly detailed activities in which the faithful can participate with the understanding that in so

doing they are meeting the challenges of life..."
(1975a:61).

Father Hugo Rahner, while not developing a theoretical model, makes a similar argument regarding the analogous nature of religious ritual and play. He posits that life on earth is but a transitory game in which one must play one's role as cast by God (1967:39). He postulates that the Catholic liturgy is analogous to a sacred game, "a single solemn piece of playing or miming" (1967:79) in which "the fundamental rule...is 'he who loses, wins'" (1967:56). Rahner postulates that the enjoyment derived from the playing of liturgy and sacrament are a prelude to a Beatific afterlife (1967:10). Thus in congruence with Turner's theoretical model regarding the liminoid nature of ritual, the liturgy is 'protostructural,' formulating a new means of ordering existence (cf. Csikszentmihalyi 1975b:93-94).

The Turners have made similar observations about the "ludic" nature of the religious world. They postulate that unlike political or economic structures, the liminal "ecclesiastical 'structure' is only...a play of symbols and

masks...--rather than a positive structure based on control over economic resources and organized force" (1978:158).

The following chapters examine the symbolic world of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, as it is experienced, enacted and conceptualized by the Newfoundland pilgrims.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER ONE

1 The ethnographer deliberately uses the term 'liminoid' when referring to pilgrimage, and 'liminal' when referring to rites of passage, as the former denotes creation of a new socio-cultural world, while the latter is a ritual state prescribed and controlled by the dominant society.

2 According to Robert Bellah's evolutionary typology of religions, this symbolic fusion of man and mythical beings is characteristic of the monistic world view of primitive and archaic religions (1965:41-43).

3 This term is borrowed from Clifford Geertz (1972:26).

4 In Puntarenas petitions for cures are most frequently made to the Virgin of Los Angeles, the patron saint of Costa Rica. However, recently a new "folk saint," not yet recognized by the church hierarchy, is frequently invoked. Fray Cascana dedicated his life to caring for Puntarenian orphans, and "his picture appears in homes and public places, and all know the stories of his gentleness and miracles" (Richardson and Bode 1969:22)

5 Analogous practices are evident at non-Christian pilgrimage shrines in rural Ghana. Here, as M.J. Field describes: "The typical pilgrim comes annually to the shrine, asks the deity for a year's protection and promises a thank-offering of a sheep and a bottle of rum at the end of the year" (1960:88).

6 This rationale Evans-Pritchard (1936) labelled 'secondary elaboration,' the practice of traditional thinkers to "excuse" failures of their belief system in order that their "closed" thought system remain intact and unchallenged (cf. Horton 1967:167,178).

7 The Virgin of Guadalupe functions both as a Mexican national symbol and a compassionate healing specialist (cf. Turner and Turner 1978:85-94).

8 Don Pedrito was a localized folk healer active among the Mexican Catholic population in South Texas in the late 19th Century. Today Don Pedrito has been elevated to the status of folk saint by this population and is regularly invoked through vows and prayer. Many households venerate his

picture and have Don Pedrito prayer cards, and pilgrimages are made to place flowers and candles at his graveside (1965:1161-1162). These folk veneration practices are analogous to those associated with Costa Rican folk-saint, Fray Cascano described by Richardson and Bode (1969:22).

⁹ Horace Miner (1939) in his study of the Quebec village of St. Denis makes similar observations regarding the relation of religious symbols to magic in the folk culture of the populace. Miner relates that Roman Catholic religious paraphernalia are often regarded as having magical efficacy (1939:120). He theorizes that "religion and magic being so closely allied, it is natural that symbols, which are potent in the supernatural field of religion, should also be employed in magic" (1939:136). Miner is of the opinion that religious belief and practice and magical belief and practice are so closely intertwined in St. Denis folk culture, that it is impossible for believers to extract the magical elements from their religious culture. To do so would destroy rather than purify the religious complex. Miner relates that in the folk tradition of the St. Denis parishioners: "To question the power of a blessed candle to make thunder withdraw would be like questioning the ability of a saint to work miracles. Both are dependent upon the same supernatural forces" (1939:140).

¹⁰ Such is the case of Joazeiro, Brazil. Joazeiro became a pilgrimage center in the late 19th century when on repeated occasions, the host which a devout parishioner had partially consumed turned into blood. The parishioner fell to the ground on these occasions, staining the altar cloths with what was believed to be the Precious Blood of Christ. At first Padre Cicero, the presiding priest, was hesitant to endorse the prodigies. Irregardless, pilgrims immediately flooded to the church to seek divine favours by pressing an amulet, ribbon, or strip of cloth against the glass repository containing the "sacred" altar cloths (della Cava 1970:36).

Increased numbers of pilgrims of all social classes, flocked to the site when the miraculous nature of the events was endorsed by a local physician and the church's clergy (della Cava 1971:38,85). However, shortly thereafter the local bishop condemned the pilgrimage as, in his opinion, "the veneration of the urn...had taken priority over the

orthodox liturgical practices of Catholicism" (della Cava 1971:56).

Although the upper classes largely ceased to frequent the site after the Bishop's condemnation, the rural poor continued enthusiastic, and they attributed increasing status and power to Padre Cicero (della Cava 1971:85,164). He was labelled one of the "new saints, the discoverers of new mysteries," "a miracle worker and arbiter of...souls". Many referred to him as "our Pope" (della Cava 1971:62). Statuettes of the priest were among the most common of the profusion of religious souvenirs sold at the pilgrimage site (della Cava 1971:92), and miraculous cures were attributed to a well whose location had been chosen by Padre Cicero (ibid. 1971:82).

11 Turner sometimes refers to this as the "orectic pole" of symbolism, the sensory perceptible form of the symbol which arouses the emotions (cf. 1978:135).

12 La Salette was actually authenticated within 1 year of the Virgin's reputed appearance to 2 peasant children in 1846.

13 For example the Virgin of Guadalupe is a prominent mother figure whose shrine near Mexico City attracts hundreds of thousands of pilgrims yearly (cf. Wolf 1965:150-153).

14 This term was first coined by Stephen Pepper in 1942 (cf. Ortner 1973:1340).

15 Berger utilizes this term in a broader sense than the standard Christian theological concept. He bases his usage on Weber's (1947, 1963) discussion of theodicy, positing that theodicy is the cosmic explanation of the atomic forces (e.g., suffering, evil and death) which threaten the 'nomos,' or meaningful order, of society.

16 One of Barbara Myerhoff's most significant contributions to the study of pilgrimage is her detailed analysis of the role of the marakame pilgrimage leader. However, it must be noted that the marakame is atypical of pilgrimage leaders since he also serves as the sole ritual specialist. Unlike most pilgrimage sites, the Huichol pilgrimage centre is not associated with a collectivity of ritual specialists, thus it is the marakame who singly

directs ritual action and interprets the ancient myths and symbolic meanings of the pilgrimage' (cf. Myerhoff 1974:16-18).

17 The lack of research on group pilgrimages may be due to a methodological bias. Many pilgrimages have been studied exclusively from the actual site, rather than actually tracing the steps of the pilgrims from their home to the site.

CHAPTER TWO

ORIGINS: THE SHRINE AND THE NEWFOUNDLAND PILGRIMAGE

This chapter examines the history of the shrine and the Newfoundland pilgrimage, tracing the development of both of these institutions from their miraculous beginnings to the present day. The first section examines the mythology of the shrine, documenting the various theories regarding the origin and early history of the church at Ste. Anne de Beaupré. Following this, the major events in the shrine's 300-year history are outlined.

The middle section of the chapter details the miraculous cure obtained by Mrs. Josephine Kelly, which led to the foundation of the Newfoundland Pilgrimage group. The subsequent development and structural organization of the group are then outlined.

The final section of the chapter chronicles the 1979 pilgrimage groups' travel to Ste. Anne de Beaupré, culminating in their arrival at the Basilica Inn. Since the itineraries of the June and July pilgrimages were similar, both are treated as one, except where noted. The ethnographic description provides information on the material elements of this phase of pilgrimage, including the dress of

the pilgrims, and the nature and ornamentation of the Inn (cf. Turner and Turner 1978:27).

ORIGINS OF THE SHRINE

There are a variety of opinions regarding the events involved in the inception and early history of the shrine at Ste. Anne de Beaupré. Discrepancies arise regarding the existence of or relative influence of miraculous and mundane events, clerical and lay persons, and/or the chronological order in which events occurred. However in all accounts, miracle, particularly the miraculous cure, plays a prominent role in the shrine's history, providing what we may call its 'mythological charter'. Following are summaries of these intriguing chronicles as documented in a variety of sources.

Father Samuel Baillargeon, a priest at the shrine, gives the following account. In 1658 the parish priest of Quebec decided that it was necessary to have a church built to fulfill the needs of the population of Petit-Cap, the original name of the village located at Ste. Anne de Beaupré. The priest wanted the church to be dedicated to Saint Anne and on March 8, 1658 Etienne de Lessard, a local resident, donated a piece of land for the site of the church. "In

spring, when work started on the foundations of the chapel, a cripple, Loufs Guimond, who lived in Petit-Cap, took trouble to come and, out of devotion, he laid three stones in the foundations. He was cured on the spot" (1979:40). His cure and many subsequent others were documented by the parish priest of the nascent church, and were given credence by their inclusion in Bishop Laval's Jesuit Relations (1979:39-40).

The New Catholic Encyclopedia provides a slightly different version:

On March 8, 1658, Etienne de Lessard, of the Beupre coast, donated a piece of land 'on condition that, within the present year, the inhabitants of the place begin and continue without surcease the building of a church or chapel.' Gabriel Quéylus, then parish priest of Quebec, wished it to be dedicated to St. Anne....Miracles were described by the priest in charge, Thomas Morel, in the Jesuit Relations; in 1662 three boatmen whose skiff was wrecked off Cape Tourmente were said to be miraculously saved by St. Anne and cast up on shore close by the chapel. This event seems to have attracted pilgrims to the shrine, which became know as the Sailors' Chapel (Gagne 1967:959-960).

A significantly different account is offered by Francis Thornton in Catholic Shrines in the United States and Canada. He relates that traditionally the French sailors of Brittany and Normandy prayed at a shrine dedicated to Mary or St. Anne before setting out on a voyage in order to invoke

their protection for the journey.

Some time before 1658, a group of sailors finding refuge from a storm, it is said, set up a tiny chapel to Saint Anne on the small cape that juts out into the St. Lawrence, some twenty miles from the walled city of Quebec. The place selected was a quiet spot and a charming one in a pretty meadow (beau-pre) (emphasis in original) sloping down from the circling hills of the Laurentides, one of the oldest mountain ranges in the world. By 1658, the parish required something more than a rudimentary shrine, and a new church was begun. In this operation Saint Anne showed her love of the beautiful meadow by working her first miracle. Louis Guimont was a cripple, so deformed in fact that he could not participate in the serious work of building the new church, but with great effort he managed to place three small stones in the foundation. Instantly he was cured, to the great joy and wonder of the villagers (Thornton 1954:247).

The site chosen for the 1658 chapel proved to be too close to shore, so a new church was built in a safer location in 1662. "Once again Saint Anne showed her approval by performing significant miracles: a crippled woman of the village was cured and a paralyzed soldier from the Quebec garrison was restored to full health" (Thornton 1954:248).

The Modern Catholic Dictionary states simply:

"Tradition says that the first chapel was built in 1658 by sailors in thanksgiving for their rescue in a storm" (Hardon 1980:483).

Most pilgrims are not aware of these various interpretations of the history of the shrine, for they are not "students" of their religion, reading about the shrine in a wide range of sources. Rather their knowledge of the shrine comes from the shrine itself and its principal literary organ, "The Annals of Saint Anne de Beaupre." As director of the shrine and editor of 'The Annals' for 25 years, it is Father Eugène Lefebvre's conception of the shrine's early history which is depicted in the verbal, written and visual imagery of the shrine. It is the following account with which the pilgrims are most familiar.

According to Father Lefebvre, the first chapel built at Ste. Anne de Beaupré was initiated in 1658 by a few Norman and Breton sailors, who had been saved from a shipwreck by their protectress good Saint Anne (1975a:87,129). During the construction a "poor cripple from the district, Louis Guimont....dragged himself as far as the foundation, placed three little stones thereon, and found himself suddenly cured" (1975a:87).

In 1662 the first statue of Saint Anne was installed in the church, which soon became the focal point for miraculous cures. An historic text cites: "From that

time; God began to work cures through the miraculous image of Saint Anne which was put there about 1661 or 1662" (M. de Maizerts, n.d., cited in Baillargeon 1979:183).

Ste. Anne de Beaupré grew in stature due to this continued proliferation of miracles which received sanction from the leading religious authorities of the day. In 1665 Venerable Marie de l'Incarnation, a prominent nun at the Ursuline convent in Québec, wrote a letter to her son, Claude, describing the miracles which had occurred:

Seven leagues from here (Québec), there is a town named Petit-Cap with a church dedicated to Saint Ann, where Our Lord works marvels on behalf of the Virgin's holy mother. There, the paralytic walk, the blind see and the sick, whatever their illness, come back to health (Letters, Tom. 2:310, cited in Baillargeon 1979:164).

In 1670, in recognition of the numerous miracles, Bishop Laval gave the shrine its first relic, part of St. Anne's finger which had been obtained from a cathedral in France (The Annals 1960:74(9):263; Baillargeon 1979:164; Lefebvre 1958:35). The Bishop gave his official approbation to the miracles in his 1689 Jesuit Relations, concluding: "We have made attentive examination of these marvels; and we

examination of these marvels; and we approve their being made known throughout the world" (cited in Lefebvre 1958:35 and 1975:87).

During the 18th century the shrine became a very popular pilgrimage site for native people, a custom which continues today. At that time they made the pilgrimage by canoe, while European colonists made the journey by boat.

In 1873 The Annals of Saint Anne de Beaupré were first published in order to further publicize the cures and favours which had been received through the intercession of Saint Anne at the shrine (Lefebvre 1958:123). Today the mandate of the magazine is to increase devotion to Saint Anne (The Annals, Jan. 1961:15).

The tremendous popularity of the shrine induced the Holy See to declare Saint Anne the "special patroness of the civil and ecclesiastical province of Quebec" in 1876 (Lefebvre 1975a:88). Around this time, Bishop Taschereau requested that the Redemptorist order assume responsibility for the shrine as the pilgrimage work along with the regular parish work had become too taxing for the three parish

priests² (Lafleur 1973:4-6). The first Redemptorists arrived from Baltimore in 1878, but due to the language they were replaced by French-speaking Belgian fathers in 1879 (Lafleur 1973:10). At first the fathers concentrated on parochial work (Lafleur 1973:29), but by the turn of the century they had embarked upon a concentrated missionary campaign throughout Quebec, Maritime Canada and New England, aimed at increasing the stature of the shrine and the number of pilgrims (Lafleur 1973:36-37). The practice of annual visitations throughout the Northeastern section of the continent to hold "St. Anne's Devotions" has continued until the present-day.³

In 1887, in recognition of the many miracles and the prominent position of the church at Ste. Anne de Beaupré, the shrine was declared a Basilica by Pope Leo XIII:

The devotion of Canadians for their generous patroness, Saint Anne, mother of the immaculate Virgin, is attested to by this temple, as celebrated as it is huge, one of the oldest in the country. There numerous pilgrims come, with great religious piety, not only from the Quebec diocese, but from the United States of North America. They there obtain countless graces, and striking miracles are there performed by the intercession of Saint Anne" (cited in Lefebvre 1975a:88).

The 1910 Eucharistic Congress in Montreal is credited with further spreading the fame of the shrine

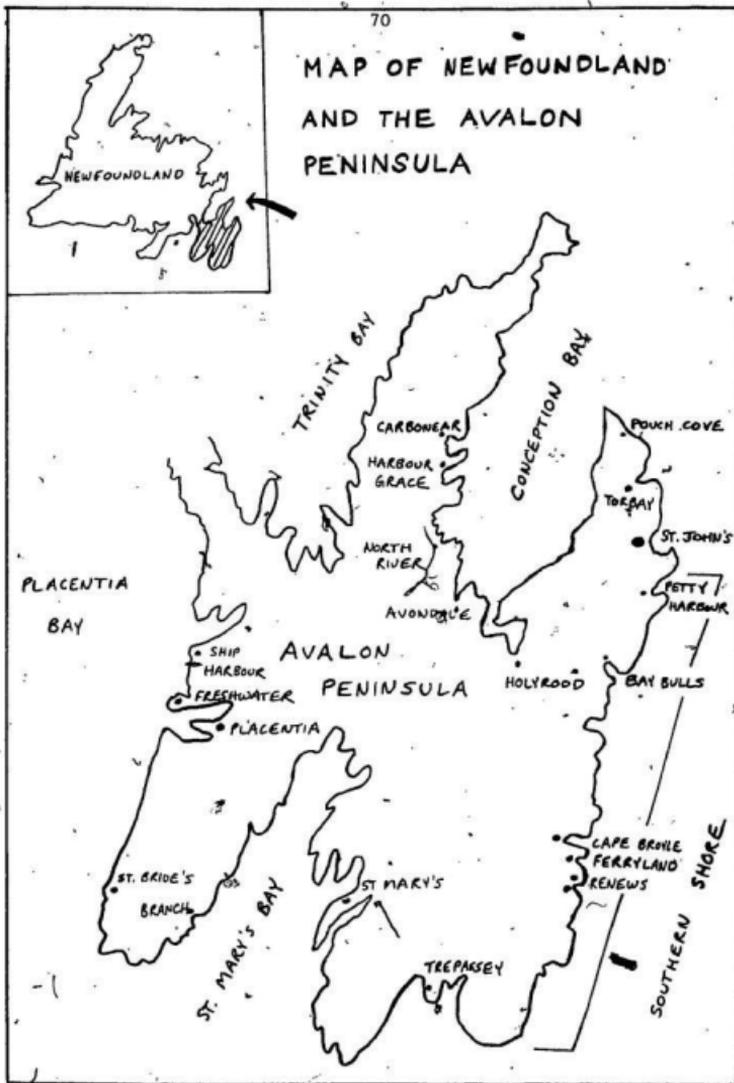
(Jarrett 1911:95). In 1922, fire destroyed the Basilica.⁴

In the reconstruction process, emphasis was placed on creating an edifice whose exterior and interior would reflect the exalted position of the shrine. The present Basilica was inaugurated in 1934, but the meticulous and costly ornamentation of the interior is only today nearing completion.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND PILGRIMAGE

Josephine Kilpatrick was born to a Conception Bay South fisherman and his wife in the early 1930s (see Map 1). Like all the other members of the community, the family was Roman Catholic of Irish descent. The parish church was the focal point of community life. Josephine attended a denominational school taught by Sisters, and was a bright and dedicated student. Like her two sisters and three ~~brothers~~ brothers, Josephine was ambitious and determined to make something of herself. After completing high school, a noteworthy achievement for a man or woman of her generation, she enrolled in the two-year Catholic teacher training program at St. Bride's College in St. John's. She specialized in reading, and her down-to-earth, no nonsense approach probably made her an excellent teacher of Grade Five boys, the group she chose to teach.

MAP OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND THE AVALON PENINSULA



While teaching at an all-boys public school in St. John's, she met Hubert Kelly, a shy, soft-spoken carpenter from a small Southern Shore community (see Map 1). They were married in the summer of 1950. Having two incomes, they bought a sizable house in the central part of St. John's. In the summer of 1951, the newlyweds were anxiously awaiting the birth of their first child.

However things were not progressing smoothly. Nearing the four-month point in her pregnancy, Mrs. Kelly experienced progressively worse pain and nausea. Fearing a recurrence of kidney stones, a problem with which she had been afflicted since age 17, Mrs. Kelly made an appointment to see her doctor. He examined her and then referred her to a specialist. Her worst fears were confirmed. The doctors concluded that she had two kidney stones blocking both ureters, and declared that she would have to undergo surgery immediately if there were to be any chance of saving her life. Their verdict was clear, she had "no other choice."

Her rebuff was immediate. She informed them that she did have another choice, and that was to place her fate in

in the hands of Saint Anne. She pronounced that she was going to make a Novena⁵ to the shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré. She recalled the triumph of her sister, who several years previously had been cured of a potentially fatal blood condition which doctors had proclaimed untreatable. In addition, she felt that she would not have survived the surgery in her condition.

The doctors were appalled at this decision, and implored her to reconsider. They warned that it would not be possible to operate when she returned as her pregnancy would be past the 4-month point. She still flatly refused surgery.

Instead Mrs. Kelly returned home and promptly telephoned the director of pilgrimages at the shrine, a young man, Father Eugène Lefebvre. She explained her predicament and her intention to make a pilgrimage to the shrine. He made arrangements for her to stay at a boarding house on the main street, not far from the shrine. Then she and her husband boarded the train to make the 5-day journey by train and ferry from St. John's to Ste. Anne de Beaupré.⁶

By the time she arrived the young woman was so sick that she was confined to her room all day and could not make it to the Mass. Her pain was so great that a doctor had to come from the pilgrim's hospital. He was obliged to give her morphine to save her life even though the risks were great to her unborn child.

The next day Mrs. Kelly was devastated thinking that because she had missed Mass on the first day, she had broken her Novena and would have to return home. She called Father Lefebvre to inform him of this, but he assured her that he had not broken her Novena, and would not have to return home. He further fortified her resolve by stating, "You know, I think Saint Anne is helping you in her own fine way."

Based upon Father Lefebvre's counsel, Mrs. Kelly decided to stay, and the next day she felt slightly better, gaining sufficient strength to get out of bed. However, she was still too sick to manage the 5-10 minute walk to the shrine, so the couple hired a taxi to take them to the shrine's front steps.⁷ Even so she only had the strength to reach the second to last pew.

On the following days, she was able to attend Mass once per day. Throughout the pilgrimage her husband was "making the Holy Stairs" twice daily on her behalf, a rite which involved climbing 28 hardwood stairs on one's knees. On the final day of her Novena Mrs. Kelly decided that her pilgrimage would not be complete unless she too climbed the Holy Stairs. She had been vomiting continuously throughout the pilgrimage, and in preparation for her ascent she prayed to Saint Anne that she would not vomit on the stairs, thereby defiling them. She struggled to the top of the stairs, battling intense pain, while praying fervently. Upon reaching the summit, she collapsed, wracked with pain and vomiting profusely.

When she returned home to Newfoundland her health improved rather than deteriorated. Five months later a healthy baby girl was born, on exactly the same day as originally calculated. The birth had been fairly difficult, so the doctor decided to keep her in hospital for a while. He also took an X-ray of her kidneys in order to check on the stones.

Each day Mrs. Kelly asked about the results of the X-ray. For the first few days the doctor replied that they hadn't been processed yet; later he replied that he had

forgotten to pick them up. Two weeks after the birth he announced that she could go home--still without mentioning the X-ray results. Mrs. Kelly flatly refused to leave before she had the test results.

The next day he brought them along there was no sign of kidney stones. He explained that he was completely baffled and amazed. Now satisfied, Mrs. Kelly and her daughter, christened Mary-Anne,⁸ returned home.

Mrs. Kelly was not baffled. She was convinced that her cure, and the birth of a healthy baby, were due to the blessings of Saint Anne obtained during her pilgrimage. Specifically she associates her cure with the act of successfully climbing the Holy Stairs on the last day of her Novena. With respect to Father Lefebvre's involvement in her cure, she regards his counsel as evidence that he is a "prophet."⁹

In the years immediately following her cure Mrs. Kelly did not do anything significant to repay the cure, although she thanked Saint Anne in prayer and continued her "devotion" to her. However, three years later her kidney stones recurred, and she interpreted that as a sign she

was not making adequate repayment. As she now explains:
"When much is given, much is expected."

From this point on Mrs. Kelly vowed to direct annual pilgrimages to the shrine; she has now led one or more pilgrimages each summer for 26 of the past 28 years. (She missed two earlier years due to subsequent pregnancies.) Her early pilgrimage groups were composed of a few close family members, and a collection of unrelated strangers. They then expanded to include relatives and friends of this initial core, and she now accepts applications from a wide range of people on a first-come, first-served basis.

The majority of pilgrims are Roman Catholic residents of the Avalon peninsula. It is logical that most are Roman Catholic since it is within this religious culture that the shrine is contained. However, there have also been some non-Catholics accepted into the pilgrimage; for instance, the 1978 pilgrimage included a Protestant mother, father and their spina bifida-afflicted child.

There are a number of reasons why the pilgrims are drawn mainly from the Avalon Peninsula. Background factors relating to the history and socio-religious culture of the Avalon Peninsula will be examined in Chapter 8. For now it

will suffice to examine some of the more concrete reasons for the pilgrimage's confinement to the Avalon. These relate primarily to the origins of the organizer and the means by which the pilgrimage is promoted.

The pilgrimage has never been formally advertised, either through local secular or church publications;¹⁰ news of the group has simply spread by word of mouth, primarily through former participants, and the family and friends of the organizer. Hence knowledge of the organization and subsequent participation in the pilgrimage is concentrated in areas where these people reside or have contacts. Hence St. John's and the communities of Conception Bay South and the Southern Shore regions have always been well represented in the pilgrimage.

The degree to which the pilgrimage is a lay-oriented enterprise is vividly illustrated by the experience of the ethnographer when first attempting to contact the organizer. Upon telephoning several St. John's parishes, including the Redemptorist parish which sponsors the St. Anne's devotions, I was informed that they were not aware of any St. John's-based pilgrimage group. At the Redemptorist parish I was advised to contact Father Gingras,

the Saint Anne de Beaupré Vice-Rector who annually conducts a series of St. Anne's devotions in the province. Only when I happened to call the organizer's home parish, was I referred to Mrs. Kelly. Subsequent conversations with Mrs. Kelly confirmed the liminoid, lay-orientation of the pilgrimage. She noted that very few priests had ever participated in the pilgrimage, and that increased participation of priests may be undesirable as they would detract from the role of the shrine's officiants. She commented that the only priest who regularly makes the pilgrimage is "very humble," and goes strictly as a pilgrim, although he sometimes assists with the Mass.

Despite the lack of formal endorsement and promotion, due to its lengthy history and the fervour of its participants, news of the pilgrimage has filtered throughout the province. As a result, each year the number of pilgrims has steadily increased; by the late 1970s approximately 150 pilgrims were making the pilgrimage each summer. Interest is so great even on the west coast of the province that Mrs. Kelly has been requested to make a stopover for pilgrims from this region. Thus far she has not complied, as she already has as many or more Avalon-based pilgrims as she can handle, and the incorporation of a stopover would entail

considerable logistical complications.¹¹ However, she does accept pilgrims from other areas of the province, provided that they are willing to commence the pilgrimage in St. John's with the rest of the group.

Another stipulation of the pilgrimage is that children are not eligible to participate unless they are ill or disabled. Mrs. Kelly's rationale for this is that healthy children will be able to visit the shrine when they are older, whereas the seriously afflicted and the elderly may never again be afforded this opportunity.

Due to the large numbers participating in the pilgrimage in recent years, Mrs. Kelly has scheduled two week-long sessions each summer in order to facilitate travel and accommodations.¹² The one-week period is in essence a compromise as, ideally, a pilgrimage would entail nine days --the length of a Novena. However such an extended visit would be beyond the financial means of many pilgrims, hence the seven-day compromise.¹³ The pilgrimage serves as the commencement of a Novena, with pilgrims being encouraged to complete their final days of prayer at home. It should be noted that the Newfoundland group's stay at the shrine is

actually much longer than average; most pilgrimage groups only stay 1-3 days.

The 1979 Pilgrimage

Dates for the 1979 pilgrimages were June 18-24 and July 30 - August 5, the latter being the preferred session for both spiritual and practical reasons. The religious factors relate to the fact that July is St. Anne's Month, with her annual feastday falling on July 26, and the Solemn Novena incorporating the period from July 17 to 26.

According to the Prayer Book, special months are dedicated to particular devotions "to increase the piety of the faithful," thus in July one should "pray to Saint Anne in a special way and to honor her 'through some practices of devotion'" (Lefebvre 1977:10). By implication, it is believed that one's prayers are more likely to be heard and answered at this time, with the Prayer Book confirming this by stating that the Solemn Novena "is a time of graces when all heaven seems to be at the service of our wonderworker [Saint Anne]" (Lefebvre 1977:1). Thus, the month, and in particular the feastday, is the ritual/symbolic high-point of the year, when it is believed that the shrine is infused with religious potency, and there is maximum potential for spiritual and temporal blessings.¹⁴

On the practical side, school was still in session during the June session. Many pilgrims were involved in the care of children and grandchildren, and it was simply, easier to make alternate arrangements for their care during the July holiday season. As a result of these religious and practical considerations, 99 pilgrims joined the July group while only 44 travelled in June.¹⁵

Application Procedures.

Application for many of the Newfoundland pilgrims is a routine process because they have made repeated pilgrimages with Mrs. Kelly over the years. However newcomers, who must first contact Mrs. Kelly directly in order to request an application, are carefully screened in order to assure their sincerity and willingness to conduct themselves in the manner of a "genuine pilgrim." Being a non-Catholic, and having no religious intention for making the pilgrimage, my request to join the group was certainly uncharacteristic, thus I was subject to careful scrutiny. My initial interview, conducted over the phone, went somewhat as follows:

I introduced myself explaining that I would like to join the pilgrimage as I was planning to write a master's thesis on the Newfoundland Pilgrimage to Ste. Anne de Beaupre.

(Mrs. Kelly) You're not connected with the

news media, the newspapers? We can't let any of these people attend because they distort these things, you understand.

(C.B.) No, I don't have any connection outside of being a student.

(Mrs. Kelly) I was doing a thesis myself once, but I got sick and I couldn't complete it, so I know it's a lot of work. But I didn't think you would do it on just one pilgrimage?

(C.B.) I think I can. A lot of study has been done recently on pilgrimages in many countries.

(Mrs. Kelly) What subject were you doing this for, Theology?

(C.B.) No, Anthropology.

(Mrs. Kelly) How is this part of Anthropology? I took some Anthropology courses once about Neanderthal man and that, and I hated it. Imagine saying that we two-legged creatures emerged from four-legged creatures--what distorted views!

(C.B.) No, I didn't like all those dates--millions and thousands of years ago--either.

(Mrs. Kelly) Where is it you are from?

(C.B.) Just outside of Montreal.

(Mrs. Kelly) Oh, you must know all about those shrines then--Cap-de-la-Madeleine and all those...

(C.B.) Yes, I've heard of them.

(Mrs. Kelly) Are you Catholic?

(C.B.) No, but I have been to mass regularly with friends for about five months in preparation for this.

(Mrs. Kelly) I must ask this because a pilgrimage is hard; it's not a holiday. You have to be prepared to go to many devotions.

(C.B.) Oh, I want to participate in everything fully.

(Mrs. Kelly) Yes, that's good. I'll be looking out for your application. I'm sure that you'll enjoy the trip anyway.

(C.B.) I'm looking forward to meeting you. I hope to meet you sometime before the pilgrimage date.

(Mrs. Kelly) Yes, that would be lovely. You could drop up for a chat sometime.

We did have one face-to-face meeting before the first pilgrimage. At that time Mrs. Kelly again reiterated that information must not be used in the press. She also stipulated that no personal names were to be used, and that she must be able to read the thesis before its submission. She then inquired as to exactly what factors I would be investigating. I replied that I would be exploring the pilgrims' motivations, the benefits which they believed they derived, the rituals of the shrine, and the general background of the pilgrims. We discussed these issues in some detail to Mrs. Kelly's apparent satisfaction. She then asked me again to clarify my religious status. Upon replying that I was non-Catholic, she said, "That's fine, I've taken non-Catholics before." She cautioned me that if I should be moved to take communion while at the shrine, I would have to

obtain special permission. I assured her I would do so.

Although, I'm sure that she still had a great number of unanswered questions about me, she was now basically convinced of my sincerity, and launched into an enthusiastic description of the pilgrimage, the shrine, the priests, and life in general as a pilgrim. It all sounded exotic and fascinating, and I was eager to experience it for myself the following week.

As Mrs. Kelly talked, she increasingly warmed to the idea of my coming along, as I could be of help to her. She explained that for the June pilgrimage she was not taking a secretary as she usually did because the group was relatively small, hence I could help her out with some of these duties. She mentioned that one secretarial task was taking the names of people who wanted to carry the banner for the processions each night--I had no conception of what this meant, but agreed nevertheless. Another duty was to collect Mass money from pilgrims who wished individual Mass offerings.

I was eager to perform both of these duties as I believed that it would help me to get to know the pilgrims better and to participate more fully in the pilgrimage. I also felt a deep sense of gratitude to Mrs. Kelly because by requesting my aid she had in effect welcomed me into the fold by giving me a valid place in the pilgrimage. Although not a conventional pilgrim, I now had a raison d'etre.

Upon being accepted into the pilgrimage the pilgrim was sent an application form (Appendix A) about one month prior to departure. It clearly outlined essential information such as flight times, cost, dress, and health regulations. With regard to airline procedures, the pilgrim was provided with meticulous instructions on when to arrive at the airport, and how to proceed upon arrival. The pilgrim was also supplied with a blue group baggage tag upon which she was instructed to mark "Newfoundland Pilgrimage, Ste. Anne de Beaupré".

With respect to cost, the \$285 comprehensive fee was a bargain by any standards. This included plane and bus transportation and six nights accommodation (double occupancy). The only necessity not included was meals, and

if novice pilgrims were unsure about what this would entail, Mrs. Kelly would advise them (she suggested allotting \$40 for meals for the week). A \$10 deposit was supposed to have been sent to the organizer upon initial inquiry, but many pilgrims were lax about complying with this regulation, and no penalty was levied. The pilgrimage had a unique cancellation policy: if a pilgrim had to cancel, \$5 of her deposit was used to cover initial expenses, and \$5 was given to the director of the shrine for a High Mass for the pilgrim's intentions (unless otherwise instructed). All financial dealings and correspondence were channeled through a post office box which the organizer maintained exclusively for pilgrimage business.

The form also specified that in accordance with the religious nature of the pilgrimage, pilgrims must conform to a dress code: slacks and shorts were forbidden--with the exception of pant suits. (It is obvious from those specifications that the organizer was directing her message to a female audience.)

With regard to health regulations, sick or aged pilgrims were advised that the airline required a doctor's clearance to travel, which Mrs. Kelly volunteered to forward

on their behalf. In addition she required that all sick, disabled or aged pilgrims be accompanied by a friend or relative who would assume responsibility for them throughout the pilgrimage.

The pilgrimage organization itself also made special provision for the sick. Each group was accompanied by a nurse, usually one of the nursing Sisters from St. Clare's Mercy Hospital, the St. John's hospital operated by the Catholic church.

Travel to the Shrine

It was barely daylight as the first of the Newfoundland pilgrims filtered into St. John's airport. Those making the pilgrimage could be easily identified by the blue group tag attached to their luggage. They arrived in small clusters of family and friends. For example, an elderly woman and her daughter making the pilgrimage were accompanied by the daughter's husband and her children. Two middle-aged sisters and their sister-in-law were chauffeured to the airport by the husband of one of the sisters.

Based upon conversations which occurred then and throughout the day, most pilgrims had had little sleep the night before. Some were packing and making last minute arrangements until the wee hours of the morning; others had arisen at 3 or 4 a.m. in order to drive in from small outport communities; still others had begun their journey the day before, coming into St. John's to stay with relatives or friends overnight. Many had slept fitfully, waking up every hour to check the clock, so that they would not miss this much-anticipated flight.

Upon arrival at the airport, the pilgrims first checked in with the airline, then with the pilgrimage organization. At a pilgrimage registration table set up near the airline check-in counter, a woman who acted as secretary for the group gave each pilgrim a name tag, St. Anne's Prayer Book, and several prayer cards. The name tag consisted of a name plate to which was attached a bright red ribbon identifying the group.¹⁶ The ribbon was imprinted with the standard depiction of Saint Anne and a sketch of the facade of the Basilica. On it was inscribed: "To That Shine Most Holy¹⁷...Newfoundland Pilgrimage to Ste. Anne de Beaupre...Organizer--Mrs. Josephine Kelly." The pilgrim was

instructed to wear this name tag on all occasions from this point until her arrival back at the airport one week later.

The St. Anne's Prayer Book was a key item containing prayers and instructive discourses related to all aspects of the pilgrimage. Included were prayers and hymns for all of the "devotions" (ritual activities) at the Basilica, plus an assortment of specialized prayers to Saint Anne. These included prayers to be said at the commencement, during, and upon termination of the pilgrimage; prayers to be said during a Novena to Saint Anne, and prayers for 'special intentions.' There were 17 of these 'special intention' prayers, including "In Sickness", "For the Conversion of a Dear One", "For the Aging", and "For the Deceased." Novena and special intention prayers could be said either on a pilgrimage or at home. The theological discourses included passages on the nature and meaning of a pilgrimage, and the meaning of sickness and affliction. Due to the comprehensive nature of this booklet, it was an indispensable item throughout the pilgrimage; pilgrims did not go anywhere without first checking to see that their prayer book was in their purse or pocket.¹⁸

Once the pilgrims had received these essential items, they returned to their family circles to give or be given last minute instructions, and to say their farewells. While doing so, the travellers furtively searched the crowd for other red ribbons. They wondered what their fellow pilgrims were like and what special intentions they were bringing to the shrine. Some of those who had made previous pilgrimages with this organization recognized others from years gone by. Sometimes they ventured over to renew old acquaintances, but more often they remained within their family groups, simply greeting familiar faces with a nod and a smile from a distance.

As the boarding call was made over the loudspeaker, families of the pilgrims extended their blessings and reassured the travellers that everything would be all right at home, and not to worry about them. The pilgrim assured her family that she would call when she arrived and that she would pray for them at the shrine. She then proceeded to join the flow of other red ribbons moving towards the departure lounge.

In the departure lounge the atmosphere was tense, a combination of the apprehension and anticipation felt by the

pilgrims. For many of the older pilgrims who had not made the pilgrimage before, it was to be not only their first airplane flight, but also their first trip off the island. They were frightened not only of flying, but also of plunging themselves into a culture in which both the lifestyle and language were completely foreign to their experience,

However, their apprehension was combined with anticipation, for they were going to see Saint Anne, a friend and protectress to whom they had prayed since childhood. It was the image of the Miraculous Statue at Ste. Anne de Beaupré which was depicted on their prayer cards, holy pictures, statues, and shrines. Many thought they would never see the "real" St. Anne for they had spent the better part of their lives bringing up a large family on a very limited income. Especially for some of the older pilgrims, the making of the pilgrimage is the fulfillment of the dream of a lifetime; it is a personal encounter with the object of a lifetime of prayers and devotion.

In addition to Saint Anne, another figure who draws believers to Ste. Anne de Beaupré is Father Lefebvre. Father Lefebvre has been the outstanding mortal figure at the shrine for over 30 years, acting as both the director of pilgrimages and editor of the Annals. He is legend among the

Newfoundland Catholic population, many of whom are Annals subscribers.

The pilgrims occupied a block of seats in the front section of the plane (although not in the immediate front rows due to airline regulations forbidding invalids blocking emergency exits). After getting settled in her seat Mrs. Kelly took out a holy picture, depicting the Miraculous Statue of Saint Anne, and secured it in the seat pocket ahead of her. Encased in an elaborate oval shaped gold-gilt frame, it portrayed a bust of Saint Anne holding her child, Mary. Later she explained that she had been given the picture during her first pilgrimage and that it had travelled with her ever since, acting as a protectress for the voyage.

As soon as they were settled, the pilgrims took out their St. Anne's Prayer Books and silently recited the Prayer at the Departure:

Saint Anne, the time has come for me to start for your Basilica of Beaupré. How many have dreamed of going there and were never able to do so! I wish to thank you for the privilege you have bestowed on me in making this pilgrimage possible.

I also wish to place under your protection the journey that I am undertaking. Watch over me, banish the dangers which might threaten my body or my soul. Inspire me with the spirit of a true pilgrim which is a spirit of prayer and sacrifice. I wish to accept without

complaining the fatigue and hardships of the journey. I also wish, all along the road, to pray to you, to recommend to you my needs and the needs of those dear to me, of the sick and afflicted, of the Church and of all men. Amen (Lefebvre 1977:38).

Many also used their Robary beads to say the Rosary which follows the departure prayer in the prayer book. Some pilgrims also directed prayers to other saints; for instance several pilgrims had St. Christopher's prayer cards, St. Christopher being the patron saint of travellers. Prayer activity was continuous right up until take-off. (As the other passengers boarded the plane, I couldn't help but wonder whether they found all this prayer reassuring or unnerving.)

The only stop-over was at Halifax. On the July flight there was a great deal of turbulence just prior to landing which created noticeable tension among the pilgrims. However, when we landed safely there were immediate smiles, laughter and chatter--and undoubtedly silent prayers of thanks.

As air travel in general was an alien and stressful experience for many pilgrims, especially the older travellers, the landing in Montreal brought a flood of relief. The pilgrims regarded the touch down in Montreal as

a sign that the voyage had been safe, since the plane trip is regarded as the dangerous part of the journey. There was a tangible feeling of joy and excitement, manifested in cheerful chatter--the pilgrims were now convinced that they were going to reach their destination.

The pilgrims waited for the other passengers to deplane, then moved as a group to a private waiting lounge which Mrs. Kelly had pre-arranged with the airline. Here they awaited the buses which would transport them to the main bus depot in Montreal. While deplaning and waiting in the lounge, strangers exchanged greetings and bits of conversation, evidence of the feeling of comradeship now forming among the group. At the Montreal bus terminal they transferred onto charter coaches which would take them to Ste. Anne de Beaupre. Lunch stop was at a quickservice roadside cafeteria at Trois Rivières. Mrs. Kelly advised everyone before debarking exactly what time they needed to be back on the bus. It proved to be a fairly hectic experience trying to get a large number of people through the cafeteria line-up, and afterwards through the limited washroom space, all within an hour.

On the June trip I sat with Mrs. Kelly on the leg from Trois Rivières to the shrine. Mostly she busied herself

with finalizing the rooming assignments. As the pilgrimage group only had access to one or two single rooms, those not travelling with a friend or relative had to be matched with an appropriate roommate. She took great pains in doing so, matching shy novice pilgrims with seasoned veterans noted for their kindly and compassionate dispositions. When she neared the bottom of the list, she was stumped on where to place two seasoned pilgrims with rather eccentric personalities. Finally, she exclaimed, "Hah, I know what I'll do, I'll put them together--a little penance for them both!"

Occasionally Mrs. Kelly would address the group, edifying the passing countryside. She instructed them to notice the beauty and peacefulness of the neighbouring fields and low-lying hills. (These features were stark in contrast to Newfoundland's rugged spruce-covered hills and rock-faced cliffs.) Later my roommate was to mention that she could "just see Saint Anne walking on the hillside, it was so peaceful looking." Mrs. Kelly also instructed the pilgrims to note that there were no fences around the homes--a sign that here neighbours were charitable and not inclined to fighting. (Fences have distinctive symbolic meanings in Newfoundland society, which shall be discussed in Chapter 8.)

On the July pilgrimage there was trouble with the air-conditioning on one of the buses and the atmosphere was

stifling. It was reported that several older women nearly collapsed in the oppressive temperatures in the back of the bus. However when one of the pilgrims voiced a complaint, no action was taken by the monolingual French driver. When this situation was related to Mrs. Kelly upon arrival at the shrine she was most annoyed, relating that she had specifically requested bilingual drivers. She promised to phone the bus company to admonish them and make sure the situation was not to be repeated on the return trip.

In mid-afternoon as the bus neared the shrine, excitement mounted amongst the more experienced pilgrims as they strained to catch the first glimpse of the spires of the Basilica. There was a great commotion when they were sighted, with everyone bobbing up and down, trying to get a look.

The bus pulled up in front of the Auberge de la Basillique/Basilica Inn¹⁹, which was situated directly across the street from the shrine, facing its front doors. The Inn's exterior had a cheerful, homey appearance, rather resembling a Swiss chalet. Above its arched front doors stood a large statue of Saint Anne. The Inn was owned and operated by the church, built explicitly for pilgrims.²⁰

Organized pilgrimage groups invariably stayed at the Auberge.

Almost as soon as the bus stopped, Father Simard, manager of the Auberge, deftly hopped aboard the bus, picked up the microphone, and gave a well-rehearsed welcome to the shrine and the Inn. After his departure Mrs. Kelly passed each person an envelope upon which was marked their room number and the names of the occupants. The pilgrims then debarked and proceeded to the front desk to pick up their room keys. Inside the Auberge, one was soon confronted with signs and symbols signifying that this was a pilgrims' lodging, not a secular resort. Behind the front desk was a large crucifix, and a prominent picture of Saint Anne graced the reception area. At the end of the main corridor was a set of vibrant orange swinging doors, upon which was posted:

Please
No noise in rooms after 8 o'clock to
help sick pilgrims who need a rest.

Passing through these doors, the pilgrims travelled down the spotless linoleum corridors to their rooms. The rooms confirmed that this was indeed a pilgrims' inn, and not a tourist hotel--the furnishings and decor were stark in the extreme. Two single beds with drab brown and white striped bedspreads were in the middle of the room, flanked by two

tiny night tables and two narrow wooden wardrobes. The only other furnishings were a small wooden desk and chair. Next to them, a small washbasin protruded from the wall. A tiny washroom off the main room contained a toilet and a flimsy metal shower stall. (Bathtubs were contained in communal washrooms.) There was no carpeting on the floor, and the walls were simply painted concrete blocks, whose only "decor" was a crucifix which hung over the beds. There was neither a radio, TV, nor a telephone in the room. Drapes of the same material as the bedspreads drooped from the curtain rod. A small window provided the only source of ventilation in the absence of air-conditioning; rooms bordering on the central interior courtyard of the building were air-conditioned, but had no window. The ethnographer who had previously naively thought she had lucked into a rather cushy field setting was quickly becoming indoctrinated into the austerity and penitential nature of pilgrimage.

Rates at the Inn were extremely reasonable, reflecting the austerity of the room, and the limited budget and needs of the pilgrims it was designed to serve. The 1979 room rates were:

Private (one person per room) \$15 per day;
 Double (two persons per room) \$17 per day;
 Triple (three persons per room) \$24 per day.

The Auberge's four floors (basement, first, second and third) contained a total of 108 rooms. One elevator serviced the building, a necessity for handicapped pilgrims. Other facilities included a large cafeteria, a lounge (with color TV) and a chapel.

After supper most of the pilgrims proceeded to the two pay phones in the main corridor of the Auberge to call home and confirm their safe arrival. This proved a problematic undertaking, primarily due to the pilgrims' unfamiliarity with the use of pay telephones, and secondly due to the communication barrier with the French-speaking operators.²¹ For those pilgrims who were successful in getting through, this telephone call usually marked the final contact with home until their return one week later. Many later mused that they had not even thought about home for the remainder of the week.

With this duty done, the pilgrims prepared for the 8 p.m. Mass, the first of the week of devotions at the shrine.

CHAPTER TWO -- FOOTNOTES

- 1 See Thornton (1954:248) and Lefebvre (1958:31-32) for slightly different translations of this letter.
- 2 An estimated 40,000 pilgrims visited the shrine in 1877 (Gagné & Asselin 1947:21-22, cited in Lafleur 1973:4).
- 3 Accounts of these devotional services are contained in the Annals.
- 4 A notable miracle happened on this occasion. A copper-covered wooden statue of Saint Anne mounted between the steeples remained intact, despite the fact that the roof and the steeples were completely destroyed. Today it is again mounted in the gable of the façade, further evidence of the miraculous events which have occurred at the shrine over three centuries.
- 5 A Novena consists of nine days of intensive prayer and ritual action, usually undertaken in specific supplication or thanksgiving. Its origins date to "the nine days that the Disciples and Mary spent together in prayer between Ascension and Pentecost Sunday" (Hardon 1980:381).
- 6 It is no longer possible to travel by this means as rail passenger service in Newfoundland has been terminated.
- 7 The grounds were not then restricted to cars as they are today.
- 8 Mary-Anne now holds a prominent position with the national education office of the Catholic Church, and is clearly her mother's pride and joy. Mrs. Kelly's two other children, a son and a daughter are both married and living in St. John's.
- 9 By this, Mrs. Kelly meant that God acts or speaks through Father Lefebvre; that is, he is a vessel through which God works on earth. M.J. Field notes that this is the standard meaning for the term in Hebrew, early Christian, and West African religious cultures. Only in popular culture does "prophet" refer specifically to one who foretells the future (1960:56).

10 The group is periodically mentioned in the Annals of Ste. Anne de Beaupre.

11 A major complication is that in order to make a stopover, the group would have to travel via Eastern Provincial Airways (now CP Air), which makes repeated stops throughout the Maritimes before reaching Montreal. This would greatly augment flying time, making the journey much more arduous for sick and elderly people. Also the later arrival would mean that the pilgrims would not arrive in time for the 8:00 p.m. Mass, thus a day of the pilgrimage would be lost in travel. For these reasons, Mrs. Kelly has elected not to make a West Coast stopover.

12 In 1978 Mrs. Kelly attempted travelling with a single large group of 140, however she found this unsatisfactory for a multitude of reasons. Firstly, it was difficult to reserve sufficient rooms at the Auberge, and some of the group were required to stay in the less desirable rooms in the basement. Other problems at the Auberge included a lengthy cafeteria line-up, and a lack of sufficient seating in the lobby for the twice-daily pilgrimage group meetings. Consequently in both of these situations people would have to stand for extended periods of time, a strenuous and tiring burden for sick and elderly pilgrims. Secondly, shepherding such a large group through airports and bus terminals proved to be a nightmare. Thirdly, many pilgrims did not get a chance to speak with Mrs. Kelly during the week. This she regarded as an serious drawback, since many pilgrims wish to consult her privately regarding some personal problem or intention, and with such large numbers she was unable to accommodate everyone.

13 The group planned to reduce their stay to six days in 1980, a decision made with much regret due to the substantial projected increase in air fares. At evening lobby meetings Mrs. Kelly advised both groups of the situation, offering them the option of incurring a considerably higher fee next year for seven days, or by reducing the stay to six days, paying approximately the same amount. Mrs. Kelly tended to favour the latter as increasing the fee would place further financial burden on the pilgrims, possibly even excluding some. After some discussion, the suggestion to reduce the stay by one day was ratified.

14 Although the feastday itself is the spiritual apex, Mrs. Kelly does not schedule her pilgrimages during any period of the Solemn Novena due to overcrowding. All hotels are fully booked from Ste. Anne de Beaupre to Quebec City, and cars line the roadways for miles prior to and during the Masses. During the Masses it is virtually impossible to get inside the Basilica; most pilgrims are obliged to stand in the square. Father Baillargeon reported that 70,000 people participated in the 1978 feastday celebrations (personal communication).

15 Mrs. Kelly related that she had tried to convince some of the veteran pilgrims to go in June rather than July in order to even up the numbers. However, she admitted that she was largely unsuccessful in this attempt.

16 Mrs. Kelly explained that she had chosen the colour red since it stands out well on clothing and can be seen easily at a distance, so one can readily identify members of the group. She related that she had tried several other colours (among them blue and yellow) in the past, but found their more neutral tones not nearly as effective as red. Unfortunately, it seemed that several other pilgrimage groups had come to the same conclusion, as the Newfoundlanders were not the only group at the shrine to have red name tags. Consequently Mrs. Kelly planned to switch to gold ribbons in 1980.

17 "To That Shrine Most Holy" is the title of a popular hymn devoted to Ste. Anne de Beaupre, a favorite of the Newfoundland pilgrims.

18 Many of the pilgrims also use the prayer books on a regular basis at home.

19 The pilgrims commonly refer to it as "The Auberge" or "The Pilgrims Inn."

20 The facility does not go to waste in the off-season. Then the operators cater to skiers who patronize nearby Ste. Anne des Monts.

21 Being relatively bilingual, I offered to assist a pilgrim who was having difficulty. When she was successful in getting through, the steady stream of pilgrims which followed also requested my services. Through this extended

"telephone duty" I learned about the various problems which pilgrims have with pay phones.

Some were unaware that they could reverse the charges, or were simply unable to communicate this to the operator. Others came without sufficient change and were cut off. Many did come with adequate change, and as a result the telephones were quickly jammed with an overload of coins due to long-distance charges. When I arrived on the scene one of the two phones was already not functioning, and an Auberge administrator was posting an "out of order" sign. He commented that this was not at all unusual; the telephone company would simply be called in the morning. Obviously unfamiliarity with such ubiquitous technology as the pay telephone was not confined solely to Newfoundland pilgrims, but was characteristic of other pilgrimage groups as well.

When we arrived back from Mass later that evening an "out of order" sign had also been placed on the second phone. However a desperate pilgrim was trying to get through regardless, so I went over to see if I would have any luck. Upon examining the second phone I noticed a dollar bill, meticulously folded, jammed into the 25 cent slot--evidence of a deliberate, but unsuccessful, attempt to comply with the operator's instructions. Usually one of both phones was out of order throughout the week, and the same situation characterized the July pilgrimage.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SHRINE

This chapter consists of a detailed description of the shrine, its symbols, and the ritual and social activity of the Newfoundland pilgrims. In terms of Goffman's (1959) dramaturgic analogy, the sites and activities described herein are 'center stage,' places where the Newfoundland pilgrims displayed the optimal 'personal front' in terms of both dress and behaviour. Since the June and July pilgrimages were similar, they are treated as one.

To place the chapter within Turner's framework for symbolic analysis, one of its primary foci is an examination of the material elements of the pilgrimage, the ornamentation and nature of the shrine (cf. Turner and Turner 1978:27). The chapter also provides basic data on the exegetical, operational, and positional levels of symbolic meaning--that is, what the symbol-users say about the symbols, how they act towards them, and how they arrange them in relation to one another (cf. Turner and Turner 1978:190). A detailed analysis of these symbolic meanings will be the focus of following chapters.

Like many pilgrimage centres Ste. Anne de Beaupre has numerous ritual sites containing a profusion of symbol vehicles. In addition, several secular sites are significant to the Newfoundland pilgrimage experience. A map of these prominent sacred and secular sites is provided in Figure 1.

For clarity in describing sites and attendant activities, I have formulated three categories based upon the location and/or the nature of the activities:

1. The Basilica
2. The Hillside
3. The Attractions

Each of these categories is addressed in turn, detailing the symbol vehicles and the ritual and secular activities associated therewith. As these sites are central to the shrine and the Newfoundland pilgrimage, the chapter is written in the ethnographic present tense, emphasizing its observational focus.

1. THE BASILICA

The Basilica is the focal point of the Newfoundland pilgrimage, as it contains the shrine's most sacred symbol

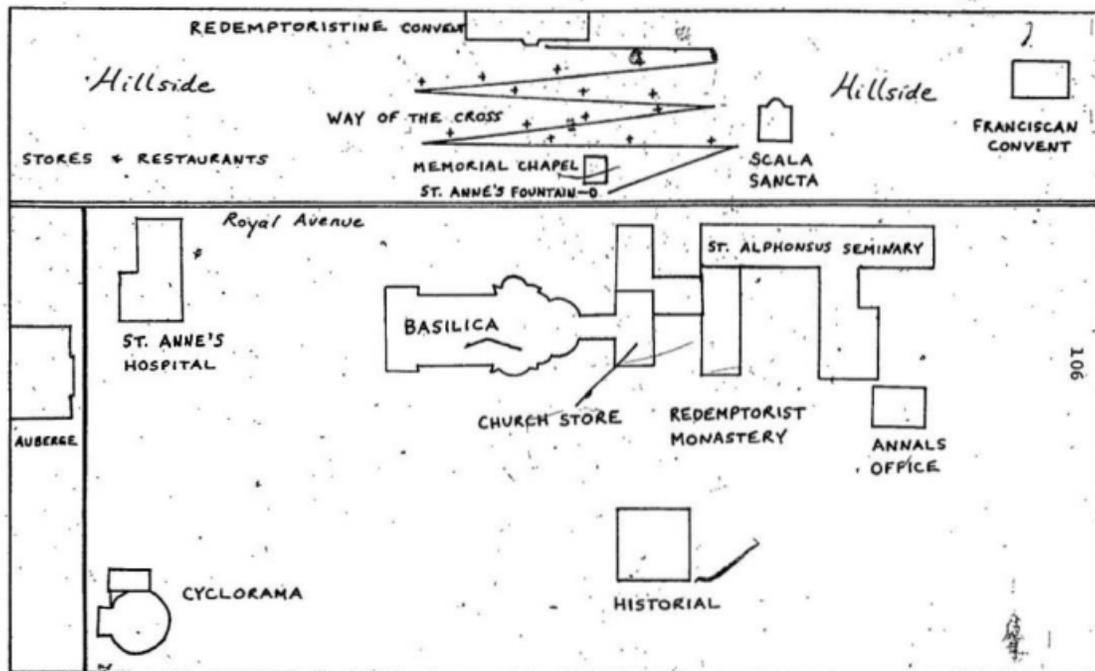


FIGURE TWO: THE SHRINE OF STE. ANNE DE BEAUPRE

vehicles, notably the Miraculous Statue and the Major Relic. Prayer and ritual activity associated with the Mass and these sacred symbols form the primary focus of the pilgrimage.

The massive Romanesque Basilica dominates the village of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, its 300-foot twin spires towering over the surrounding landscape. Although huge in size (325 feet long by 200 feet wide), the proliferation of round arches characteristic of neo-Romanesque architecture gives the church a delicate appearance, further enhanced by the white granite stonework which shimmers in the summer sun. Novice pilgrims are simply awestruck at its imposing dimensions and striking beauty.

The exterior grounds are simple, yet immaculate, effectively highlighting the majesty of the Basilica. A large concrete plaza in front of the Basilica serves as the stage for the nightly procession during the pilgrimage season. The surrounding grounds are meticulously well kept; the Newfoundland pilgrims marvel at the lush green lawns, sculptured shrubs, towering deciduous trees, and radiant beds of geraniums--all rarities in Newfoundland. The luxuriant vegetation serves to enhance the divine atmosphere of the shrine, and in some cases, pilgrims seem to make a direct

correlation between the exotic, 'other-worldly' vegetation and the exotic, other-worldly nature of the shrine. Upon gazing over the grounds several pilgrims commented, "This certainly is a beautiful, holy place."

Accenting the grounds are two statues, one of Saint Anne and the other of the Virgin Mary. The 9-foot bronze statue of Saint Anne stands in the centre of the grounds, mounted on a spectacular fountain. The figures of Anne and her child, Mary, are surrounded by a spray of radiating streams which cascade into the surrounding basin. The statue is purely decorative; it is not associated with any miracles, nor is it an object of veneration. However it has particular appeal for some of the Newfoundland pilgrims since Saint Anne's expression is happy, even humorous, unlike the stern, matronly representation of the Miraculous Statue.

The bronzed statue of the Blessed Virgin is located in a well-shaded niche in the southwest corner of the grounds surrounded by a ring of red geraniums. The statue is occasionally venerated, but is not credited with any miraculous properties.

In the northwest corner of the grounds is Saint-Anne's Hospital, built in 1930 to provide emergency services for ailing pilgrims. With the introduction of a government-financed health care system, the institution is now a public facility, catering primarily to the local populace. Several priests mentioned that the location of this drab granite building is regrettable as it mars the otherwise impressive shrine grounds.

In the perception of both the pilgrims and the ethnographer, the interior of the Basilica is even more breathtaking than the exterior. Upon entering the edifice many pilgrims are temporarily spell-bound by the superb architecture and decor. Walls, floors and ceilings are inlaid with intricate mosaics. Columns, rails, kneelers and statues display a rainbow of multicoloured semi-precious stones--quartzes, granites, marbles, and onyxes--imported from all over the globe. Muted light filters in via 240 radiant stained glass windows, the largest of which, the spectacular Great Rose Window, is 23 feet in diameter. Equally striking is the shimmering, translucent silver shroud suspended from the bronzed ciborium, 20 feet above the tabernacle.

The aesthetic qualities of the Basilica are indeed impressive, but for many people the most striking symbols are two pillars at the entrance to the nave which are encrusted with crutches, braces and prostheses--ex-votos donated by cured pilgrims.¹ This graphic display is a tangible illustration of the dramatic physical cures which have made Ste. Anne de Beaupre famous for over 300 years. These symbols represent the triumphs of past pilgrims and reinforce the faith and hope of current supplicants.

The church is cautious about recognizing and publicizing cures, being aware of the possibilities for erroneous claims, either of a deliberate or unintentional nature. Several measures are taken in order to ensure that all publicized cures are authentic. All cures require supporting documentation from a physician certifying, "...the reality of the sickness, the evidence and totality of the cure, and its impossibility of explanation by a natural process" (Marchand 1926, cited in Lefebvre 1958:51). As an additional precaution, the shrine does not publicize any cure until at least one year after the fact.

An interesting case of the juxtaposition of authentic and invalid cures was related to the ethnographer by Fathers Gingras and Proulx, during separate private interviews. During the 1984 Feastday Celebration for the Sick, the church was filled with the traditional throng of ailing pilgrims seeking miraculous cures. Also as usual, a horde of reporters was in attendance seeking to witness these cures, in order to bring the sensational news to the public. They were elated when an elderly Indian in a wheelchair stood up and walked--he was virtually besieged by journalists and cameramen. However, the Fathers related that this was not an authentic cure; the man was a hysteric, who had in fact risen out of his wheelchair on several previous occasions. The exquisite irony of the situation, as marveled Father Gingras, was that: "Just beside this man, there was a real, real cure--and nobody saw it!" After the celebration a formerly crippled American man discretely reported to one of the priests that he had been cured, and subsequent medical reports confirmed his claim. The Fathers related that his subdued manner was typical of those receiving miraculous cures. Usually they are extremely calm, with only the surrounding observers becoming excited or agitated. Reflecting upon the misguided attention paid to the Indian

man, Father Gingras mused, "The Lord is probably--not laughing at us--but doing something like this." Father Proulx also stressed that secular sensationalists place injudicious emphasis on the dramatic curative episodes of the shrine.

a. The Mass and its Officiants

Celebration of the Mass is a central sacrament of the shrine and the Newfoundland pilgrimage. Through ancient ritual and modern homilies, the central messages of the shrine are communicated: The shrine officiants are the key figures in transmitting these messages, their communicative efficacy and relationship with the pilgrims critical to the pilgrimage experience.

During the summer pilgrimage season Masses are said literally from dawn to dark at the Basilica.² According to Mrs. Kelly, participation in the Mass is the most critical part of the pilgrimage, and attendance at the 10 a.m. and 8 p.m. High Masses is deemed compulsory for all Newfoundland pilgrims.³ Pilgrims also attend other Masses on a discretionary basis; for instance, many of the sick and handicapped attend the "Mass for the Sick" at 2:30 p.m. on a daily basis.

In preparation for the morning and evening Masses, the pilgrims meet in the lobby of the Auberge at 9:20 a.m. and 7:20 p.m. respectively for a meeting with the organizer. At 20 to the hour the group proceeds to the shrine, sitting as a group in or near the front pews on the right side of the Basilica. Mrs. Kelly usually sits in the foremost pew occupied by the group. Crippled pilgrims in wheelchairs occupy places in front of the first row of pews.

Verbal responses and hymns for the Mass are all contained in St. Anne's Prayer Book, an indispensable tool for novice pilgrims and ethnographers. However, a Roman Catholic Mass requires the respondent to make not only the appropriate verbal responses, but also the correct physical responses such as standing, seating or kneeling in accordance with the liturgy. Mrs. Kelly plays an essential role in this regard as novice pilgrims mark her actions in order to ensure that they are responding correctly. While the structure of the Mass is essentially that of a standard Roman Catholic Mass, the homily (or sermon) portion of the Mass is distinctive because it often focusses on Saint Anne--her many virtues, her intercessory powers, and her ability to bring one closer to God. Most of the hymns are also dedicated to Saint Anne, specifically Ste. Anne de Beaupré.

The Mass at 10 a.m. is conducted by various priests on a rotating basis. The Newfoundland group has favorite priests based on their perception of the priest's degree of holiness and his affability--both of which usually coincided. Blessings performed or Masses said by these priests are believed to be particularly efficacious. One of the pilgrims' favoured priests is Father Levesque, who in past years had come to Newfoundland to officiate at the St. Anne's devotions. (In fact he was the first Beaupré Father to visit Newfoundland.) A trim man with snowy-white hair and a smooth, flowing voice, he speaks highly of the strong faith of Newfoundlanders in general, and the devotion of the Newfoundland pilgrims in particular. He maintains that their pilgrimage is exemplary, since they stay much longer than average, and participate fully in all the devotions.

However, the priest whom they all long to see, hear and touch is Father Lefebvre. The guiding force of the shrine for over 30 years, were his vocation secular, he would be termed a 'work-aholic.' For over 23 years he offered up two High Masses per day during the summer pilgrimage season; a heart attack two years [ago] has now limited him to the occasional 10:00 a.m. mass. To this day, he is editor of the Annals, the monthly publication of the shrine. Throughout

this period, he has personally overseen the extensive renovations made to the interior of the Basilica and other devotional sites, plus the shrine grounds. In his "spare time"--including waiting periods at airports--Father Lefebvre has written half a dozen books on the shrine and its pilgrims, the devotion to Saint Anne, and the meaning of a Christian life in the modern world. Mrs. Kelly maintains that his spiritual and practical role at the shrine is so singular that "the whole shrine is a monument to Father Lefebvre."

A small-built man in his early seventies, Father Lefebvre exudes tranquility, compassion and faith. He is acutely attuned to the sociological and psychological suffering and spiritual and temporal needs of his pilgrimage flock. He has given countless homilies on the meaning of sickness and affliction, life and death; which have brought hope, comfort and healing (both spiritual and temporal) to innumerable believers and non-believers. In a private conversation after the pilgrimage, Mrs. Kelly maintained that his homilies are so superb that he alone is able to stimulate the proper motivation and inspiration within the pilgrims, enabling them to achieve closeness to Saint Anne. Mrs. Kelly labels him a "prophet," stating that his level of faith

and inspiration is unsurpassed, and that God and Saint Anne work through him to inspire others.

There is a great deal of excitement at the lobby meeting when Mrs. Kelly announces which day Father Lefebvre will be conducting the Mass, for to many pilgrims he is the shrine, even God himself. Father Réal Gingras concurs with this interpretation, confessing that as a newcomer to the shrine several years ago, he at first found it very disturbing that pilgrims would explicitly bypass his services, instead requesting or seeking out Father Lefebvre.

The Mass in the evening is conducted by Father Real Gingras, who is Vice-Rector of the Shrine. He is a young man with a full beard and modern aviator-style glasses. The Mass is bilingual, with some sections conducted in English and others in French. The pilgrims are not disconcerted by the language barrier; they simply followed French section by watching the priest, referring to the Prayer Book, and observing the responses of French pilgrims. In fact, some pilgrims stated that they enjoyed the French part of the Mass because it "sounded closer to Latin."

Actually it is Father Gingras' command of the English language which poses a problem. He still has difficulty with the language, manifested by a somewhat limited vocabulary, halting speech, and accents sometimes placed on the wrong syllable. This is disconcerting for the pilgrims because his style does not match the smooth flow of Father Lefebvre, or indeed, of Father Gingras' own flowing delivery in French. This would probably not have been such a critical concern were it not for the fact that it is generally held that Father Gingras is to be Father Lefebvre's successor. As such he is consciously and subconsciously continually compared to his highly revered superior, and his all too visible shortcomings are feared to have momentous consequences for the future of the Shrine. Mrs. Kelly speculates that he can not "hope to fill Father Lefebvre's shoes," because he is not capable of conveying an equivalent degree of faith and inspiration.⁵

b. Veneration of the Relic

Following the morning Mass (and the evening procession), pilgrims proceed to the communion rail to kneel on its marble base in preparation for 'the veneration of the relic.' The relic in this case refers to tiny bones, believed to have belonged to Saint Anne, which are encased

in an ornate gold or brass disk, about six inches in diameter. Clasping a handle on the back of the reliquary, the priest moves along the line, allowing each pilgrim to kiss the relic, wiping the glass face with a white linen cloth after each person has done so. Pilgrims with severe disabilities have the relic "applied" to the afflicted area. If the affliction is obvious (e.g. crippling) the priest automatically places the relic on the afflicted area; if not obvious, the pilgrim silently points to the stricken area, and the priest applies the relic before proceeding to the next person.

c. The Miraculous Statue

After the veneration of the relic most pilgrims proceed to the Miraculous Statue, a life-size depiction of Saint Anne, which is the primary focus of private prayers at the shrine. Saint Anne is essentially a mythical figure in the Catholic tradition, as no mention is made of her in the Bible. The basis of this mythology is the apocryphal Gospel, written circa A.D. 170-180, which denotes Anne as Mary's mother, and Joachim as Anne's husband and Mary's father (Asselin 1967:558). The apocryphal legend of Anne's life is symbolized at the shrine, and the basic elements of this

story are well-known and virtually accepted as fact by the pilgrims. The Catholic Encyclopedia summarizes the legend as follows:

It happened one day that Joachim, who was rich and respected in Israel, met with reproaches because of his sterility. Feeling downcast, he left his wife Anne, and retired to the desert to pray and fast. Meanwhile Anne too, now that she was left alone, wept and lamented before the Lord, bewailing her seeming widowhood and actual childlessness, which she regarded as a punishment from God. Finally, the prayers of both spouses were answered. An angel appeared to Anne and announced that she would conceive and bear a child who would become famous throughout the world. Anne thereupon promised to offer to the Lord the fruit of her womb. At the same time Joachim in the desert had a similar vision. Full of joy, he returned home. When his wife was told of his coming by messengers, she went out to meet him at the city-gate. At the sight of Joachim, she ran and embraced him. "Now I know," she said, "that the Lord had wondrously heard my prayer. I who was a widow am a widow no longer; I who was once sterile have conceived in my womb" (Asselin 1967:559).

Since the installation of the first statue of Saint Anne in 1661 or 1662, there has always been a very strong association between the statue and miraculous cures. Although linked with many cures and miraculous events, the initial statue, venerated until 1881, was not officially referred to as the "Miraculous Statue."⁶ According to Baillargeon (1979:99) the first "Miraculous Statue" was

erected in 1881, but was destroyed in a 1926 fire. The current statue, a larger version of the 1881 image, was installed in 1927 (Baillargeon 1979:99-101).

Located on the north side of the transept, the statue is a life-size depiction of Saint Anne holding her child, Mary, in her right arm.⁷ This is the standard iconography of Ste. Anne de Beaupré; other representations of Saint Anne depict the Virgin on her mother's left arm (cf. Baillargeon 1979:102). Saint Anne's left hand and index finger are raised in an instructional manner, symbolizing her role as an educator. Her facial expression is stern and matronly--some would say dour--with prominent age lines on each cheek. Mary gazes reverently into her mother's face, her hands clasped in prayer. Both mother and child are clothed in sumptuous jewel-trimmed robes and wear crowns. Mounted on the back of the statue is a massive glory, its golden rays creating a reflective glow around the figures.

The statue is set on a 10-foot pedestal surrounded by a circular rail and marble kneeling platform. Prayer cards for various intentions are mounted on all sides of the pedestal base. Those pilgrims who cannot find space to kneel at the base stand around the statue with elevated eyes, offering their prayers to Saint Anne. The standard prayer to be said at the Miraculous Statue is contained in the prayer Book:

At the foot of the Miraculous Statue

Saint Anne, we humbly kneel at the foot of your miraculous statue. It is here that many Christians have received marvelous favors, that many sick have been cured, that many sinners have been converted.

We are at the foot of your statue, somewhat like the Jews of old crowding around Our Lord, trying to touch him and begging him to cure them.

We confide to you our bodies and souls, our spiritual and temporal interests, and the persons dear to us.

Saint Anne, secure for us the strength to overcome our passions, to avoid the occasions of sin, to fulfil faithfully the duties of our state of life and to practice the virtues which are necessary for our salvation.

Thus, after honoring and loving the Lord on earth, we shall, one day, be admitted, thanks to your prayers, to see and glorify him in heaven. Amen. (Lefebvre 1977:78-79).

Few of the Newfoundland pilgrims are cognizant of the details of the statue(s)' history, but all are well aware of its strong association with dramatic physical cures and spiritual conversions. Believing that special blessings are derived from prayer at the statue, the Newfoundland pilgrims usually spend at least five minutes in prayer at the statue following the Mass.

d. The Major Relic

The Major or Great Relic, part of the forearm of Saint Anne, is contained in Saint Anne's chapel at the north end of the transept, just behind the Miraculous Statue. The Major Relic and other remains held at Saint Anne de Beaupré are "first-class relics" according to Catholic Church doctrine. These include the skin and bones, clothing, objects used for penance, and instruments of a Martyr's imprisonment (Chiovaro 1967:234). Saint Anne is the most important of the Catholic holy persons for whom first-class relics are in existence;⁸ bones believed to be Saint Anne's were discovered in a monastery in France in the Middle Ages, with most of the existent relics having been ceded from the Shrine of Saint-Anne-d'Apt in Provence (cf. Baillargeon 1979:96).

Over its 300 year history, the shrine has received a number of relics of Saint Anne, starting with the tiny finger bone presented by Bishop Laval in 1670. Commensurate with its rise in stature, the shrine was periodically granted

increasingly large and valuable relics of the saint. In 1892 Pope Leo XIII granted the shrine the wristbone of Saint Anne. The wristbone had been detached from what was believed to be the forearm of Saint Anne, the most valuable relic of the Saint possessed by the church, which was preserved at the patriarchal Basilica of St. Paul-Outside-the-Walls in Rome (Annals 74(9):263).

The relic became shrunken and deformed as a result of heat exposure during the 1922 and 1924 Basilica fires, which triggered the shrine's curators to start petitioning Rome for possession of the forearm itself. Eventually an agreement was struck whereby the forearm was cut in half longitudinally, with one-half remaining at St. Paul's and the other being ceded to Ste. Anne de Beaupre. Officially donated to the shrine in 1960 by Pope John XXIII, the Annals describes the relic as follows: "Besides the bone, a certain amount of mummified flesh can be seen, with some cartilage" (1960a;74(9):263). The remains are encased in a hollow gold arm which is enclosed in a glass-fronted copper reliquary. A specialized prayer to be said before a relic of Saint Anne is contained in the Prayer Book.

Although the Major Relic is composed of what is believed to be the actual remains of Saint Anne, and the Miraculous Statue is not, the relic does not receive as much ritual attention as the Miraculous Statue. This is illustrated by the fact that after the Mass pilgrims usually proceed first to the Miraculous Statue to pray, then to the Relic. Furthermore, they do not usually spend as long in prayer at the Major Relic as at the Miraculous Statue. During the daytime there are invariably more pilgrims in prayer at the base of the Miraculous Statue than there are at the Major Relic. Possible explanations for the pilgrims' preference of the Miraculous Statue over the Major Relic are posited in Chapter 7.

e. The Procession

The evening procession⁹ following the 8 p.m. mass is another important ritual in which all pilgrims participate unless they are extremely tired or ill. Singing hymns and offering prayers to God and Saint Anne, the pilgrims make a tour of the outside square in front of the Basilica carrying candles contained in red paper shades. The

glow of hundreds of candles circling the courtyard in the twilight achieves a dramatic effect.

Candles are purchased in the church vestibule prior to the evening Mass.¹⁰ The four-sided shade is imprinted with the standard depiction of Ste. Anne and verses of hymns to Saint Anne. At the end of the Mass the priest signifies to light the candles. Those pilgrims with matches and lighters light their own candles, then offer to light those of their neighbours.¹¹ As candles are being lit, altar boys organize the head of the procession in the south transept, where the processional banners are stored. Placed at the front of the procession are those with serious physical disabilities, people perceived as having the most serious disabilities being accorded the foremost positions. Usually these are the wheelchair people; however, on several nights while the July group was at the shrine, there were two blind people who used seeing eye dogs, and it was they who headed up the procession.

Following the disabled are the pilgrimage groups, each group headed by a banner carrier chosen from within the group. The banners,¹² mounted on 10-foot poles, are

beautifully detailed images of Saint Anne and the shrine on white satin backgrounds. Two or three gold cords trail from each banner. Most have been donated by pilgrimage groups, some having the group's name inscribed on the bottom of the banner. However none of the groups are particular about whether they have their own banner or not; whichever is convenient will suffice.¹³

The carrying of the banner and the cords has great ritual significance in the procession, and is believed to bring special indulgences--a claim stressed by the pilgrimage organizer during lobby meetings when seeking volunteers for these duties.¹⁴ Owing to the cumbersome size and weight of the banner, it is regularly carried by a male. However, the cords can be "carried" by anyone, so even a child can participate.

As the lights in the church are dimmed, the procession commences moving slowly up the center aisle two, three or four abreast. People join in either at the front of the church or as their group passes by their pews. Outside the church the leaders turn right and commence moving around the perimeter of the square. The priest's words and the voice of the soloist are carried outside via a loudspeaker system mounted on light posts around the square.

A matter of great anxiety for the pilgrims upon reaching the outdoors is the fact that the wind often threatens to extinguish the candles. Flames literally dance within the paper shades while pilgrims determinedly try to shelter the flame so it will not expire.¹⁵

Upon returning to the church the congregation assembles at the base of the Miraculous Statue to sing the Magnificat. During the hymn the lights in the church remain dimmed and each time as the chorus line is sung the pilgrims raise a sea of candles towards the statue.¹⁶

While these are the focal points of daily prayers and ritual in the Basilica, other public and private devotions take place on a periodic basis. The majority of pilgrims attend confession at some point during the week. Most pilgrims say private prayers each day at the many statues and chapels which fill the main church and the crypt. Many pilgrims light votive candles for family, relatives and friends, particularly the deceased. Short-life candles are on the main floor and cost 25¢ each. Week-long votive candles in glass containers are housed in the crypt, and cost \$1 each.

One morning, following the Mass, Mrs. Kelly leads the group in prayer at the radiating chapels in the ambulatory located behind the sanctuary. These 20 exquisitely crafted chapels are dedicated to saints, holy persons, or objects of veneration. Participation in this group ritual is optional, but in the morning lobby meeting Mrs. Kelly stresses that making this prayer circuit "has great indulgence." Short prayers to be said at each chapel are contained in the Prayer Book. In general, the prayers request the special intercessory powers of the particular saint, and ask that the pilgrim be blessed with the virtues for which the saint is noted. Despite Mrs. Kelly's strong endorsement, few pilgrims pray at these chapels at other times during the week.

On another morning the organizer leads a small group down to the crypt to venerate its relics and chapels. One of the main foci of veneration is the reliquary of Father Pampalon. Born in 1867 in Lévis, Quebec, the sickly youth joined the Redemptorist Order in 1886. He received his training in Belgium, and returned to the shrine in 1895, stricken with tuberculosis. Father Pampalon ministered to parishioners and pilgrims for a year before succumbing to the disease. A model of faith and self-sacrifice, particularly

for the sick, pilgrims and the local populace prayed to the priest after his death, reporting many favours received. Father Pampalon is now beatified and is expected to eventually achieve sainthood (cf. Baillargeon 1979:141).

While the Newfoundland pilgrims are not particularly inspired by or interested in Father Pampalon, they regard him as a model for the future glory they expect Father Lefebvre to attain. They are certain that their beloved Father Lefebvre will also work miracles for the faithful after his death, and that his saintly qualities will be recognized by the Church.

2. THE HILLSIDE

Next to the Basilica, the hillside is the second most important focus for ritual activity. Located on the north side of Royal Avenue, the term "hillside" is actually a misnomer, since this steep incline is the former riverbank of the St. Lawrence. But since this is the epithet used by both the Church and the pilgrims I shall continue to use it.

The hillside has long been important at Ste. Anne de Beaupré. The church stood at its base for over 200 years, at a site now marked by the Memorial Chapel, and the nearby Miraculous Spring has been a focus of ritual activity since the mid-19th century. In the latter part of the century two important ritual sites, the Way of the Cross and the Scala Sancta, were erected on the hillside. On the crest of the hill are two convents which have been associated with the shrine and its pilgrims since the turn of the century.

This section will examine each of these sites in order of their importance to the Newfoundland pilgrimage.

a. The Way of the Cross

While not explicitly compulsory (as is attendance at the two principal Masses), daily participation in the 3 p.m. public Way of the Cross devotion is also an integral part of the Newfoundland pilgrimage.¹⁷ The Way of the Cross (or Stations of the Cross) is an important devotion of Roman Catholicism, symbolized by a series of 14 agonizing scenes (or stations) depicting the events of the Crucifixion from Christ's condemnation by Pilate, to his interment in the sepulchre. At each station believers recite standard prayers

in an act of penance and contrition. Liturgy for the Way of the Cross at Ste. Anne de Beaupré (contained in the Saint Anne's Prayer Book) is somewhat modified, incorporating specific reference to Saint Anne (see Appendix B). Virtually all Roman Catholic churches contain representations of 'The Stations,' usually in the form of bas-relief sculpture mounted on the interior walls of the church. However, at Ste. Anne de Beaupré, as at many Catholic pilgrimage sites, there is also an exterior Way of the Cross. The 14 life-size bronzed-cast iron statue groupings are set alongside a steep winding path which leads to the top of the bank. Due to its distinctive physical setting it is referred to as the "Way of the Cross on the Hillside."

Each day at 2:45 p.m. the Newfoundland pilgrims start to gather at the first station to await the commencement of the stations. It is invariably the Newfoundland group which leads the procession up the hillside, and often this group forms at least half of those participating in the ritual. A priest leads the reading from a platform located about half way up the hillside, his words projected to the pilgrims via a system of loudspeakers set along the path. The loudspeaker system also extends to the church grounds across the road, so that pilgrims unable to make the steep

climb up the hillside can participate in the devotions from a park bench.

The entire sequence takes about one-half hour to complete. Owing to the steep incline and the fact that it occurs in mid-afternoon, it is a penitential exercise. The heat is often intense, even though the path is well-shaded, and even a young anthropologist in excellent health found her legs aching by the top portion. Due to the difficulty of ascending the hill, those confined to a wheelchair usually have to remain below because few people in the Newfoundland group have the strength or stamina to push a wheelchair all the way to the top. However when wheelchair people do participate, they are invariably accorded a leading position in the procession.

b. The Scala Sancta

Located adjacent to the Way of the Cross, the Scala Sancta is another common penitential ritual of Roman Catholic pilgrimage sites. The Scala Sancta or Holy Stairs represents the 28 steps ascended by Christ to be judged at Pilate's court. What is believed to be the original Holy Stairs is venerated in Rome, with replication of the Stairs becoming

popular during the 19th century. Ste. Anne de Beaupre lays claim to having the first set of Holy Stairs in North America, the three-story chapel containing the stairs having been built in 1891 (cf. Lefebvre 1977:87). As an act of penance pilgrims climb the hardwood stairs on their knees, reciting a series of short prayers referring to the injustice and agony of Christ's trial and crucifixion, and in the name of these redemptive sacrifices, imploring Christ's mercy. Prayers to be said on each stair are contained in the Prayer Book¹⁸ (Appendix C).

The severity of this rite may best be described through the initial experience of the ethnographer, mid-week during my first pilgrimage. Mrs. Kelly caught up with me after Mass, and asked if I had been over to the Holy Stairs yet. When I replied that I hadn't--actually I had been studiously avoiding them--she eagerly volunteered to accompany me. (I sighed thinking that it was ultimate justice that today I was carrying both my purse and a heavy bag containing a tape recorder and writing materials.) Before we commenced she explained that the Stairs must be ascended on one's knees, preferably without the support or assistance of one's hands. Then she grinned at me and chuckled, "It's alright for me, I've got fat knees!" (This

did not portend well for the slightly built ethnographer.) Mrs. Kelly explained that since the prayer for each stair is very short, she repeats it several times, then adds a personal prayer for each step. Climbing the stairs with Mrs. Kelly was a slow, gruelling process. Half way up I was beginning to wonder if I would survive as my knees and shin bones were aching and even the thought of climbing another step was agonizing. However I persevered and the relief gained upon standing at the top filled me with euphoria. In fact I even managed several subsequent climbs, and displayed bruised knees for a week as proof of my efforts.

In the center of each of the step risers are two glass-encased stones. To my inquiries among the pilgrims, no one was able to offer an explanation. Upon referring to the Baillargeon guide book (1979:151) after the pilgrimage, I discovered that the stones were brought from places sanctified by Christ during the Crucifixion.

Due to the physical severity of climbing the Holy Stairs, many Newfoundland pilgrims are unable to participate in this devotion on a daily basis. However, a great deal of ritual value is attached to this rite as it is believed to

bestow many blessings. Pilgrims "make the Stairs" as often as possible, some doing them once daily and occasionally even twice.

Also contained in the Scala Sancta chapel are numerous chapels, statues and frescoes, all of which depict the events of the Crucifixion. The vast majority of the statuary is life-size and vividly real in detail and colouring. Pilgrims frequently pray at these sites after climbing the Holy Stairs or, if unable to climb the stairs, they ascend via the non-sacred side staircases to venerate these sites. On the the ground floor, at the base of the stairs, is the Grotto of the Agony commemorating the garden of Gethsemane.¹⁹ Its three statue groupings depict (from left to right): 1) Judas' treacherous kiss, 2) the Agony of Jesus in the garden, and 3) the Apostles sleeping. On the second floor are three other sculpture groups: the Calvary,²⁰ the Pieta, and Jesus appearing to Mary Magdalen.²¹ Under an altar table lies a ghostly-white, life-size carving of Christ in the tomb.

On the third floor, at the top of the Stairs, one is faced with another three statue groups: 1) Jesus meeting Saint Veronica,²² 2) Ecce Homo,²³ and 3) the flogging of Jesus. On the walls, tableaux of the City of Jerusalem

contain painted copper images of the Stations of the Cross. The vaulted ceiling consists of frescoes depicting angels displaying inscriptions related to the Crucifixion. Also on the third floor is a graphic statue of the Man of Sorrows, depicting the desconsolate, condemned Christ seated on the throne; blood from his crown of thorns dripping down his face. From a kneeler located at the base of the statue, pilgrims pray, gazing into the downcast, defeated eyes of their Saviour.

As indicated above, the Scala Sancta is a veritable profusion of the physical and psychological tortures suffered by Christ, and his family and friends. The chapel is a vivid illustration of the central paradox of Christianity: he who was most blessed, suffered the most. The profound impact of these graphic visual symbols on the Newfoundland pilgrims is undeniable. As one pilgrim expressed, "My, but how he suffered!"

c. The Memorial Chapel

In 1877 the water damaged and aging church at Ste. Anne de Beaupré was demolished in favour of erecting a new church on the present site. Using salvageable materials and

artifacts, a Memorial Chapel (or Souvenir Church) was erected on the site of the transept of the former church (Ballargeon 1979:144-145). The exterior is simple, grey stone walls are capped by a maroon-coloured peaked roof and the steeple of the original church. The interior contains an elaborate gold gilt center altar, surrounded by three large votive paintings and two side altars. No formal liturgical activities occur here, and the edifice is not now associated with any dramatic cures. Consequently the Newfoundland pilgrims only visit the building occasionally to say a few private prayers. (A prayer to be said at the chapel is contained in the Prayer Book.)

In front of the chapel stands Saint Anne's Fountain or the Miraculous Spring, an important ritual site for many pilgrims. In the center of the circular fountain basin, perched atop a granite pedestal, is a gilt-covered statue of Saint Anne. Just behind the main fountain is a adjunct basin equipped with both drinking fountains and goose-necked taps for the convenience of pilgrims filling containers. The water, sometimes referred to as "holy Saint Anne's water," originates from a natural spring on the hillside to which cures have been attributed for over 100 years. The actual spring site is now marked by a small structure capped by a

statue of Saint Anne. The fountain was erected on its present location in 1876 in order to complement the old church, now the Memorial Chapel (Baillargeon 1979:143-144).

Most of the Newfoundland pilgrims visit the fountain at least once during the week to drink the water and/or apply it to an afflicted area. Some pilgrims visit the fountain on a daily basis. Holy Water is also brought back home for personal use and as gifts for friends and relatives. It is usually transported in small plastic bottles manufactured for this purpose, some of which are in the form of miniature statuettes of Saint Anne. These bottles are sold for about 50¢ in the church store and various other souvenir outlets. Pilgrims can not only purchase their holy water bottles in the church store, but they can obtain the water there as well. Water from the spring is piped under the road directly into the church store. Two signs posted over the sink indicate: "Water from Good Ste. Anne's Spring"; "You can purchase jugs and bottles at the counter." According to the church this project is undertaken in order to accommodate pilgrims visiting the shrine during the winter. It also appears to be a very sound commercial practice.

In the home holy water is either drunk, applied, or sprinkled around the dwelling as a house blessing. Usually it is used in sparing amounts and thus even a small amount will last a considerable length of time. However, some pilgrims are prodigious users of holy water and come equipped with ample-sized containers. One pilgrim related that a past pilgrim had brought along an empty bleach bottle²⁴ for this purpose, the indignant response of the informant being, "Everyone likes a bit of holy water around the house, but that's a bit much!"

d. The Convents

Situated on the crest of the hill are the Redemptoristine and Franciscan convents. The Redemptoristines came to Ste. Anne de Beaupre at the turn of the century. They were once fully and are now partially cloistered; their lives of prayer are said to be dedicated to bringing the intentions of the pilgrims to God (Baillargeon 1979: 158).

For the Newfoundland pilgrims, there is little contact with the Sisters or knowledge about their activities, however the main convent's tiny chapel dedicated to St.

Gerard²⁵ has particular appeal for many pilgrims. Dating from the turn of the century, the exquisite architecture and decor of the chapel is spell-binding. Robin's egg blue walls are highlighted by elaborately carved white mouldings, columns and capitals, and beautifully crafted holy pictures and depictions of the Stations of the Cross. A spectacular gold-trimmed white altar graces the sanctuary. This visual atmosphere is accentuated by silence. Due to the convent's isolated location, there are rarely any more than 1-3 people in the chapel at any time, and virtually no external noise penetrates its walls. Pilgrims find this beautiful, silent retreat the perfect place for private prayer and reflection. Several mentioned that they found the chapel the most "holy" place at the shrine. However, due to the chapel's isolation, and the difficulty of scaling the hillside to reach it, most pilgrims visit this site only once or twice during the week.

Located to the east of the Redemptoristine Convent is the home of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary or "White Sisters." They first came to Saint Anne de Beaupre at the end of the 19th century in order to assume responsibility for the pilgrims' hospital. Until recent years the Sisters also

provided accommodations for female pilgrims at the convent. At present, besides its function as a residence, the convent houses a small museum depicting the work of the Order around the world, and cultural artifacts made by the people with whom they work. The Sisters also operate a gift shop where they sell hand-crafted goods made by retired members of the Order and the standard religious articles. Prices of the religious souvenirs are the highest of any outlet, including the church store. Pilgrims are somewhat appalled at the steep prices, but they are encouraged by Mrs. Kelly at the lobby meetings to patronize the Sisters' shop. Due to both curiosity and a sense of duty, most Newfoundland pilgrims visit and patronize the convent at least once during the week.

3. THE ATTRACTIONS

Although not sacred in nature, two other sites, the Historial and the Cyclorama, are rich in symbolic significance and play a major role in the Newfoundland pilgrimage.

Operated by the shrine, the Historial was built in 1958 in order to commemorate the tercentenary of pilgrimage

to Ste. Anne de Beaupré. Its main attraction is the ground floor wax museum depicting the life of Saint Anne and the history of the shrine. The second floor houses the 'Art Gallery,' a vast exhibit of oil paintings depicting the life of Saint Anne; and 'The Treasury,' a collection of various sacramentals and votive offerings. Despite its ownership the the Historial is primarily secular in nature, signified by the \$1.00 (adult) admission fee to the wax museum, which is billed as "An Amazing Piece of Art." Admission to the Art Gallery and the Treasury is free.

For the Newfoundland pilgrims the journey through the electronically programmed wax museum is analogous to a ritual experience. Through the vivid depictions they become witness to the reenactment of the life of Saint Anne and the central events of the history of the Shrine. The six scenes depicting the life of Saint Anne all focus on family themes, particularly the importance of family at life crises or rites de passage, such as birth, marriage and death:

1. Saint Anne and Saint Joachim at the Golden Gate;
2. The birth of Mary;
3. The presentation of Mary in the Temple;

4. Saint Anne witnesses the marriage of Mary and Joseph
5. The Holy Family: Jesus, Mary, Joseph and Saint Anne;
6. The death of Saint Anne, in presence of Jesus and Mary.

The second section, scenes 7-20, depict the central events and themes of the history of the shrine:

7. Sailors in danger invoke Saint Anne;
8. The building of the first Chapel, when the first miracle, the curing of Louis Guimont, took place (1658);
9. Bishop de Laval brings the first Relic of Saint Anne to the Shrine (1670);
10. Sister Marie de l'Incarnation writes about the Beupre cures;
11. The Indians come on a pilgrimage;
12. Pierre Carre, the "Hero of Beupre", brings a British flag (1690);
13. A pilgrimage by boat;
14. Ste. Anne de Beupre is set on fire by General Wolfe's soldiers (1759);
15. Leo XIII declares the Shrine a Basilica (1887);
16. The Major Relic passes through New York, on its way to Ste. Anne de Beupre (1892);
17. Father Pampalon hears confessions at the Shrine before his death there in 1896;
18. Saint Anne brought to a French Canadian home through the Annals (late 19th c.);
19. The first Basilica is destroyed by fire (1922);
20. The Tercentenary Celebrations, celebrated by Cardinal Léger and Bishop Maurice Roy (1958).

It is noteworthy that the order of events 7 and 8 indicate that it is Father Lefebvre's version of the early history of the shrine which is depicted at the Historical as, by implication, the sailors' rescue preceded the miraculous

cure of 1658--an interpretation contested by Father Baillargeon and others.²⁶

Testimony to the symbolic efficacy of the display is the fact that the pilgrims often make repeated visits to the wax museum during their pilgrimage. They marvel at the realness of the images and the "goodness" of Saint Anne and the holy family as portrayed through the wax figures.

With respect to the second floor exhibits, the majority of the Art Gallery paintings are reproductions of the works of mediæval masters, while the remainder are ex-votos presented by past pilgrims. The latter sometimes depict the context in which the supplicants invoked Saint Anne, such as sailors caught in a storm. Also displayed is a photo history of the shrine. Among the sacramentals on display are altars, statues, crucifixes and chalices, some of which were used in the past history of the shrine, and others of which were donated as ex-votos.

Of particular interest to some of the Newfoundland pilgrims is the exquisite original statue of Saint Anne which had nestled in the façade of the church during most of the 18th and 19th centuries. Now over 300 years old, the statue

is much smaller than the present Miraculous Statue, and is not now formally venerated or associated with any miraculous cures. In contrast to the stern, matronly expression of the present Miraculous Statue, the image depicts Saint Anne as a young, plump woman with a faint smile and rosy cheeks. She is cloaked in stunning midnight blue and gold raiments, and the pilgrims greatly admired the statue's aesthetic qualities.

With the possible exception of the statue, the items on the second floor of the Historial are of little interest to the Newfoundland pilgrims. The votive offerings probably have some symbolic impact in emphasizing the spiritual and temporal powers of Saint Anne through the centuries. However, none of these symbols are currently associated with any ritual activity or miraculous powers, hence they are essentially regarded as curiosities. Although most Newfoundland pilgrims make a perfunctory tour through the premises sometime during the week, few pilgrims make a prolonged visit, and even fewer visit this area on repeated occasions.

Although owned and operated by private enterprise, the Cyclorama is in effect a key symbolic and ritual experience of the Newfoundland pilgrimage. An institution at

the shrine since 1895, the interior walls of this two-story circular building consist of a massive panoramic painting depicting Jerusalem and 50 miles of surrounding countryside at the time of the Crucifixion. From an observation gallery in the centre of the second floor, the pilgrim is surrounded by this monumental work measuring 45 feet in height and 360 feet in circumference. The life-size figures, some of which are in relief, create an awesome illusion of reality. An electronically controlled program takes the pilgrim on a "guided tour" of the scenes and events on the day of the Crucifixion, including the palace of Pontius Pilate, the Mount of Olives, and the Cenacle of the Last Supper.

Novice pilgrims never fail to marvel at the Cyclorama, and many pilgrims--both novices and veterans--make repeated visits during the week. Others indicate that they would like to visit the Cyclorama more often, but they find the \$2 admission fee prohibitive.

While the primary symbol vehicle of the Cyclorama is its rich visual imagery, the oral narrative is also an important tool in reconstructing the scene. Testimony as to the efficacy and primacy of the Cyclorama is that even

visually-impaired pilgrims visited the site. Most notable among these was Loyola, a nearly blind victim of juvenile diabetes, who visited the site accompanied by his sister.

Thus through the rich imagery and narrative of the Cyclorama the pilgrim is symbolically transported--both geographically and chronologically--to the ancient city of Jerusalem to witness the events of the Crucifixion.

On the ground floor of the Cyclorama is a souvenir shop which retails both sacred and secular wares. Prices here are generally very steep, but the quality of goods is also generally far above average. The Cyclorama is one of few locations which sells genuine gold religious medals and charms, and quality tourist items such as sterling silver charms and spoons, and bone china souvenir cups and plates.

The Basilica, hillside and the attractions contain the key symbol vehicles of the shrine, and it is in these locales that ritual action was centred. Primary symbols and ritual action portrayed the suffering and self-sacrifice of the shrine's key symbolic referents, Christ and Saint Anne. These figures served as sacred models for living and suffering, illustrating that one should deal with adversity

through faith, acceptance of the will of God, and devotion to others.

The next chapter examines the "backstage" of the Newfoundland pilgrimage, arenas in which these symbolic messages were interpreted and enacted in 'emic' terms, reinforcing the message of the shrine.

CHAPTER THREE - FOOTNOTES

1 'Ex-voto' is the term commonly used by the shrine for 'votive offering.' These offerings are made to God or a saint in thanksgiving for a favour received, or in petition for one. According to Hardon (1980:204,565), ex-votos may consist of a sum of money, a shrine a sacred item, a jewel, a sculpture or plaque, a lighted candle, or any other suitable item. In the case of miraculous cures, discarded ambulatory aids are often donated as ex-votos (cf. Baillargeon 1979:39-40).

The ex-votos displayed on the pillars represent but a fraction of the physical cures which have been attributed to Ste. Anne de Beaupre over the shrine's 300-year history. Cures have been so plentiful that the shrine maintains a storage area specifically for ex-votos and documentation related to cures. It is also worthy to note that many ex-votos were destroyed in the 1922 fire.

2 The summer 1979 weekday Mass schedule was: 7:00 a.m. (English), 7:30 a.m. (French), 8:00 a.m. (French), 10:00 a.m. (English), 11:30 a.m. (French), 2:30 p.m. (Mass for the Sick), 3:00 p.m. (French), 4:00 p.m. (English), and 8:00 p.m. (Bilingual).

3 A pilgrim did not attend Mass only if he/she was sick and confined to bed.

4 This detail on Father Lefebvre's working habits was supplied by Mrs. Kelly.

5 Personal conversation with Father Gingras revealed that he is also somewhat bewildered as to why he was chosen for this position, stating that when he first came to the shrine ten years ago as a summer student assistant, he did not anticipate holding a permanent position at the shrine.

6 Baillargeon (1979:183-184) relates some of the miraculous history of this image. One of the first references to the statue is in an historic text written by M. de Maizerts, citing: "From that time, God began to work cures through the miraculous image of Saint Anne which was put there about 1661 or 1662" (cited in Baillargeon 1979:183). From its place on the altar it was moved to a glass enclosed niche on the facade where it was venerated for about 150

years, until a raging storm shattered the glass, sending the statue toppling to the ground. Remarkably, the gilt-wood statue was undamaged, and was again moved inside the church. It temporarily occupied a niche in the new Basilica, but was later moved to the Historial, since it was dwarfed by the mammoth proportions of the new church (Baillargeon 1979:184):

7 This is the standard iconography of Ste. Anne de Beupre. Other representations of Saint Anne depict the Virgin on her mother's left arm (cf. Baillargeon 1979:102).

8 Christ and the Virgin Mary are believed to have ascended into heaven body and soul; no remains have been discovered on earth. The remains of St. Joseph also have not been recovered (Lefebvre 1975a:68).

9 According to religious tradition, the procession symbolizes life, the lantern symbolizing Christ (Father Baillargeon, personal communication). However few of the Newfoundland pilgrims seemed aware of these symbolic meanings.

10 Sometimes one candle will last the week, but usually after a few days it burns down so low that another one must be purchased.

11 Lighting one's candle is often a tricky business, particularly when not sitting next to someone with a lighter. The flame must be passed from one paper shade-enclosed candle to another--a particularly precarious procedure after a couple of days when the candles have burnt down considerably. A couple of shades did catch fire during this process and had to be frantically blown or beaten out.

12 According to Father Baillargeon, banners are an ancient religious tradition, symbolizing belonging, much in the same manner as secular flags (personal communication). Jarrett cites that banners have been carried by pilgrims since the Middle Ages (1911:96).

13 Due to this nonchalance about banner representation, the ethnographer did not realize that the Newfoundland group had two of their own banners until well into the second pilgrimage.

14 Mrs. Kelly's use of the term "indulgence" here and elsewhere implies attachment of post-Vatican II meanings to this term. Originally an indulgence was "a mitigation of the severe canonical penances imposed on the faithful for grave sin," and until Vatican II, "the norm for determining the effectiveness of an indulgence practice was its relationship to the ancient canonical penances,...so many years or so many days, attached to every official listing of partial indulgences (Hardon 1980:275).

According to the changes effected in the Second Vatican Council, "...the measure of how efficacious an indulgenced work is depends on two things: the...charity with which the indulgenced task is done, and the perfection of the task itself" (Hardon 1980:275). (See also Palmer 1967:482-484). It was clear that the specialized rites which Mrs. Kelly recommended as "having great indulgence" reflected the post-Vatican II variable measure of efficacy. Also these acts (or the recommendation thereof) would have particular appeal to many pilgrims as penance performed on behalf of the dead was an important element of the pilgrimage, particularly for elderly pilgrims (see Chapter 5).

15 On windy nights this procedure was actually quite dangerous as a pilgrim struggled to keep the flame aglow while the wind threatened either to extinguish it or to set the shade and everything near it afire. Nevertheless a pilgrim rarely voluntarily extinguished her candle, and there was great consternation if it did extinguish or had to be jettisoned because the shade had lit.

16 Mrs. Kelly refuses to participate in this ritual in the manner described. She explained that the Magnificat is a hymn dedicated to the Virgin Mary, therefore she makes a conscientious objection to it being transposed to honor Saint Anne. Hence when the other pilgrims take their place at the base of the statue, Mrs. Kelly instead takes a seat in a front row facing a statue of Mary as a child which is contained to the right of the sanctuary. From here she directs her hymn to Mary.

17 Unless one is very tired or ill, daily attendance is expected.

18 It is noteworthy that neither the prayers, nor an explanation of this rite are contained anywhere in the

chapel. Thus the rite only has meaning to the faithful-- bystander tourists are often left totally bewildered. One day as the pilgrims commenced their climb, a perplexed American tourist drawled, "I wish they'd put up signs to show what these things mean."

¹⁹ According to the Bible, the garden of Gethsemane was the site on the Mount of Olives where Christ spent his last agonized hours in prayer prior to his betrayal and arrest (Mark 14:32-52; Matthew 26:36; John 18:1-12, cf Hardon 1980:229).

²⁰ The Calvary depicts Christ's crucifixion on Mount Calvary, the site outside Jerusalem used for the execution of criminals.

²¹ Mary Magdalen, a converted sinner who was one of Christ's followers, was reputed to have been the first person to whom Christ appeared following his crucifixion (Mark 16:9; John 20:11-18, cited in Attwater 1983:230).

²² According to legend, Veronica was a compassionate Jerusalem woman who witnessed Christ's agonizing climb to Calvary. Filled with pity, she wiped his sweating/bleeding face (depending on the version) with her handkerchief or veil, the image of his sacred features remaining on the cloth: 'Veronica's Veil' is now a treasured relic of St. Peter's in Rome (cf. Attwater 1983:324; Hardon 1980:560).

²³ Literally meaning "Behold the Man," these words were reputed to have been said by Pontius Pilate when presenting the thorn-crowned Christ to the masses prior to the Crucifixion (cf. John 19:5). Today the phrase refers specifically to a depiction of Christ wearing a crown of thorns.

²⁴ Bleach bottles are commonly adapted for utilitarian purposes in Newfoundland. They can be seen bobbing on the waves as fishing net buoys, and spinning on poles in yards as wind vanes. (In the latter case flaps are cut to catch the wind.)

²⁵ St. Gerard is a Redemptorist Saint, who was canonized in 1904, two years prior to the construction of the convent.

26 It is interesting to note that Father Baillargeon holds fast to his version of the Shrine's history when describing the wax museum in his 1979 guidebook to the Shrine. He specifies that the rescue occurred in 1662--after the 1658 miraculous cure. The guidebook descriptions of scenes 7 and 8 appear as follows:

7. Seamen in danger invoke Saint Ann. Mr. de la Martiniere's shipwreck in 1662.

8. The first chapel is built in 1658 and the cripple, Louis Guimond is cured (Baillargeon 1979:164).

CHAPTER FOUR
THE PILGRIMAGE BACKSTAGE

Although not primarily religious in nature, three other activities--mealtimes, souvenir shopping and lobby meetings--played a significant role in the Newfoundland pilgrimage.

These arenas and the social encounters which occurred therein can be likened to Goffman's "backstage" (cf. 1959:24,98,112,167). Here, outside the formal religious settings and beyond the scrutiny of an "audience," the pilgrim "players" planned, analyzed and evaluated their own performance. They also occasionally dropped the ideal "personal front," and slipped into moods and behaviours which would be deemed improper for a genuine pilgrim.

Mealtimes and shopping expeditions were informal, non-structured activities, thus the instructive communication which occurred therein was spontaneous, almost accidental. Lobby meetings, on the other hand, were highly structured. These sessions were scheduled and directed by the organizer specifically to relay instructions and recommendations on how to conduct one's pilgrimage in the manner of a true.

Newfoundland pilgrim. Here the director conducted her "staging talk:" designating roles, criticizing or praising the pilgrims' performance, defining and demonstrating how to conduct the optimal pilgrimage.

In sum, in these three arenas the liturgical and symbolic messages of the shrine were grounded or translated into the language and experience of everyday life. Through these interactions the pilgrim communicated and/or learned how to conduct her pilgrimage--and her life--in the manner of a "genuine pilgrim."

The major portion of this chapter examines these three arenas in terms of their significance and meaning to the Newfoundland pilgrimage. The final portion of the chapter outlines the final days of the pilgrimage, including the pilgrims' visit to the Marian shrine at Cap-de-la-Madeleine enroute home.

MEALTIMES

Mealtimes were enjoyable occasions marked by conviviality. For the Newfoundland pilgrims mealtimes

provided the primary forum for socializing and exchanging information about the pilgrimage and their lives. Although purely social and informal in nature, the information exchanged and the context in which it was conveyed, communicated important messages about pilgrimage, the nature and meaning of illness and death, and how to deal with life's adversities. Thus mealtimes were important occasions for building group solidarity, and for communicating central messages about how to conduct oneself in the manner of a genuine pilgrim, both at the shrine and throughout life.

There were a number of eating establishments in Ste. Anne de Beaupré, including the Auberge cafeteria and several privately-owned diners on Royal Avenue. There was a noticeable tension on both economic and symbolic levels, between these sacred and secular establishments. Ideally pilgrims were expected to patronize the Auberge, but for numerous reasons they preferred the private establishments.

The Auberge cafeteria was large, bright and cheery, in many ways resembling standard secular establishments. However, there were a number of symbols demarcating its religious ownership. The windows were simulated stained glass, and the walls were decorated with a crucifix,

several holy pictures, and bas-relief sculptures depicting religious motifs. Even the cash register sported a tiny holy picture of Saint Anne with an accompanying prayer in both French and English.

The diners on Royal Avenue were for the most part small establishments seating less than 50 people. Although purely secular in nature, they were highly dependent upon the summertime "pilgrimage trade," which was sometimes reflected in their names, such as the "Cafe du Pèlerin" (Pilgrim's Cafe).

Eating out was a much enjoyed and appreciated experience, a rare treat for many of the Newfoundland pilgrims. Sometimes their week at the shrine was the only time they ate out during the entire year, the factors mitigating against this being limited finances and a dearth of enticing eating establishments in their home communities. About half of the pilgrims hailed from small communities whose only local "restaurants" were take-outs whose fare rarely ranged beyond fried fish, chicken, hamburgers and pizza.

While the Ste. Anne de Beaupré restaurant fare was fairly mundane by North American standards, it was enticing, even exotic, by Newfoundland standards. The degree to which

the Newfoundland pilgrims were unfamiliar with even standard restaurant fare was illustrated by the fact that one of the pilgrims had to ask what a "Club Sandwich" was. Upon receiving the description, she happily devoured one. A favorite treat of many pilgrims was the extravagant chocolate sundae served by the private establishments. The pilgrims were impressed by both the taste and appearance of this delight, which was served in a parfait glass with all the trimmings.

In general, pilgrims ate heartily, despite problems such as ulcers, high blood pressure, diabetes and obesity. As my June roommate commented to me:

"If they can eat that much with only half a stomach, I'd like to see how much they could eat with a complete one!"

Thus for the Newfoundland pilgrims eating varied foods prepared by someone else was an exciting, unusual, and much enjoyed activity.

For the first day or two the pilgrims ate almost exclusively with their roommates and/or other friends and relatives. However, by mid-week the Newfoundland pilgrims often asked other group members to join them, either when making luncheon or dinner plans, or if other pilgrims entered a restaurant while they were eating, they were beckoned to join the table. By mid-week it was rare to see only two

Newfoundlanders dining together--usually a bevy of four to six clustered around the table.

A vivid example of this incorporation of small social units into the larger group was the case of Eleanor and Kathleen McGrath. Eleanor and her spina bifida-afflicted daughter, Kathleen, were the only June pilgrims who came from a tiny community on the Cape Shore. For the first several days they often ate alone, except when joined by Sister Luke, the group's nurse, who had taken them under her wing. However, by mid-week they were invariably surrounded by other Newfoundland pilgrims, with Kathleen the center of attention.

Throughout the week pilgrims exchanged information on the best eateries, recommended dishes, and relative prices. As a result of this process, the pilgrims began to stray increasingly away from the Auberge cafeteria. They continued to eat breakfast at the Auberge due to its convenience, but for several reasons, the private establishments were favoured for lunchtime and dinner meals. For one, the cafeteria was often extremely busy, especially at lunchtime, which necessitated a long wait in the line-up--a marked hardship for some of the aging and ailing pilgrims. Also

the menu selection was extremely limited at the Auberge, and if the pilgrims did not fancy the entrees, they were tempted to go elsewhere.

Although the diners were also crowded at lunchtime, they had table service, hence the wait was less disagreeable. The private establishments also offered a wider menu selection--a definite attraction for the Newfoundland pilgrims.

The major drawback at these establishments was the swarms of flies which inhabited the premises due to the fact that the large sliding front doors were usually left open. One day a pilgrim commented that she thought this wasn't very sanitary. The response of a fellow pilgrim was that she thought the flies in Quebec were "different" from those in Newfoundland, thus the situation was not cause for concern. This marked the end of the conversation, and as far as I know, none of the Newfoundland pilgrims complained to the management about the questionable sanitary conditions.

Despite this imperfection, there developed a clear preference for the secular establishments for mid-day and evening meals. As early as Tuesday during the July

pilgrimage there was a conspicuous lack of Newfoundland pilgrims in the Auberge cafeteria. This Mrs. Kelly deemed inappropriate to the penitential nature of the pilgrimage, thus a new policy was instituted. At the Tuesday night lobby meeting she announced that all Newfoundland pilgrims should eat at least two meals per day at the Auberge. She offered a two-fold rationale: 1) that dining out was not in keeping with the penitential nature of pilgrimage, and 2) that the group's absence from the cafeteria was causing problems for the Auberge. With regard to the latter, she explained that the Inn ordered and prepared extra food to service large groups, thus this was going to waste. (It was quite likely that this scenario was relayed to her by the Auberge administration in a private 'backstage' encounter.) She elaborated further, stating that by eating out pilgrims were hurting the Auberge, hence the Church, and that by eating at the Auberge, one was supporting the Church.

In general the pilgrims saw no "conflict of interest" between their penchant for dining out and the religious focus of their pilgrimage. For many pilgrims dining out complemented or heightened their pilgrimage by making the experience enjoyable. As one pilgrim commented on the final night of her pilgrimage, "I'm going to say good

night to Saint Anne [the Miraculous Statue], and then I'm going to have a big chocolate sundae."

Thus where, what, and with whom one ate communicated important messages about the nature of the Newfoundland pilgrimage. In addition, mealtime conversation was central to communicating messages about the pilgrimage, and the meaning of life and death, illness and health, and how to cope with life's adversities.

One of the primary topics of mealtime conversation was the "complaints" (or afflictions) of fellow pilgrims. Information gathered throughout the day was exchanged at mealtimes; one learned who suffered from cancer, heart disease, depression, bereavement, and a host of other physical and social-psychological ills. Often this information was not directly related by the sufferer, but was relayed by a third party.

To relate these self-centered details oneself--especially if unsolicited--may be viewed as inappropriate, a breach of the pilgrimage symbolic code. By doing so one may be characterized as a chronic complainer or defeatist, or a bragger, seeking 'merit' points by harping on one's suffering (see Chapter 7 for clarification of the symbolic meanings and models of the pilgrimage).

The chronicles of suffering were frequently relayed in intimate detail, specifying the nature and extent of medical problems, treatments undergone, prognoses, and the devastating psychological effects upon family and friends.

Often upon hearing a particularly heart-rendering tale, a pilgrim would comment, "Yes, she has a heavy Cross to bear," clearly indicating the metaphorical relationship between life's trials and Christ's final suffering, implying that one should deal with suffering in the manner of Christ, with faith and resignation.

It is critical to note that these exchanges were not exercises in undue morbidity. Rather they were viewed as legitimate, important functions of the pilgrimage, communicating the motivations or "intentions" of one's fellow pilgrims and assessing whether they were dealing with them in a manner of a genuine pilgrim. Pilgrims shared not only symbolic but practical information in these settings, especially since many shared the same complaints. They exchanged information on the course of disease, effectiveness of treatments, side effects of medication, and satisfaction with their physicians. Rather than generating sadness and despair, these scenarios more often generated empathy, admiration, and a sense of group solidarity.

Admiration usually stemmed from the dignified, good-natured manner in which pilgrims conducted themselves despite their "complaints." In fact sometimes their cheerful personas totally belied their private pain. Such was the case of Bernadette Power, a gracious, attractive middle-aged woman, who appeared to be on the pilgrimage solely to accompany her aged parents. Indeed, she was very attentive to the needs of her parents, particularly her partially crippled father, who had to be wheeled to some of the devotions. But it was Bernadette herself who was the victim of painful, debilitating osteoarthritis. However, she never spoke of her affliction, and it was always the needs of others which were the focus of her concern.¹ Bernadette suffered in the manner of Christ.

Some complaints had a humorous side, which served as entertainment as much as edification. A favoured story which ran like wildfire through the June pilgrimage group was that of the American pilgrim and the suppository. Early in the week a pilgrim in one of the American Slavic pilgrimage groups had sought out the Newfoundland group's nurse for advice on a constipation problem. Sister Luke advised her to take a suppository, which the woman promptly did--orally. The next day the woman happily related to Sister Luke that her problem had been solved, still oblivious to her blunder. Only then to Sister Luke's horror--then amusement--was the

application error realized. The subject was cause for great hilarity amongst the Newfoundland pilgrims. Sister Luke, normally a shy, reserved person, was nearly hysterical when relating the story to Mrs. Kelly, and the tale was eagerly relayed from pilgrim to pilgrim. Reflecting upon the situation, one pilgrim commented, "Sure, what was she worried about not having a bowel movement for a couple of days, anyways--I've never had a bowel movement at the shrine in all the years I've been coming here."² Thus as well as entertainment, this story engendered empathy regarding the trials of old age; in fact this element of empathy and shared experience probably also accounted for why the pilgrims found the tale so amusing.

The pursuit of the intentions of fellow pilgrims was one of the major "backstage" activities of the Newfoundland pilgrims, with mealtimes being the major forum for exchange of information. When meeting fellow group members during spare moments during the day, if they did not already know each other's intentions, they invariably asked, either directly or indirectly,

Although it was legitimate, indeed expected, that one should inquire about fellow pilgrims' intentions, it was not acceptable to pry, as it was held that some intentions were too sensitive to share. If such were the case a pilgrim

could simply reply that she had a "special intention", and the inquiry would cease. Indeed some pilgrims were deliberately shielded from potentially painful questioning by a third party circulating the news that she had a special intention. Not only did this prevent prying, but it legitimized her presence, and engendered special empathy and support from fellow pilgrims.

Such was the case of Helen Walsh, a seemingly healthy woman in her late twenties who participated in the July pilgrimage. From day one Mrs. Kelly discretely advised other pilgrims that Helen had "a very special intention," signifying that no further questions were to be asked, and that special tactful support was needed and expected. For a roommate, Helen had been paired with Lillian Power, a soft spoken, compassionate woman who had made the pilgrimage with Mrs. Kelly for many years. The organizer surmised that Helen might find Lillian a sympathetic friend with whom she could share her intention. She was right, as later in the week Mrs. Kelly reported to the ethnographer that Helen had done so. However as far as I know, no one else was ever privy to the information, including the ethnographer.

The ethnographer herself was a focus of curiosity, since being young, apparently healthy and alone (i.e. not accompanying a sick or elderly relative), I was definitely an

anomaly among the Newfoundland pilgrims.⁴ Thus my presence was perplexing and the object of some conjecture. Often fellow pilgrims attempted to elicit my rationale without directly inquiring about my "intentions"; for instance, I was frequently asked whether I was a relative of Mrs. Kelly, or if I had been asked by her to come as an assistant.

In accordance with Mrs. Kelly's request not to reveal my "true intention," my innocuous standard reply was that I had simply wanted to visit the shrine. From this, one pilgrim concluded that I must have had "very holy parents"⁵ to inspire me to make the pilgrimage. However, the inquiring look and pause in response which often followed this reply signified that many pilgrims were not quite convinced. Nevertheless I was never confronted outright. It was likely, as indicated by the pilgrims' reaction on the final evening, that many believed that I was harbouring some "special intention."

Through information gleaned and exchanged "backstage," the pilgrims learned the "complaints" of literally dozens of fellow group members by the end of the week. As Maude Billard,* my July roommate, reflected to me, "I don't think there's one person here without a complaint--except maybe you." The June group being considerably smaller, and

interaction much more frequent between each group member, most pilgrims knew the public intentions of literally everyone by week's end.

Not only the trials, but the triumphs of fellow pilgrims were shared backstage. Triumphs included the blessings pilgrims believed they or others had received on past pilgrimages, plus the magnanimous acts of devotion displayed by fellow pilgrims. In the former category were accounts of cures received by past Newfoundland pilgrims, including a woman who had been cured of scoliosis 15 years ago, and, more recently, a young boy who had recovered from two collapsed lungs. There were also the testimonials of current pilgrims, such as Regina King's relief from allergy-caused asthma and sinus problems, and Ethel's remarkably successful struggle against multiple sclerosis. Laura Miller attributed her marked improvement after several operations for paralyzing rheumatoid arthritis to faith, prayers, and the blessings received at the shrine.⁶

The outstanding acts of devotion often referred to the success of aged or crippled pilgrims in climbing the Holy Stairs. For instance great joy was expressed when it was reported that Patrick Roche, a multiple sclerosis victim had "made the Stairs". An equivalent amount of admiration,

was expressed for Eleanor, who daily mounted the Stairs with Kathleen, her nine year-old spina bifida-afflicted daughter, in her arms.

Mealtimes were happy, social occasions for sharing food, friendship and values central to the pilgrimage experience. In accordance with Turner's (1978) findings, commensality was an important symbol of the communitas element of pilgrimage; in this case signifying the importance of "sorority," and caring for others. Also, the information exchanged regarding the motivation and conduct of fellow pilgrims exemplified and reinforced the central values of: 1) stoic acceptance of adversity, 2) selflessness and penance, 3) concern for others, and 4) faith in God. Thus the context and conversation content of mealtimes gave concrete meaning to the pilgrimage experience and to life itself.

SOUVENIR SHOPPING

Souvenir shopping was another activity which many pilgrims enjoyed. Directed mainly at bringing the blessings of the shrine to loved ones at home, souvenirs were also purchased for pilgrimage friends. Again, oblivious to the commercialization and competitiveness of the mercantile

"backstage," this activity symbolized the central value of 'charity,' care and concern for others.

As mentioned earlier, there were numerous souvenir outlets in Ste. Anne de Beaupré, including the church store, Franciscan convent, the Cyclorama, and numerous secular shops on Royal Avenue. Again, as in the case of eating establishments, there was a subtle tension between the church and the privately-owned establishments. At the lobby meetings Mrs. Kelly encouraged the pilgrims to patronize the religious vendors, but there was a strong pull towards the private operators, this time due to the lower prices in the secular establishments.

We may concentrate on the church store and the street shops, as these were the retail outlets most frequently patronized by the Newfoundland pilgrims. I briefly examine the nature of the establishments and the merchandize sold therein, and the purchasing practices of the Newfoundland pilgrims.

The church store was the largest and most opulent of the Ste. Anne de Beaupré retail operations. It featured

high ceilings supported by stately pillars, a marble mosaic floor, wide aisles, and merchandize neatly displayed on the walls or in glass counter showcases. In fact, in terms of atmosphere and appearance it rather resembled a Birks jewellery store.

The store carried a wide variety of religious articles and souvenirs ranging from traditional religious items such as crucifixes, rosaries and medals, to items with a distinctly modern flair, such as plastic place mats, key chains, and magnetized statuettes to mount on a vehicle dashboard. Both the traditional and non-traditional items depicted religious imagery. As at many other pilgrimage shrines the dominant image was that of the patron saint of the shrine, in this case, Saint Anne de Beaupré. A photograph of the Miraculous Statue was featured on one series of placemats, a bust of the statue was embossed on key chain tags, and a sketch of the statue was imprinted on giant novelty pencils.

While most of the items featured in the church store were low-cost, made of plastic or cheap metals, some articles were available in a range of qualities and prices. The average set of cut-glass or plastic rosary beads cost

about \$2.50, a crystal set cost \$20. Key chains ranged in price from about \$1 to \$5, dependent upon the quality and quantity of metal used. Medals, most of which depicted the top portion of the Miraculous Statue, came in a variety of types and price ranges. The least expensive (about 50 cents) were tiny oval-shaped pendants (about 1/4" in length) which one attached to a watch link or pinned (with a safety pin) to clothing or undergarments in the manner of a scapular medal.⁷ Other medals were in the form of broaches, often circular in shape, with the image surrounded by multi-coloured rhinestones and/or metallic filagree. There were a great variety of medal neckchains, ranging from inexpensive tin chains, to finely crafted carat gold. Due to the great variety and price range of medals, they were a popular gift item.

Among the more elaborate--some would say gaudy--items were the "shrines". Large shrines (about two feet in height) featured a statue of a "devotion" (Saint Anne, the Sacred Heart, or the Blessed Lady) surrounded by an upright ring of brightly coloured plastic flowers. From the top of the ring sprouted a spray of plastic strands which shrouded the figures. Tiny lights woven amongst the flowers illuminated the translucent strands. At a cost of \$10 this item was considered fairly exclusive by the Newfoundland

pilgrims, and only bought for special reasons. For instance, several of Mrs. Kelly's past pilgrimage groups had given her a shrine as a gift of appreciation. Miniature shrines were also available at variable prices.

Religious commodities available solely in the church store were books and audio-cassettes, produced by Father Lefebvre. The books consisted of social histories of the shrine or theological/philosophical discourses. The series of cassette tapes focussed on thematic religious topics, incorporating homilies, prayers and hymns.

In marked contrast to the spacious, meticulously organized church store, the tiny street shops were a lurid mass of secular and sacred items: front windows blazed with shrines, statues, T-shirts, pennants and Kodak signs. Inside, religious and tourist items were piled to the ceiling--sometimes hanging from it. Heaps of statues, shrines and medals vied for space with plastic Indian dolls, moccasins and assorted novelties.

Several tiny shops were so jammed with merchandise that their displays spilled out onto the sidewalk. One shop featured a postcard stand topped with flags on the sidewalk next to the entrance. Tacked to the front of the shop, surrounding an open front vending window, were T-shirts, pennants, tote bags, giant rosary beads, and souvenir plates depicting Saint Anne, the Shrine, and the Pope. Another tiny hut, which was more a stall than a shop (measuring about 10 feet by 20 feet) had rosary beads, T-shirts, and souvenir plates pinned to the front wall. There was no customer entrance to the shop; all sales were handled through the large open front window, which also served as the main display area. The glass-fronted counter featured statues, souvenir plates and medals; from a rack near the top of the opening dangled rosary beads, wind chimes, beaded feather necklaces, and pom-pom key chains.

Masses of religious and tourist items displayed in seemingly indiscriminate order typified the street shops. On the counter of one shop, immediately adjacent to the holy water bottles, were plastic novelty toilets which squirted water when the lid was lifted. Also in the immediate vicinity were several quality-made crucifixes, a garish

plastic gondola, a miniature Scottish Goll, votive candles, and water-filled paper weights, which featured "snow" falling over a scene of the shrine when shaken. In another shop, tacked to a pegboard wall, were souvenir plates, clumps of multi-coloured rosary beads, and plastic shopping bags imprinted with large vibrant flowers.

Besides the juxtaposition of religious and secular items were the odd combinations of religious imagery adorning items which were normally purely secular, even profane, in nature. Items of this nature, such as the plastic placemats and Miraculous Statue buttons, were sold in the church store as well as the street shops, but were more prevalent, in both quantity and variety, in the secular establishments. For instance, one such item which the ethnographer did not find in the church store was a hand-shaped plastic backscratcher which featured a decal of the Basilica on the handle. Another bizarre item was a water-filled pen in which St. Anne's fountain floated across the Basilica grounds when the pen was tipped. The pen worked on the same principle as the

secular "Playboy" pens which feature a Playboy "Bunny" stripping as the pen is tipped. T-shirts and sweatshirts featured secular or religious imagery, some displayed the fleur-de-lis while others were imprinted with the Basilica façade.

Some items displayed multiple imagery, both sacred and secular, in an apparent attempt to increase marketability. For example, each panel of a plastic fan featured one of the sightseeing attractions from Québec City to Saint Anne de Beaupré.⁸

With regard to religious articles, the items sold in the street shops were identical to those sold in the church store--except in price. While the majority of items in both arenas cost under \$5 (with most falling in the \$2-3 range), prices were generally 10-20% lower in the street shops. Here again there was a subtle tension between sacred and secular competitors--a conflict which was played out primarily on what we may call the "commercial backstage," and not a major concern of the Newfoundland pilgrims.

The dogged territoriality of the secular and religious operators was clearly evident in a recent real estate battle which erupted on the "commercial backstage" of Ste. Anne de Beaupre. A priest related to the ethnographer that several years ago it was rumoured that the old Hotel St. Louis, which housed a souvenir outlet and pilgrims' lodging, was going to be sold. Viewing this as an opportunity to rid the town of an objectionable operation, the church planned to buy the establishment for the purpose of demolishing it. However, the owners got wind of the plan and raised the price phenomenally, preventing the takeover. In 1979 the hotel was still standing, apparently doing a thriving business.

However, few, if any of the Newfoundland pilgrims were aware of the details of this or any other conflicts between the church and private merchants. As mentioned earlier, their loyalties were plied at the lobby meetings, where the organizer encouraged the patronizing of religious establishments. While they could be shamed into it, the pilgrims did not feel compelled to shop exclusively at these establishments, nor did they feel guilty about patronizing secular merchants.

Several factors accounted for this. One was the practical consideration of limited finances, coupled with the number of souvenirs pilgrims "had to" buy. Many pilgrims bought religious articles for a wealth of friends and relatives--spouses, siblings, children, nieces and nephews. It was not unusual for pilgrims to purchase between 10 and 20 souvenirs, hence even when buying inexpensive \$2-3 items, this was a fairly costly undertaking. Since the street shops generally offered more value for one's money, they were the more practical consumer choice. On a philosophical level, was the value placed upon thrift. The Newfoundland pilgrims practised comparative shopping. They prided themselves on finding "the best buys", and shared this information with fellow pilgrims. Finally, most pilgrims viewed the secular establishments as legitimate ventures, reasoning that the townspeople, too, had to make a living.

Due to their limited finances, and concomitant inability to buy high-priced items, the pilgrims were generally not perturbed with the low quality (and low cost) which characterized most of the religious souvenirs. Several indicated that they would have liked to have been able to buy

higher quality (higher priced) items, but couldn't afford to.

Perhaps a more important reason why the pilgrims were not concerned with the shoddy quality of merchandise, was that all religious articles were blessed; thus the value of the article was perceived to be in the blessing, rather than the intrinsic worth of the item. Most blessings were performed at a booth in the rear of the crypt operated specifically for this purpose. (The Basilica was conveniently linked to the church store by a covered archway.) The booth was presided over by Father Michaud, a jovial man who joked and chatted with the pilgrims. In preparation for the blessing rite, the pilgrims kneeled at a rail in front of the booth, holding their articles. The priest sprinkled the items with holy water, and recited a standard prayer, asking that God grant "health of body and protection of soul" to the users (cf. Lefebvre 1977:131).

Souvenir Shopping reached its peak at the end of the week as pilgrims scurried around to ensure that they had something for everyone on their list. Often when they had finished they invited other pilgrims into their rooms to see what they had purchased. They proudly displayed their purchases, not in a ostentatious show of wealth, but to

demonstrate both their "charity" and thrift.⁹ They explained for whom each gift had been purchased, where, and at what price.

Most of the items purchased were religious articles, however secular items were also purchased if it was deemed that religious items would not be appropriate. For instance, Maude,* conceding that a religious article would not be appreciated by her teenage son, bought him a sweatshirt instead.

Besides buying souvenirs for friends and relatives, pilgrims often bought religious articles for fellow pilgrims, symbolizing their "charity," friendship, appreciation and/or acknowledging and repaying debts owed their earthly benefactors. Since charity was one of the chief motivators of souvenir buying, the sick and the handicapped, particularly afflicted children, were often the beneficiaries. Kathleen, the nine year-old with spina-bifida, was showered with gifts. The pilgrimage organizer and her assistants (the secretary and the incognito ethnographer) also received small tokens of appreciation. The ethnographer received several watch-link medals, a small shrine, and a souvenir fan. In my case, these gifts were presented in recognition of my

official organizational role (collecting Mass money, documenting banner carriers, etc.), and also in appreciation for special 'acts of charity', such as translating, pushing wheelchairs, and accompanying novices to "devotions" and sight-seeing attractions. In addition, these momentos and their attendant blessings may have been presented in response to the deep, dark and presumably penitential intentions which some pilgrims feared I may have been hiding.

Roommates, who may have been complete strangers before the pilgrimage, also exchanged gifts. This symbolized their bonds of friendship and "charity," a concrete expression of concern for the other's well-being, and appreciation for the companionship and small favours extended throughout the pilgrimage.

Thus on the surface, the souvenir trade of Ste. Anne de Beaupré seemed to be nothing more than vulgar commercialism. However, the mercantile motives and manoeuvrings of the commercial backstage appeared not to taint the altruistic meaning which the Newfoundland pilgrims attached to the buying of souvenirs. For the Newfoundlanders, the purchasing of religious articles symbolized some of the central values of pilgrimage--"charity", particularly

the special concern expressed for the sick and handicapped; "motherhood", the central caring function which females play in the family; and "debt acknowledgement," the belief that favours and services should be acknowledged. It was also a forum for demonstrating thrift, a highly regarded virtue, especially among the middle-aged and older women.

LOBBY MEETINGS

The lobby meetings played a key role in the Newfoundland pilgrimage, as it was at these forums that the organizer structured the pilgrimage, both socially and symbolically. Here, through exegesis and example, Mrs. Kelly communicated the central tenets of the pilgrimage, instructing the pilgrims on how to conduct themselves in the manner of 'genuine pilgrims.'

In the dramaturgical language of Goffman, the lobby meetings may be regarded as the "official backstage" or "rehearsal room," in which the director instructed and coached the players on the optimal "personal front" for a "genuine pilgrim" (cf. Goffman 1959:24,98,167). Here the "performance" of past and present pilgrims was evaluated,

praised or criticized, measured against this optimal 'personal front.' It was also in this realm that the social history of the Newfoundland pilgrimage was communicated.

As mentioned earlier, pilgrims met with the organizer in the lobby at 9:20 a.m. and 7:20 p.m. each day for a 20-minute meeting before proceeding to the Mass. Actually the meetings did not take place in the lobby, but in a large TV room/lounge near the main lobby. As the pilgrims referred to this space as the 'lobby', I shall continue to do so. Attendance at these sessions was compulsory, and those pilgrims who were absent without due cause were publically chided and strongly encouraged to attend in future.

The meetings were almost totally dominated by the organizer, with very little input from the pilgrims. Here Mrs. Kelly's public school training came to the fore; she bellowed out announcements in her throaty voice, often repeating instructions several times to ensure that everyone had heard and understood. The occasional rhetorical question or humorous quip was thrown in for good measure. This style stood her in good stead, as the two constituencies--public school children and pilgrims--had much in common; a similarity recognized not only by the ethnographer, but by several of the pilgrims. One pilgrim remarked in a post-pilgrimage interview, "They're just like school children, they are!" In

In the lobby meetings as in the classroom, Mrs. Kelly was dealing with an audience which was cramped, restless, hot, and sometimes inattentive, relaying information which was essential and 'for their own good,' but possibly not always regarded in that light by the listeners. Thus, as in the education system, lobby meetings were very much 'training sessions,' carefully structured and orchestrated by the leader.

Essentially two categories of information were communicated: 1) practical/social information related to the structure or itinerary of the pilgrimage, and 2) interpretive/symbolic information, instructive discourses aimed at communicating the central meanings, values and objectives of the pilgrimage, and how to conduct one's pilgrimage in accordance with these. The two categories were in effect closely intertwined, but for descriptive purposes, they are treated separately.

a. Practical/social Structuring

Early in the week much of the practical information referred to the times and locations of special devotions (Masses, the Way of the Cross, and the Holy Stairs), and the prominent attractions (the Historial and the Cyclorama).

Often in order to accommodate and involve timid, novice pilgrims, Mrs. Kelly made arrangements to accompany a group of pilgrims to a ritual or secular site. As mentioned earlier, one morning after Mass she led a group in prayer at the chapels of the ambulatory. In July, on both Wednesday and Friday mornings after the 10:00 Mass, she accompanied pilgrims to the Historial. Despite the fact that it was not a bona fide ritual site, pilgrims were strongly encouraged to visit the attraction. Mrs. Kelly praised the beauty of the wax museum and the treasures of the Art Gallery, singling out the latter for special praise as the exhibit had been closed to the public in recent years. Her description was enthusiastic, if somewhat overstated, capped by her characteristic humour:

"...it's original paintings by da Vinci and all of them--they're worth a fortune. They have somebody there watching them, so if anyone wants to go off with them..."¹⁰

At the lobby meetings volunteers were solicited for carrying the banner and cords in the evening processions. The ethnographer and/or the secretary kept sign-up sheets for this purpose, however there were invariably either last minute changes, or we were short one or two people. Hence each evening the director had to confirm who was scheduled

to perform these duties, and reiterate that they were to sit in the front row occupied by the group. Thus while these roles were primarily voluntary rather than assigned, the director did ultimately oversee the "allocation of specific roles" as posited by Goffman (cf. 1959:98).

Another essential role of the lobby meetings was to clarify pilgrims' obligations regarding the various collections. General collections were taken up in church at each Mass, while special collections were taken up by the pilgrimage organization for Masses for individual intentions, and for group donations to the shrines at Ste. Anne de Beaupré and Cap-de-la-Madeleine.

With regard to the church collections, a July lobby meeting served to allay some pilgrims' consternation regarding the amount of collection required. At the initial Masses on Monday evening and Tuesday morning, the majority of pilgrims had deposited \$1 in the collection basket, as that was what most others had contributed. However for some pilgrims this was a considerable financial burden, and they feared that at this rate their funds would not "hold out" for the remainder of the week. Some probably mentioned these

concerns to Mrs. Kelly (in the "private backstage"), as at the Tuesday evening lobby meeting she announced that long term pilgrims were not expected to make "paper" donations at each Mass. She explained that collection was taken up at every Mass simply to give transient pilgrims the opportunity to make an offering, and suggested that Newfoundland pilgrims donate 25¢ per Mass. From the sighs of relief and approving comments which followed this announcement, it was clear that many pilgrims had been worried about making donations which they could ill afford.

Contracting for individual Mass offerings for the living and deceased was also an important activity of the Newfoundland pilgrims. Masses offered at the shrine were believed to be particularly efficacious due to its exalted status and 'proximity' to the divine, manifested by the many miracles. Masses for the living were believed to address both the spiritual and temporal well-being of the recipients, while Masses for the deceased addressed the recipient's spiritual needs, specifically their speedy release from purgatory. In the latter case, it was held to be particularly efficacious if the Mass could be said on or near the anniversary of the death, and with the number of Masses said on a daily basis at the shrine, usually such an arrangement

could be made. 11

The Shrine sent the following letter, acknowledging receipt of a Mass request for the deceased:

My dear friend:

There is, no doubt, great joy in heaven over your Mass request for the speedy release from purgatory of your deceased loved ones.

In return for your charity, the new saints are already praying the Lord for your dearest intentions.

May they rest in peace, while they keep praying for your health and happiness.

Father Lefebvre

P.S. At the beginning of February 1978, we shall send you an official receipt from our Shrine for all your donations to us throughout 1977.

There were two types of Masses, a High Mass, which cost \$5, and a Low Mass, which cost \$2. There was some debate among the pilgrims as to whether a High Mass was more

efficacious than a Low Mass, and if so, what was one to do if one wanted maximum "value," but couldn't afford to buy a High Mass. The general consensus was that High Masses were more efficacious, but if one truly could not afford it, God would understand, and give the intentions of a \$2 Mass the same consideration as a \$5 Mass.

From Tuesday to Friday, from 1:00 to 2:00 p.m., the ethnographer and/or the secretary were on duty in the lobby to collect Mass money and record the requests of the purchasers.¹² Most of the Mass requests were for members of the pilgrim's immediate family, both living and deceased. For example a typical middle-aged married female pilgrim had Masses said for her spouse, children, grandchildren, her parents and her husband's parents. Often to simplify matters --and to reduce costs--Masses were requested in the name of the family surname. For instance, a Mass for a married daughter, her husband and their children would be requested in the name of "the Power family." Masses for one's deceased parents and their patrilineal ancestors were often requested as a collectivity, i.e., "for the deceased members of the

Delaney family." The equivalent was requested for one's husband's parents and patrilineal kin. Usually High Masses were requested for these deceased forebears; as one pilgrim explained, "That's all you can do for them."

One person who was virtually never "grouped" with others was the pilgrim's spouse, especially if deceased. A High Mass was invariably requested for his/her intentions. Individual High Masses were also frequently requested for seriously ill, handicapped, or deceased children. Some pilgrims also requested a High Mass for Mrs. Kelly's intentions, in appreciation of her services and consideration.

High and Low Masses were also requested for "special intentions." These were usually not specified when requesting the Mass, but could include such requests as that a husband stop drinking, a child return to the church, or that one would find a suitable marriage partner. One pilgrim requested a "special intention" Mass for the fishery, which had been progressing very poorly that year.

Sometimes Masses were purchased in lieu of souvenirs. One pilgrim indicated that she was having Low Masses said for all her friends and relatives instead of buying souvenirs. Another pilgrim enrolled a soon-to-be-married couple

in the Archconfraternity of Saint Anne, reasoning that there could be no better gift than God's and Saint Anne's blessings.

In general each pilgrim bought a mixture of High and Low Masses, totalling between \$10 and \$15.

When collecting this money the ethnographer became acutely aware of the extreme financial sacrifice that some pilgrims had made in order to make the pilgrimage. A number of elderly women paid for their Masses with old \$1, \$2, \$5 and \$10 bills, bills which had by then been replaced by new currency 5-8 years previous.¹³ Thus this money probably had been carefully stashed in the home for at least that long, possibly saved explicitly for the pilgrimage. While it is possible that these women kept all of their money in the home due to a mistrust of banks or other reasons,¹⁴ it still represented a deliberate choice to spend part or all of a long-saved nest egg on the pilgrimage.

Mrs. Kelly presented the group's individual Mass offerings to Father Lefebvre at a private meeting at the end of the week. At the same time, she requested that he offer a Mass for the group's intentions. At the Thursday night lobby meeting during the July pilgrimage, she reported the results

of her meeting with Father Lefebvre. This brief account offers many valuable insights into the belief system and social context of the Newfoundland pilgrimage--the unique esteem accorded to Father Lefebvre, emic concepts of secular and sacred intercession, and the high level of moral and spiritual concern for the sick and deceased. Also evident is the belief in the temporal healing power of prayer, and the perception of the inseparable bond between husband and wife after decades of marriage. Therefore I shall recount her report verbatim:

Now then, I'm happy to tell you that as a result of my talk with Father today...Father's Masses are well booked up....of course a lot of people [are] looking for his Masses at 10:00, so I dared not ask him for too much. So I said, 'Father, can you do us one special favour and allow maybe two of your Masses for two real special reasons.'

Now when I was up before [in June] I had one for all the deceased pilgrims...--he had it. So he said, 'Seeing it's the Newfoundland group, and you're such a wonderful group, he'll do his best.'

'Well,' I said, 'Father, this is what I want. Would you please offer a Mass--your Mass--for the intentions of all the Newfoundland pilgrims present, plus the intentions of all those who are here in spirit with us, who wanted to come, but who couldn't make it because of ill health.

So I gave Father the offering, and he's having the Mass tomorrow morning. He will not

announce it, because if he announces it, the place will be blocked for Masses, and he can't take it, you know.... So it's our Mass tomorrow morning, the Mass by Father Lefebvre at 10:00.

The other Mass that I'm sure you won't mind me asking for is for my great friend, Mr. Byrne, whom, I'm happy to tell you--I was talking to my daughter in Newfoundland tonight, and he is a little better. So our prayers are being answered....

So...if you join in the Mass on Friday [sic]¹⁵ morning which Father is having--his Mass, 10:00--again for Mr. and Mrs. Byrne. Because they're inseparable; if one dies today, I'd say the other dies tomorrow.

In addition to the collection of individual Mass offerings, a collection was taken for a group donation to the shrine, including gratuities for "backstage personnel," chiefly the Auberge administrators.¹⁶ While not obligating pilgrims to donate a specific amount, the director did give them some parameters. Since I feel it is valuable to express these instructions and their rationale in "emic" terms, I shall recount Mrs. Kelly's advice to the July group verbatim:

...we do have to take up a collection for the Shrine, because it's [proper] that we give...a group donation. ...that again will be collected...according to your means.... If you're short of money, and you haven't got any money left, well, then nothing is expected. Go according to your means. Usually people give at least a couple of dollars--you can

leave about five... Do you're best, that's all you can do.

So...when we collect the group donation we give the most of it...[to] Father [Lefebvre]...while we're all there, usually...after our last Mass with Father Lefebvre.

And then we take out of that, maybe a ten for Father Simard who's so good out there, running in all directions for us--and he's a priest here.

And Madeleine [the Auberge secretary/administrator] out there behind the scenes is doing a lot of phone calling and that for us, and she...gave us rooms on the first and second floor rather than the third --thanks to Madeleine, who you don't even see. So we give her a little tip, say at least \$5 or something.

So just be as generous as you can, but don't leave yourselves short.

Another collection was taken for a donation for "Our Lady" at Cap-de-la-Madeleine. It was suggested that pilgrims contribute between 50¢ and \$1, but to again "go according to your means."

In addition to these individual and group offerings, to which virtually every pilgrim donated, the pilgrimage assistants also collected money for Annals subscriptions and Father Lefebvre's cassette tapes. However, only a handful of pilgrims purchased these items through the pilgrimage organization.

Another common social theme at the lobby meetings was health-related advice. While Mrs. Kelly actively encouraged the pilgrims to participate in all "sacred and secular activities, she also regularly cautioned them to watch their health and not to "overly do it." After a quarter century of leading pilgrimages, the organizer was fully aware of the potentially adverse effects of changes in climate, diet, and activity level on elderly and ill pilgrims, especially with the prevalence of problems such as high blood pressure, heart disease, diabetes and ulcers. Pilgrims were advised accordingly, as exemplified by the following recommendation made one July evening:

And if anyone is sick, make sure you get through to Miss Costello (the group nurse), here. Cause some people now, under different kinds of conditions developing, with the change of food and everything... So if you have that problem, just speak up to Miss Costello.

Pilgrims were urged to rest and/or consult with the group nurse when feeling ill, and were reassured that if they felt too ill to attend a devotion, this would not jeopardize the spiritual aspects of their pilgrimage. On the contrary Mrs. Kelly warned that by attempting to do too much, a pilgrim was "flying in the face of God."

As indicated by the above metaphor, health advice, while practically-oriented, was often expressed in symbolic terms. Mrs. Kelly frequently incorporated divine referents, strengthening or endorsing her admonitions and advice. Following is another example of this:

And anybody who is really sick, the best place for you is not to go to the devotions, because Saint Anne... doesn't expect you to go if you're really sick. So the best thing would be to go to your room and rest. So if you're overcome with the heat or anything, by all means come home.... Don't overly do it. It's very difficult weather for the Holy Spirit--trying the Holy Spirit--unless you get out very early in the morning.

b. Interpretive/Symbolic

After making various practical/social announcements, Mrs. Kelly launched into interpretive/symbolic discourses, aimed at communicating the central meanings, values and objectives of the pilgrimage. Utilizing numerous examples and case histories, she structured the pilgrimage, informing the pilgrims how to conduct their pilgrimage and their lives in the manner of "genuine pilgrims." Three principal values/behaviours were recommended: 1) be "charitable", 2) have faith in God, and 3) bear with suffering. In essence, the organizer reversed the pilgrims' concern with their own problems, directing their attention and action outwards towards the concerns of others.

With respect to the first recommendation, "be charitable," pilgrims were instructed to devote themselves selflessly to others, particularly those less fortunate than themselves. They were encouraged to express charity both in the social sphere, by offering assistance to others, and in the religious realm, by praying for others. The latter was given strong emphasis; at each lobby meeting Mrs. Kelly detailed the medical and/or social-psychological problems of several people, asking that the pilgrims pray for their intentions. Sometimes these people were group members, but

more often they were friends or relatives of pilgrims, people whose problems were so monumental that they were unable to join the pilgrimage. One of the main themes was the stress of illness and death on family relations, including the inability of the sick to fulfill social roles, and the tremendous psychological and practical burden on care-givers and the bereaved. Often Mrs. Kelly described medical conditions in "emic" terms, either because she was unfamiliar with the medical condition or terminology, or because she believed the pilgrims would be. Following are Mrs. Kelly's prayer requests at two lobby meetings:

Meeting 1 Now I want you to pray tonight... for Wilhelmina O'Neill who is suffering from three dead cells in her head, which could get worse. She's only a young woman with small children. So Wilhelmina O'Neill who couldn't come here--who'd love to be here, I'm sure--and she's got a very serious complaint. She was away to Montreal to one of the leading hospitals and they can't do a thing for her. So would you please pray for her.

And also Rita O'Neill who is suffering from a nervous breakdown--her relatives... And that's a bad complaint, as you all know.

So please pray for those two people tonight.

Meeting 2 I've got a few people to pray for, and they are as follows. Mrs. Amelia Fitzgerald is with us...and her son Pat is 22 years old, and he has brain damage. And he's quite sick. So Mrs. Amelia Fitzgerald--she hates to impose upon you, like everyone else, and knows that you've got lots to pray for--but would you be kind enough to remember her

son. Because that's a great cross for both the mom and the dad, and also the little boy. He's 22 years old, and he has brain damage, which not much can be done for, if anything.

I'd also like for you to pray for Mrs. Mullins, who was coming with me, she and her husband.... Now Mrs. Mullins had open heart surgery, and was doing fine, but five days after took a stroke.... It was successful surgery, but it must have been... a blood clot or something, and she took a stroke.

So she's dead all down one side, and she's in [the hospital] now trying to get therapy, and she's suffering terribly in pain. And her husband rang me, and he asked me to please ask you to remember her in your prayers, Mrs. Mullins from Clipper's Cove.

There's another person I'd like for you to remember.... Please pray for Alphonsus Aylward, who has become a paraplegic after a small cyst was taken off his spine. In other words, they removed a cyst from his spine, and he can't walk anymore. And that's Alphonsus Aylward--another young man. And he's 44 years old, and he's a paraplegic. So pray for Alphonsus.

And also for Joey Hogan, who is 26, and who is now blind with diabetes; that he'll accept the will of God, or his sight will be restored.

For Margaret Wadden, who is also very, very sick--a nervous breakdown, following the death of her husband.

Frank Dempsey, Clara's brother--Clare in the wheelchair. Her brother, dear Frank, is very, very sick. As a matter of fact he's on that dialysis machine three or four times a week with his kidneys deteriorating. So we're not asking for just ordinary...--the very, very seriously ill people....

So would you please pray--you won't remember all the names--but just say during your Mass, 'For all the names that Mrs. Kelly called out, for their intentions, I offer up this Mass.' These people are desperately in need of our prayers.

With reference to the second recommendation, 'have faith in God,' pilgrims were advised to recommend all their 'intentions' (both spiritual and temporal) to God, and that whatever the outcome, it should be joyfully accepted. This was illustrated by Joey Hogan's case (above)--it was requested that his sight be restored or that he'd accept the will of God [if he was not cured].

Mrs. Kelly's own cure was also a key referent for this message, as during a life-threatening crisis she had placed her fate in the hands of God and Saint Anne. During both the June and July pilgrimages, she orated the story of her cure in vivid detail.¹⁸ For the pilgrims, her faith, rewarded by a miraculous cure, was a source of great inspiration and encouragement.

However the primary referent for this tenet was Clare Hogan,* whom Mrs. Kelly termed 'my inspiration.' In Goffman's terms, Clare was 'the star of the show'. Afflicted with severe dwarfism which confined her to a wheelchair in

public settings, Clare had made the pilgrimage with Mrs. Kelly nearly every year since the group's inception. In 1979, she was a member of the July session. Although Clare was generally regarded as the pilgrim who had suffered the most during her lifetime, far from being a tragic figure, she radiated ebullience. Her laughter was infectious, and she was invariably surrounded with new and old friends. She was at ease with and interested in everyone; young and old, afflicted and robust.

Clare led the optimal life according to the tenets of the pilgrimage--she completely accepted her affliction, and she selflessly devoted her life to others: she lived in the manner of Christ. An extremely perceptive and compassionate person, her secular life was dedicated to counselling those in distress--troubled teenagers, the afflicted, those with marital problems.

Clare was held in the highest regard, and was virtually a legend among the Newfoundland pilgrims. Mrs. Kelly claimed that Clare's life and her first visit to Ste. Anne de Beaupré exemplified the ultimate degree of faith, stories which were recounted for both the June and July pilgrims (See Chapter 6).

Due to Clare's highly esteemed lifestyle she was also the primary referent for the third recommendation, 'bear with suffering.'

Thus at the lobby meetings the values of the pilgrimage and the appropriate conduct for Newfoundland pilgrims were clearly outlined, with pilgrims being praised or chastised accordingly. In general, criticism was rare, mainly confined to admonitions about eating out and missing lobby meetings. More often the pilgrims received praise and encouragement, reinforcing appropriate behaviour. In Goffman's terms, the director concentrated on positive reinforcement, spurring on her star troupe to greater heights. A July meeting was opened with the following comment:

Now, I'm very impressed with the way you're conducting your pilgrimage, and the devotion is going...as true Newfoundland pilgrims. You haven't spared yourself [sic] any, and you're congenial--right into the spirit of it. Now we're practically half way through our Novena; all I can say is keep praying, and watch your health.

Lobby meetings played a key role in the Newfoundland pilgrimage, providing a forum where the organizer structured the pilgrimage and interpreted the central symbolic messages of the shrine. These meetings were unique to the

Newfoundland pilgrimage,¹⁹ and both the ethnographer and several priests at the shrine credit the group's strong religious fervour and esprit du corps to Mrs. Kelly's guidance at the lobby meetings. Father Proulx in particular credited the success of the Newfoundland pilgrimage to Mrs. Kelly's dynamic personality, "A small candle should be burnt for Josephine, and maybe a bigger candle for Saint Anne!" Father Levesque also had high praise for Mrs. Kelly, stating that she was a marvelous person, full of energy and faith. Fathers Proulx, Simard, Levesque and Lefebvre all claimed that the Newfoundlanders were exemplary pilgrims, very devout, staying longer, and participating more fully in all the rites and rituals than other pilgrimage groups. One might say that the Newfoundland group was the star troupe which annually played on the stage of Ste. Anne de Beaupré.

THE FINAL DAYS

On Saturday a private Mass was held for the Newfoundland pilgrims at 4:00 p.m. in the crypt. This served as their Sunday Mass since the day would be lost in travel, so they would not have to break their Novena. In order to ensure maximum 'efficacy,' Mrs. Kelly endeavoured to have one

of the group's favored priests say the Mass and perform the blessing which followed. In July, she was pleased to report to the group that Father Levesque would officiate:

...you'll have the privilege of the Mass-- anybody went to the 4:00 Mass this evening? That's Father Levesque's Mass--beautiful? ...And we will have a little interview, a little talk, and Father Levesque will give you his special blessing--and believe me, that's some blessing when you get it from Father Levesque.

The Saturday night lobby meeting was the final pilgrimage function,²⁰ at which time the ethnographer was scheduled to reveal her educational pursuits. By mid-afternoon I was already a bundle of nerves; after 'playing the game' all week, I now had to 'confess' my true 'intentions.' To explain my anxiety in Goffman's terms, I feared being perceived as a traitorous conniver, a cause for anomie, shattering the pilgrims' experience, and my own opportunities for further research (cf. Goffman 1959:141). Fortunately, my fears proved unwarranted.

Following the announcements, Mrs. Kelly provided the following introduction (paraphrased by the ethnographer):

Now, Cheryl has a very special intention which she wishes to share with you. She is writing her thesis for university--her Master's--on the Newfoundland pilgrimage. This will be a

book, put in the library at the university, spreading the devotion to Saint Anne. She wants you to help her, and she'll explain this to you.

No one was more astonished at this revelation than I. By the time she had finished, the room was aglow with smiles and approving nods and comments; the pilgrims were thrilled with the idea and their part in it. Although greatly relieved in one way, I also realized that in endorsing my research Mrs. Kelly had in effect mandated the ethnographer to speak for the pilgrims, not just about them. It obliged me to adopt the perspective of the pilgrims, not just the academic community, which necessitated critically rethinking some of the analytical perspectives of previous pilgrimage studies.

After explaining my research in a bit more detail, I requested their permission to contact them for post-pilgrimage interviews. The majority²¹ of pilgrims consented, most highly enthusiastically. Many offered words of encouragement, and some grinned, "I knew you had a special intention!", signifying that they had not accepted my previous trite explanations. Their pleasure was probably due both to the nature of my 'intention,' and the fact that their intuitive powers had been confirmed.

To place the situation within the symbolic context of the pilgrimage, my overwhelming acceptance can probably be

largely credited to Mrs. Kelly's 'intercession.' Again, by placing a social enterprise in a religious context, she had in effect given the enterprise her endorsement, virtually assuring the support of the pilgrims. However, I posit that both the endorsement and the ensuing support can be credited to the fact that I was a good 'player', to again borrow from Goffman. Throughout the week I had demonstrated the appropriate 'personal front'--I was cheerful and 'charitable,' and had participated in all the devotions. Hence in the eyes of the organizer and the pilgrims I was a 'beneficent double agent' rather than a 'traitorous fraud' (cf. Goffman 1959:141).

About 10:00 that evening, the ethnographer strolled down the silent corridors to return a borrowed cassette tape to Mrs. Kelly. I reported that everyone must already be asleep as I hadn't seen or heard a soul. Mrs. Kelly nodded knowingly, explaining to her academic novice:

Your see, Cheryl, that's what a true pilgrimage is. We're not tourists. Now, see, everyone's exhausted, totally spent.

Once again the Newfoundland pilgrims had put on a star performance, and their director was pleased.

a. Homeward Bound

On Sunday morning the bus departed the Auberge at 8:30 a.m. enroute to the Marian shrine at Cap-de-la-Madeleine. The pilgrims arrived at 'the Cape', as it was called, shortly after 10 a.m., where they were greeted by Father Noel, the Director of Pilgrimages. After presenting the group's donation to 'Our Lady's Shrine,' the pilgrims debarked for a short visit.

The church at Cap-de-la-Madeleine was considerably smaller than Saint Anne's shrine, and evidently not associated with any miraculous cures. Its most outstanding symbolic feature was the elaborate gold-gilt and white altar, surmounted by a statue of 'Our Lady.' Like Ste. Anne de Beaupré, the Cape also had an outdoor Way of the Cross set alongside a winding path in the park-like grounds.

The only major ritual in which the pilgrims participated was a group recitation of the Rosary in honour of the patroness of the shrine. Mrs. Kelly led the first section, with several other pilgrims leading subsequent decades. A few pilgrims may also have made the outdoor Way of the Cross; however, due to the time constraints, few performed this rite. About an hour after arrival the

pilgrims reboarded the bus, headed for Montreal's Dorval airport.

The June group's flight home was uneventful, but the July group's return flight was fraught with trials. A mid-afternoon thunderstorm was raging at the airport. Unaccustomed to and fearful of this phenomenon under normal circumstances, many pilgrims were horrified at the prospects of flying under these conditions. The weather delayed take-off, which served to increase their trepidation. Fortunately the flight attendants were cooperative; upon being advised of their passengers' agitation, they served beverages and calmly reassured them that the storm would present no problems.

Take-off about a half-hour later was uneventful, but the pilgrims' trials were not over yet. After making the initial descent into St. John's, the plane continued to circle in the inky blackness without making the final descent for landing. After about 20 minutes, even the ethnographer became rather unnerved, puzzled about the cause of the delay. Shortly thereafter the pilot announced that due to thunderstorm conditions there was a backlog of flights waiting to land, hence we would be circling for a further

15-20 minutes. From the ensuing buzz of conversation, it was clear that the pilgrims' fears had been rekindled. When we finally broke through the cloud cover, lightning flashes were visible, a situation which horrified some pilgrims. In a post-pilgrimage interview, a pilgrim related that upon seeing the lightning, her seat mate started to remove her Saint Anne's necklace, fearing that the metal might attract a lightning bolt. However, midway she stopped, fearing the consequences of abandoning Saint Anne's protection. She agonized over this dilemma--caught 'betwixt and between' the worlds of Saint Anne and science--until we landed safely, shortly thereafter.

At the airport terminal the pilgrims joyfully greeted waiting relatives. There were no formal farewells or closing ceremonies to the pilgrimage. Upon retrieving their luggage the exhausted pilgrims disappeared into the night, probably not to encounter their companions until the next pilgrimage.

CHAPTER FOUR - FOOTNOTES

1 Bernadette's relationship with her roommate indicated her concern for others. Darlene was a shy, insecure woman with "bad nerves." To help her feel important and needed, Bernadette asked Darlene to assist her in taking up a collection for the shrine, a duty which Mrs. Kelly had asked Bernadette to do.

2 Constipation problems were frequent at the shrine.

3 Lillian was a middle-aged polio victim who worked as an office administrator. She had never married, which she deemed one of the main regrets of her life.

4 The ethnographer would have been even more of an anomaly had she been a young healthy male (cf. Chapter 5).

5 The amusing irony of this conclusion struck me immediately. My parents may be classified as "very holy" in that they are regular churchgoers, but both are United Church members of Presbyterian parentage, and they are totally bewildered about my interest in Catholicism, pilgrimage in particular.

6 When Laura first made the pilgrimage a number of years ago, she was totally paralyzed, rigid from the hips down. Since then successful operations had been performed on both hips, allowing her to sit upright, although her legs were still rigid. She attributed the vast improvement in her condition to prayers, in particular her devotion to Ste. Anne de Beauré.

7 Medals pinned to clothing or undergarments (often attached by a safety pin) are worn as objects of veneration and protection by both men and women on pilgrimage and at home.

8 Featured were: 1) the Saint Louis Gate (Québec), 2) the Boardwalk (Quebec), 3) the Quebec Bridge, 4) Montmorency Falls, 5) the Chateau Frontenac (Quebec), 6) the Memorial Chapel, 7) the Holy Stairs Chapel, 8) the Miraculous Statue, and 9) the Basilica of Ste. Anne de Beauré.

9 Dona Davis' study of the women's world of a Newfoundland outport community also revealed that thrift was a highly valued female trait (1983:104).

10 This seemingly fictitious scenario was not without basis in fact. Several years previous thieves had absconded with the jewel inlaid crowns of Mary and Saint Anne from the Miraculous Statue, a crime which horrified the pilgrims. The

crowns were later recovered, but were not reinstated. Synthetic-jewel duplicates were placed on the statues and the veritable crowns locked in a vault.

11 Masses for the deceased were also contracted for at the pilgrims' home parishes, however they often lamented that Masses in their home parish were booked solid for months in advance, making it impossible to contract for a Mass near the anniversary of a death.

12 Formerly the pilgrims individually submitted their Mass requests and monies. However, Newfoundland being in effect a non-literate culture, this presented communication difficulties. Often the requests were written on small scraps of paper, the hand-writing poor, the address incomplete, and/or it was not specified whether the pilgrim wished a High or Low Mass. Due to the confusion pilgrims often did not receive Mass Cards certifying that the Mass would be said. This was very upsetting to them, hence Mrs. Kelly instituted the present more formal system.

13 New Canadian paper currency was introduced as follows: 1971- \$10; 1973 - \$1; 1974 - \$2; 1979 - \$5 and \$20.

14 In discussing this with friends from small 'outport' communities, they indicated that it is not unusual for elderly people to keep some or all of their savings in the home. This may be done for practical or philosophical reasons ranging from the past or present inaccessibility of banking services to mistrust of financial establishments.

15 This was an error as Mrs. Kelly was temporarily confused as to what day it was. After much laughter and concurrence on how fast the week was going, it was clarified that she meant Saturday.

16 Somewhat to her embarrassment the ethnographer was also the recipient of these gratuities. In June, Mrs. Kelly presented me with Father Lefebvre's God in My Life, as she believed it would aid the conceptual/analytical aspects of my thesis. In July the ethnographer not only collected Mass money, etc., but accompanied an 'overflow' group of four pilgrims on the public bus from Montreal to Ste. Anne de Beaupré and return. For this I received \$25. enclosed in a laudatory thank-you note. Although somewhat reluctant to accept these gifts, they were indeed appreciated as my modest research grant far from covered all the expenses associated with these journeys. Also, I felt I had made a special effort to contribute to the group, which eased my conscience to a certain degree.

17 It may have been somewhat of an effort to make this special appeal for Father Simard, as neither Mrs. Kelly nor the pilgrims appeared particularly fond of him, as his manner was very perfunctory and business-like. The group had high praise for the previous Auberge manager, a jovial priest who regularly chatted with and did special favours for the Newfoundland pilgrims, including having a large farewell cake made on the evening prior to their departure.

18 In the case of the June pilgrimage, her narration was at the request of one of the pilgrims.

19 Father Proulx, former manager of the Auberge, related that to his knowledge the Newfoundland group was the only one which held regular lobby meetings (personal communication).

20 The pilgrims did not attend Mass Saturday night as it was primarily a parish function, conducted exclusively in French.

21 Of the 44 June pilgrims, only three declined to be interviewed.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTENTIONS: SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL

This chapter examines the social and psychological characteristics of the Newfoundland pilgrims, including their 'intentions,' the factors which motivated them to make the 1979 pilgrimage. Analysis focuses on a group level, summarizing empirical data, and comparing the social characteristics and motivating factors of the Newfoundland pilgrims with the findings of previous pilgrimage studies. While the factors analyzed in earlier studies are useful, they fall far short of explaining the most salient characteristics of the Newfoundland pilgrimage group, namely the predominance of middle-aged and elderly women. Several previously unidentified or underemphasized factors shed light on this situation, namely the social roles and value/belief systems of alienated individuals and groups, in this case older women.

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Analysis of the empirical data includes gender and age distribution,¹ and the socio-psychological motives of the pilgrims. Major social-psychological theories posited by

previous pilgrimage scholars are utilized; however, in light of perceived theoretical gaps, the ethnographer posits some additional analytical perspectives. I believe that these gaps arise not from major empirical differences between this study and earlier works, but because previous studies failed to analyze the key variables of gender and age. Hence the new perspectives may further our understanding of both historic and contemporary pilgrimages.

a. Gender-age distribution

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a total of 139 pilgrims made the pilgrimage, 42 in June and 97 in July.² The most striking socio-demographic feature of both groups was the predominance of women; less than 10% of the pilgrims were men. Of the 42 June pilgrims, only 3 (7%) were male.

The second most striking characteristic was the domination of middle-aged and elderly pilgrims. For both empirical and analytical reasons, the ethnographer utilizes three age categories: 1) Young (<30), 2) middle-aged (30-60), and 3) elderly (>60). Less than 10% of the pilgrims were young,³ while the remaining 90% was about evenly split between middle-aged and elderly pilgrims. In the June

pilgrimage the exact numbers were: Young--3 (7%), Middle-aged--19 (45%), Elderly--20 (48%). Analysis of motivating factors will further illuminate the gender-age distribution patterns.

b. Motives

Since the relative importance of various motivating factors varied among age groups, analysis is on an age-category basis. Examined are factors such as illness, death, socio-psychological problems, and spiritual pursuits--motives which have also been explored in previous pilgrimage and folk-healing analyses (cf. Turner 1973, 1975b, 1978; Pessner 1965, 1975; Gross 1971; della Cava 1970). The ethnographer will also examine a new participant category--the 'accompanying' pilgrim; a person who made the pilgrimage to assist another, usually afflicted, pilgrim. Accompanying pilgrims have played a part in other pilgrimages, but their social roles have not been analysed apart from the ill person whom they accompanied. In other words, their function is viewed as secondary. However in the context of the Newfoundland pilgrimage, analysis of this role is significant, as it sheds light on gender and age distribution patterns, and gender

roles and values within Newfoundland society. Analysis of the latter is included in Chapter 8.

i) Young pilgrims

Illness was clearly the prime motivating factor for young pilgrims, the vast majority of whom suffered from serious handicaps or debilitating disease. Their afflictions included spina bifida, Down's Syndrome, multiple sclerosis, kidney disease, juvenile diabetes, disabling psoriasis, and a congenital muscular disorder. At least initially, both the young person and his/her accomplice sought a cure, or at least a remission of symptoms.

It is significant that within this age group there was a fairly equal male-female ratio. Both male and female minors were usually accompanied to the shrine by their mothers, the pilgrimage often undertaken at the mother's initiative. Thus the motive was as much or more the mother's as the child's.

The more severely afflicted young people would never attain independent status, as their mental or physical disabilities would always render them dependent upon others.

For the males this would appear to be particularly pertinent as, unlike their female counterparts, pilgrimage was not a culturally appropriate practice for male heads of households, evidenced by the dearth of middle-aged and elderly male pilgrims.

Very few of the young pilgrims suffered from social-psychological problems independent of their illness, or had made the pilgrimage in an 'accompanying' role.⁴

ii) Middle-aged pilgrims

With respect to middle-aged pilgrims, the vast majority were female. Some suffered from physical and/or socio-psychological ills; however, many made the pilgrimage primarily in an 'accompanying' capacity. Among the physical afflictions were: hypertension, diabetes, osteo- and rheumatoid arthritis, multiple sclerosis, polio, cancer and ulcers.

The most prevalent social-psychological problem was 'bad nerves,' a vernacular term usually referring to depression and/or anxiety. Sometimes the 'complaint' was linked to an identifiable traumatic incident, often the death

of a spouse or child. In rarer cases the complaint was regarded more as a character trait, in which case the condition was regarded as relatively permanent.⁵

Approximately one-third of this age group made the pilgrimage in the 'accompanying' rôle, thus their 'intentions,' prayers and penance were primarily directed towards the recovery or amelioration of their loved one. This rôle probably accounts for the fairly large number of middle-aged female pilgrims as the rôle was virtually gender-specific, and at this age a woman could be bearing the responsibility of caring for three generations of relatives. The self-sacrificing, caretaker rôle which they played in secular society was replicated in the sacred realm of Ste. Anne De Beaupré.

A point largely ignored by previous pilgrimage studies is the stress experienced by caregivers, especially those responsible for the perminally or chronically ill.⁶ They are subject to constant worry and are pained by the suffering of their loved one. In addition, their lifestyles are often severely altered in order to accommodate the afflicted. Time for other family members and external social interaction may be limited, hindering these relationships. Financial sacrifices may also be entailed. Accompanying pilgrims sought the continued or improved mental and physical strength needed to fulfill their rôle. This was illustrated

by Mrs. Kelly's prayer requests (cf. Chapter 4), and by several of the cases outlines in Chapter 6, notably Ellen Costello.

As indicated above, pilgrimage as a response to physical/psychological ills, or in fulfillment of the accompanying role, was virtually gender-specific within this age group. Of the 19 middle-aged June pilgrims, Francis* was the only male. Of the handful⁷ of middle-aged male pilgrims in July, two were accompanying afflicted children, and a third had 'bad nerves.' With respect to the latter, Harold, a big, strapping man in his late forties had been making the pilgrimage for several years. Mrs. Kelly related that he was married with a family, but because of his 'bad nerves' he was unemployed.

With respect to the men accompanying children, Patrick Roche,* a widower in his 50s, accompanied his 20 year old son who was afflicted with multiple sclerosis. Melvin O'Brien, along with his wife (both in their thirties), accompanied their mentally retarded child. I found no males solely responsible for an afflicted person unless the mother was deceased.

ills Elderly pilgrims

Elderly pilgrims were again predominantly female, and they brought with them a wide variety of physiological and socio-psychological troubles. Unlike previous age groups, the elderly often suffered from multiple complaints, frequently a combination of physical and social-psychological ills. Among the physical ills were hearing and sight impairments, heart ailments, hypertension, hypotension, bursitis, diabetes and digestive disorders.

However even more distressing for many of the elderly were a variety of social-psychological problems, the most prevalent and disturbing of which was bereavement. Widows sought solace from sorrow, loneliness, boredom, and a sense of meaninglessness and loss of self-worth. Their intentions were not only self-directed: penance and prayers were also performed for the deceased's intentions, namely their speedy release from purgatory. At the shrine widows could continue to serve their husbands, a duty that had instilled their earlier lives with meaning. Through this performance of penance and prayer widows found solace and self-worth, a process which is to be explored in greater detail in Chapters 6 and 7. Here, too, they felt 'closer' to their deceased loved ones, as the shrine was believed to be closer to God and the holy souls.

Many elderly women also came to pray for their children's intentions: career and marital success, physical and 'moral' health. Often, particularly in the latter case, these intentions were prescribed by the mother. A significant number were distressed that their children had left the church or were conducting their lives in a manner which contravened the church's tenets. Pilgrims prayed for the reformation of offspring who were alcoholic, separated, divorced, or living common-law.

Again, very few of the elderly pilgrims were male. Most were husbands accompanying wives. One widower was accompanying his middle-aged daughter who suffered from epilepsy.

Many middle-aged and elderly pilgrims indicated that their pilgrimage was undertaken primarily to strengthen or affirm faith. It is essential to realize that many of these people also suffered from illness or had experienced some other 'disconfirming event' (cf. Ellen Costello, Mae Greene, and Clare Hogan below). Given this, it is conceptually useful to redefine or clarify the amorphous term 'faith' to reflect the context. It is arguable that these pilgrims were seeking a sense of meaning, order, and Ultimate

Justice.⁸ This ultimate order was to be restored through the symbolic messages of the church, a process, which will be examined in detail in Chapter 7.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

As with many of the previously studied pilgrimage groups (cf. Turner 1973, della Cava 1970, Gross 1971, Fals-Borda 1962 and Beevers 1954), most of the Newfoundland pilgrims could be classified as lower or lower-middle class.⁹ This was illustrated by their dress, attention to thrift, and the careful saving necessitated in order to make the pilgrimage. However, paralleling Fernea's (1965, 1975) findings regarding the social origins of Muslim pilgrims, there were a significant number of pilgrims who were clearly middle-class.¹⁰ These included career women: active and retired teachers and nurses, professional secretaries and administrators. While career women were definitely the exception, many non-working women were also economically secure. Father Lefebvre indicated that the Newfoundland group, on average, was better educated and had a higher socio-economic status than most of the shrine's pilgrimage groups.¹¹

While the label 'lower, lower-middle class' fits most Newfoundland pilgrims, it does not account for the participation of many middle class pilgrims. More importantly, it does not account for why the other half of the lower class--namely husbands and sons--does not participate in the pilgrimage. In sum, class is a 'negative' recruitment factor in that middle and upper class people were less likely to participate; however this factor is not decisive, and social class theory does not adequately explain the pilgrims' motives.

A key motivating factor identified by Turner is that pilgrimages are made in response to the threat of illness and death. Disease, affliction and death were clearly key components in the Newfoundland pilgrimage. For the majority of pilgrims, their first and perhaps subsequent pilgrimages were made in response to their own--to illness, or the illness or death of a loved one. It is crucial to note that while approximately one quarter to one third of the pilgrims had no 'physical intention' of their own, they were accompanying an afflicted person, offering them practical and moral support. Most often these 'accompanying pilgrims' were female relatives of the afflicted--mothers, daughters, sisters, aunts or nieces. In two cases the fathers

accompanying afflicted children were widowers, and for them I posit that if the mother were alive, she would probably be performing this role. In the Newfoundland context, practical, emotional and spiritual support of the ill is clearly a female role, the social context of which will be further explored in Chapter 8.

The gender association of this role is also implied in other studies. Richardson and Bode discovered that it is Puntarenan women who nightly pray to the saints for the health of their children (1969:37, cf. Chapter 1, p. 6). Fernea's Iraqi pilgrimage to a Muslim shrine was made in the company of a mother and her two daughters (1965:216-218). Leah Cohen's findings indicate that in British and North American society, middle-aged daughters are most often responsible for the care of their aging mothers (1984:94). Davis' ethnography of Newfoundland outport women reveals that "women feel they can share their problems with supportive female kin of all generations," and that the mother-daughter and sister-sister ties are particularly strong (1983:118).¹²

In a number of cases, pilgrims who had made previous pilgrimages with the group credited cures or

improved health to faith and the powers of Saint Anne, regardless of whether medical intervention may have also been involved. This is similar to folk-Catholic healing beliefs in Costa Rica and Brazil, where all cures are credited to the miraculous powers of the saints (cf. Richardson and Bode 1969:23,27 and Gross 1971:144 respectively).

Young, referring to the works of Lieban (1967), Leslie (1973), Fabrega (1971a) and Jansen (1973), defines the above assimilation process as the incorporation of 'alien' medical practices into one's own medical belief system. However, in the Newfoundland context modern medicine cannot be classified as 'alien' as it is an integral part of society with which pilgrims are very familiar. Rather, sacred and secular medical systems are recognized as functioning according to different principles in different contexts. The pilgrim exploits both systems, either alternately or concurrently, in order to maximize the curative and explanatory functions of each, thereby obtaining optimal physiological and psychological benefit.

As indicated above, for many of the Newfoundland pilgrims, pilgrimage served as an alternative medical system. Paralleling Richardson and Bode's findings regarding Costa

Rican folk healing beliefs, in general the Newfoundland pilgrims viewed pilgrimage as a complementary medical system; it did not represent a total rejection of standard modern medicine.¹³ As a rule the Newfoundland pilgrims steadfastly followed all medical directives, taking any prescribed medication throughout the pilgrimage,¹⁴ and intended to continue regular consultation with their physician(s) upon their return.

It is noteworthy that for many of the Newfoundland pilgrims, both the healing and explanatory ability of medical science had severe limitations. For pilgrims with problems such as psoriasis, multiple sclerosis, rheumatoid and osteo arthritis, congenital abnormalities, and cancer, current medical science could offer few causal explanations and no definitive promise of a cure. At best, symptoms could be alleviated or controlled. A similar situation prevailed in the case of pilgrims with psychological illness.

Thus these pilgrims were in a situation analogous to the traditional Africans studied by Horton (1961): their afflictions transcended the boundaries of their society's medical knowledge. This resulted in anomy and fear due to loss of control and order in life, which spurred the pilgrims to seek alternative, higher-level explanations. Analogous

scenarios are posited in studies of African, Mexican, and Brazilian folk-healing (cf. Horton 1961; Romano-V 1965:1170 and Gross 1971:144 respectively).

On both 'emic' and 'etic' levels, stress emerges as a key element for pilgrims with physical and psychological problems and their accomplices. A number of physical ailments were stress-induced or exacerbated, including hypertension, angina, diabetes, multiple sclerosis, psoriasis and ulcers.¹⁵ Medical research indicates that the chronically ill may suffer from "fear or anxiety, dependency, anger, and loss of gratification" (Brunner & Suddarth 1980:1327-1328). Conversely, the ability to maintain psycho-sociological strengths will enhance a patient's response to medical therapy (Brunner & Suddarth 1980:1327).

Many afflicted pilgrims felt the pain of potential 'failure' to serve their family as keenly as their physical anguish. This stress was implied in Mrs. Kelly's reference to Wilhelmina O'Neill's affliction (cf. Chapter 4), and the case of Maude Billard below. This fear of social role

inadequacy is key to understanding the Newfoundland pilgrims. In their socio-cultural world dignity and self-worth are derived from fulfilling a self-sacrificing role of service to others. Hence their fears of disability and death were conceptualized and expressed in terms of a self-sacrificing model of concern for others, specifically the welfare of their children, the most dependent members of the family and society. For the Newfoundland pilgrims, inability to fulfill this role, was in essence a living death, as life lost all of its meaning if one was no longer able to serve others. The symbolic context of this theme will be examined in Chapter 7, and the broader socio-cultural context in Chapter 8.

Stress was sometimes perpetuated or exacerbated by the inadequacies of medical and social service systems. Counselling, psychiatric, and home care services are extremely limited, services which may have eased the burden of many pilgrims. In addition, physicians may appear callous or unsympathetic. Maude* was distressed at her physician's apparent indifference towards her difficulty in adapting to a restrictive diet. Patrick* was traumatized by his medical treatment, which he found a mentally and physically painful ordeal. The medical system had virtually abandoned Francis,*

as he had literally been sent home to die. These individuals and many others experienced stress as a result of alienation from the medical system.

Another key motivator cited by the Turners is guilt. They posit that remorse felt for social infractions committed in tightly-knit small-scale societies is a frequent pilgrimage motive (1978:7). Despite the fact that Newfoundland outport society exemplifies many of the characteristics of small-scale societies,¹⁶ "deep guilt" in the sense of remorse for personally committed social or immoral acts, was not a prominent factor in the Newfoundland pilgrimage. In the ethnographer's experience, no pilgrims indicated either informally or formally (through Mass requests) that their penance was directed towards redress for personal wrongdoings.

However this does not signify that such discord does not exist in Newfoundland society, or that pilgrims did not atone for these sins during in their pilgrimage. Mrs. Kelly's reference to fences during the June bus trip (cf. Chapter 2) clearly implied that there is undesirable disharmony in Newfoundland society.¹⁷ However in most cases the pilgrims did not view themselves as the prime

culprits. Rather they offered the redemptive sacrifice of their afflictions, prayers, and penitential acts towards the reformation of other perpetrators. Pilgrims prayed for the intentions of sinful husbands, children, relatives and friends; and on a meta-level, for the perpetrators of war and conflict around the world. As Mary Douglas puts it, their penance was "chalked up for the common good" (1973:169).

There were two contexts in which feelings of guilt were evident to some degree. One was the act of fulfillment of a vow. In Mrs. Kelly's case she concluded that she had not been keeping up her side of the bargain following her cure, hence the commencement of the pilgrimage organization. Mae* felt that she owed a thank-you to Saint Anne after a lifetime of happiness. The second context was nagging feelings of guilt regarding failure at bringing up children in the ways of the Church. Mothers regarded this as their responsibility, and although they viewed the evils of modern society as the force which drew their offspring away from the church, they still harboured some latent guilt regarding their failure to instill sufficiently strong religious values. This was particularly evident in the case of Mae Greene.*

The Turners (1978:14,19) and others, notably Beevers (1954:196) cite that pilgrims and the institution of pilgrimage are antithetical to social trends and values of the modern world. This antithesis was evident in many contexts. The Newfoundland pilgrims cherished and exemplified humility, piety, self-sacrifice and motherhood; values and roles which have little esteem in the modern world, and to which few people adhere or aspire. The pilgrims were also adverse to some current developments in the social, political and economic realms. In the political realm, they were critical of the Parti Quebecois and the New Democratic Party. The Parti Quebecois was despised for its separatist policy, which had indirect implications for the shrine and its pilgrims. Mrs. Kelly noted that the priests at the shrine did not support this policy. The NDP was scorned for its pro-choice stance on the abortion issue, and its support of unions. Commenting on the current labor situation in Newfoundland, Mrs. Kelly lamented: "It's all bad enough now." 18

In the social realm many pilgrims decried common-law unions, inter-religious marriage, agnosticism and abortion. Mrs. Kelly's initial conversation with the ethnographer indicated that she did not accept Darwinian evolutionism (See Chapter 2). In the economic realm, both

trade unions and big business fell into disfavour. Mrs. Kelly maintained that oil-related development was the worst thing that could happen to Newfoundland as crime would escalate, high-rises would dominate the landscape, and real estate values and property taxes would skyrocket.¹⁹

As indicated in Chapter 1, previous studies have postulated a welter of socio-psychological and spiritual pilgrimage motives without positing how these factors may be linked. I.M. Lewis' analysis of spirit possession and deprivation cults is of considerable assistance in this regard. Distinct parallels between the peripheral religious practices of pilgrimage and spirit possession cults are evident in the social characteristics of the participants and in the social-psychological benefits which they derive from participation in these rites.

Based on cross-cultural analysis, Lewis demonstrates that these cults appeal primarily to subordinate, rejected and/or despised social groups and individual deviants; people who are denied full participation in the dominant political, economic, social and religious

spheres of society (1966:322). Lewis discovered that the social group most frequently represented in these cults was women (1966:309,310,318),⁸ but that psychologically disturbed adult males may also be involved (1966:315). He posits that the most common scenario is a possession claim made by a married woman who may be struggling to feed her children with few resources and/or suffering due to real or perceived neglect by her husband.

Through participation in these cults, often involving culturally-defined abnormal behaviour and illness, the forgotten graphically call attention to their plight, and demand to be recognized by society. In numerous African cultures 'the cure' entails lavish gifts purchased by the husband and showered upon the wife (1966:314,316). Thus the dominant male tacitly and transiently recognizes the woman's value, and she attains "assurance, security and enhancement of status, even if only vicariously" (Lewis 1966:322-323).

Parallels with previously identified social-psychological characteristics of pilgrims are undeniable. The vast majority of pilgrims represent people who are denied access to authority positions in the dominant political, economic, and social realms: women, the poor, the

handicapped, the mentally and physically ill. For the Newfoundland pilgrims, as with their African sisters, their stress often resulted from the pressures of family life, the struggle to raise children and run a household on limited resources with minimal practical and moral support. Some also feared or experienced the dire socio-economic consequences of dissolution of the union through divorce, separation or bereavement. In addition, the dominant society is increasingly ignoring or downgrading the role of motherhood, resulting in devalorization of traditional women.

The 'cure' in the Newfoundland context was a pilgrimage to Ste. Anne de Beaupré, a ritual rarely participated in by husbands, but tacitly supported by them. In this realm, women, the sick, and the handicapped could assume leadership roles and acquire status rarely afforded them in the secular world.²⁰ Through the rich symbolism of the shrine, pilgrims were assured that their roles, values and beliefs were not only equal to the dominant social order--they were superior. This complex symbolic reversal involving visual symbols, dramaturgical performance, liturgy and 'emic' interpretative categories will be examined in detail in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER FIVE - FOOTNOTES

1 The researcher did not utilize a formal questionnaire or survey in this study as they were inappropriate to the religious context. Consequently, accurate statistical data on gender and age variables could only be obtained for the smaller June group. However the relative percentages for the July group were very similar.

2 Analysis of the practical and philosophical reasons for the discrepancy in the size of the groups was provided in Chapter 2.

3 This underrepresentation of youth was due at least in part to the organizer's stipulation that children, unless seriously ill, were prohibited from participating (cf. Chapter 2).

4 The ethnographer is aware of only two exceptions. One healthy twelve-year old was 'accompanying' her aged grandmother who suffered from diabetes, angina and hypertension. However as a twelve-year old clearly could not be held 'responsible' for an adult (or herself, for that matter), it was somewhat unclear as to who was accompanying whom.

The second exception was a timorous young woman in her early twenties who made the pilgrimage due to her "bad nerves" (informant's term). Darlene was from a small outport community, but was currently living in a boarding house in St. John's and working as a chamber maid. In the ethnographer's opinion, Darlene had limited intellect, and was also suffering from social isolation. Darlene found the pilgrimage experience very beneficial as several months later she reported to the ethnographer: "I haven't been depressed since I went to the shrine."

5 Dona Davis' ethnography of the woman's world of "Grey Rock Harpour," Newfoundland, provides a detailed analysis of the emic meanings and perceived causes of 'bad nerves' (cf. 1983:133-143). She, too, discovered that women recognize two basic types of 'bad nerves,' one a temporary condition usually resulting from stress or trauma, and, two, a chronic condition which may be inherited or learned through the social environment (1983:136).

This closely parallels M.J. Field's operative definition of depression used in his ethno-psychiatric study of rural Ghanaian pilgrims. He defines depression as: "An illness of every degree of severity, characterized by low spirits, diminished mental and physical activity, and feelings of worthlessness. Reactive depression is the result of external provocation (e.g., bereavement): endogenous depression has no obvious cause" (1960:19).

6 Dona Davis posits that chronic stress due to worry about the family's health and well-being was the primary cause of "bad nerves" among the women of the Newfoundland outport in her study (1983:138). Studies of physical and psychosocial abuse of elderly women have revealed that much of this abuse is inflicted by over-stressed family care-givers who receive little or no professional support (cf. Cohen 1984:113-124).

7 To the ethnographer's knowledge, there were no more than six middle-aged male pilgrims in July.

8 The ethnographer posits that this operative definition of 'faith' would also prove useful in understanding other pilgrimage complexes and their pilgrims.

9 The ethnographer utilizes the terms 'lower' and 'lower-middle' class according to standard North American social indicators of occupational status, income level, etc. However it is noteworthy that the pilgrims would probably not describe themselves as 'lower-class'. Instead they would probably ascribe to 'middle class' standing as they generally represented the 'average' status and income level within the context of their own communities.

10 Unfortunately, Fernea's ethnographies are not primarily pilgrimage studies, and she does not grapple with the discrepancy between her findings and previous pilgrimage social analyses.

11 For the most part these groups represent ethnic/racial communities from various regions of the eastern US - Italians, Poles, Slavs, Greeks, French and blacks (cf. Baillargeon 1979:57-61), and Acadian and native Indian pilgrimages from eastern Canada.

While it is possible that the average educational and socio-economic level of the Newfoundland pilgrims was not significantly different from that of other pilgrimage

groups, the ethnographer does not believe Father Lefebvre's commentary was deliberately misleading. Rather his conclusions may have been coloured by his extensive contact with Mrs. Kelly over the years. He may have come to view her clearly middle class social-economic status as representative of the Newfoundland group as a whole.

12 Mrs. Kelly related a particularly telling example of the strength of female kin ties. A friend of hers who had cancer told her sister weeks before she revealed her condition to her husband.

13 Mrs. Kelly's first pilgrimage exemplified an exception to this rule. Here she clearly rejected the services of modern medicine in favour of the powers of Saint Anne and God. However, following her miraculous cure she continued to visit her doctor, and today takes medication to control kidney and hypertension problems. Thus in a synchronic frame, the two medical systems seem to have been found mutually exclusive, while in a diachronic frame they were complementary.

14 Some pilgrims indicated that they had taken less medication while they were at the shrine, either because they felt better, or because they had missed dosages during their excitement and their hectic schedule.

15 Brunner and Suddarth indicate that anxiety and fear represent a threat to the hypertension patient (1980:629), and angina patients are cautioned to avoid stressful situations (1980:573). They cite "stresses of life" as one of the factors affecting the intensity of diabetes mellitus (maturity-onset diabetes) (1980:835). Relapses of multiple sclerosis patients "are often associated with periods of emotional and physical stress" (Brunner and Suddarth 1980:1231). Medical research indicates that psoriasis may be aggravated by "[p]eriods of emotional stress and anxiety" (Brunner & Suddarth 1980:1060). Brunner and Suddarth assert that teenagers are particularly vulnerable to embarrassment and feelings of social inadequacy caused by the disease. Also, home life may be disrupted due to treatment procedures, causing familial resentment and strife (1980:1060). Emotional stress, including anxiety, tension, frustration and resentment, are important causal factors of duodenal ulcers, and recurrence is probable despite medical and surgical treatments if stress factors are not eliminated or reduced (Brunner & Suddarth 1980:741,744).

16 Pertinent elements of the social fabric of Newfoundland society will be examined in Chapter 8.

17 The significance of fences and social conflict in Newfoundland society has been analyzed by Faris (1972), and will be addressed in Chapter 8.

18 Probably a significant factor influencing Mrs. Kelly's attitude was a current nurses strike in Newfoundland. To many pilgrims this potential threat to the elderly and the sick was immoral.

19 It is noteworthy that Mrs. Kelly lives in the downtown area, thus her property would clearly be adversely affected by such development.

20 Daniel Gross also discovered that it is women who frequently lead groups of Brazilian peasant pilgrims (1971:137-138).

CHAPTER SIX

PILGRIM PORTRAITS

This chapter outlines the pilgrimage experiences and pertinent life histories of some key informants, providing synchronic and diachronic accounts of their pilgrimage experiences grounded within social reality.

It must be noted that these pilgrims do not represent a random or necessarily representative sample. They were selected as a result of the fieldwork process, being people with whom I established a good rapport, and from whom I acquired valuable qualitative data. The generalized conclusions of Chapter Five, with my comments, should provide the standard for judging to what degree these cases did or did not represent typical Newfoundland pilgrims.

In any case, representativeness is not the primary intent. Rather, it is to provide an 'emic' view of the pilgrims' world, their social reality and their pilgrimage experience. Since the pilgrims are primarily women, this is predominantly a women's view of a women's world; a viewpoint which has only recently begun to be explored by social scientists. To borrow from Barbara du Bois, it is an

attempt: "To address women's lives and experience in their own terms, to create theory grounded in the actual experience and language of women" (1983:108). However, it is also an account of the experience of sick children and socially alienated men. For this reason I refrain from calling it a 'feminist' perspective. Too often that has been a narrow sexist label carrying the implication that well over half of the human race have never experienced suffering and oppression, or that they cannot see the world from or appreciate this perspective. In effect the label belies much that it purports to stand for.

The following accounts delineate the pilgrims' motives, pertinent ritual action and social interaction with fellow pilgrims, and socio-psychological effects of the pilgrimage experience. It is noteworthy that a pilgrim may have multiple motives/'intentions' and that these may change over time due to past pilgrimage experiences or altered social circumstances. Diachronic change of motives is particularly well illustrated in the cases of Mrs. Kelly and Francis Costello*.

Even on the same pilgrimage a pilgrim may have a complex web of motives. Sometimes the 'public intention' differed greatly from the private motive--even the pilgrim may not have been fully cognizant of the interplay between these various factors. This seems to be true of Mae's* case. While the ethnographer cannot claim to give an exhaustive account of the dominant and subliminal motives of each pilgrim, I posit that motives are most often multiple and complex, rather than singular and straightforward, as implied in many earlier pilgrimage analyses. Health, psycho-social, and spiritual motives were intricately linked, and most pilgrims were seeking solutions to problems or perplexities in more than one area. Due to the nature of their problems and the nature of our social system, solutions could not often be found in the secular social realm; indeed, the problems often arose there.

Motives as well as socio-psychological benefits were intricately tied to the social roles and value/belief systems of the sub-culture, which was alienated from the metropolitan world. A common thread among all pilgrims was that they were seeking to affirm a sense of order, rightness

and personal dignity in the face of seemingly overwhelming evidence to the contrary. It was within the sacred world of Ste. Anne de Beaupré that these needs were most effectively fulfilled.

PORTRAITS

Francis Costello

I met Francis on the first night of the June pilgrimage. It was about 10:30 p.m., and most pilgrims had retired for the evening after a gruelling day of traveling, followed by attendance at the evening Mass. I had stolen down to the lounge to furtively write up a few notes on the day's activities, when Francis strolled into the room. He was a tall, heavy built man who looked to be in his early 30s. He wore thick dark-rimmed glasses and dressed conservatively, a plain tailored shirt, polyester dress pants, and oxford shoes. I asked if he had been to the shrine before, and he proceeded to relate the events which had precipitated his first visit to the shrine over 10 years ago, and the effect which this and subsequent pilgrimages had had on his life.

Francis had always been a bright student, with a devil-may-care sense of humour. However, he started having severe headaches and black-outs during his last year of high school. It was discovered that he had a massive brain tumour. The growth was not malignant, but was so large that he was obliged to undergo surgery three times to remove the entire growth, procedures which rendered him totally incapacitated and blind. The doctors did not think he would survive, so they sent him home to die.

But they were wrong. One year after his 'death sentence' Francis visited the shrine in thanksgiving, and to beseech Saint Anne for a continued recovery. Since then he had learned how to walk again and had regained 30% vision in one eye. His memory and comprehension were still extremely poor, his speech slow, and his gait somewhat stilted. However, Francis attributed his remarkable recovery to Saint Anne, and he had continued to make yearly pilgrimages to the shrine except when hospitalization had prevented him from doing so.

Due to his physical and mental impairments, Francis did not have a job, and lived at home with his parents. However, he was an active volunteer at several social agencies, "trying to help people who are more handicapped than me." He explained that he did much of his volunteer work at the CNIB (Canadian National Institute for the Blind), taking the blind out for walks, because he was once blind himself. Francis revealed that before he was afflicted he used to make fun of handicapped people; now he tried to help them. In congruence with this, Francis maintained that now one of his primary reasons for coming to the shrine was to pray for other handicapped people.

It was quite late when Francis finished his story. Before leaving he cautioned me that he probably wouldn't remember my name in the morning, but that I should not be disturbed by this. I was filled with anguish at this poignant revelation, and secretly wished that he would prove himself wrong. But this was not to be. When I saw Francis the next day, he nodded a greeting, but showed no recollection of our meeting the night before. Again, I was heart-sick at how cruel life could be. However, this feeling

was juxtaposed with amazement and respect for Francis' dignity and the compassion shown for others (including a healthy ethnographer), qualities which he continued to exemplify throughout the pilgrimage.

Faithful to his professed intention of prayer for others, much of Francis' time was spent in prayer at the Basilica. When fellow pilgrims greeted him and asked what he'd been doing, he most often replied, "Doin' lots of prayin'." Even other pilgrims regarded this total dedication as rather unusual, and somewhat amusing.

Francis' other standard response to this query was, "Lookin' for my perfect woman." The other pilgrims found this response entertaining and on subsequent meetings they'd often ask him if he'd found his perfect woman yet.¹

Although Francis' mother had accompanied him to the shrine, he chose to spend much of his free time alone. This was uncharacteristic of the Newfoundland pilgrims, the majority of whom participated in ritual and secular activities with a buddy or as part of a small group.

One of the people whom Francis did spend some time with was Genevieve Keough.² Mrs. Kelly and others speculated that he had a special liking for her, and that perhaps this was his 'perfect woman.'

Even though Francis chose to spend much of his time alone, he was an eager participant in group activities. He was proud to have any position of importance, particularly one which helped others. He faithfully pushed wheelchair pilgrims to Mass or in the Way of the Cross, and frequently carried the banner in the procession or took up collection at the Mass.

At the shrine Francis' devotion to others received sacred sanction and social support. Here he was needed and appreciated by fellow group members.

Ellen Costello

Mrs. Ellen Costello, Francis' mother, was a short, plump woman, whose finely-lined faced and twinkling eyes were invariably lit up with a smile. Her pleasant disposition revealed little of the hardship, sacrifice and tragedy which had characterized her life.

Illness and death had struck the family several times. Besides Francis' tragic affliction, a daughter had died several years previously, and Ellen had recently undergone surgery for breast cancer. She had made what doctors termed a miraculous recovery, which Ellen attributed to the power of prayer and faith.

Ellen's entire married life was characterized by hard work and personal sacrifice. She and her husband struggled to raise 13 children on a limited budget. To augment her husband's meager earnings as an administrative clerk, Ellen had worked as a cook in a local hotel. More recently she took in student boarders to supplement their income.

When I visited at her home, Mrs. Costello proudly 'introduced' me to each of her children through the graduation and wedding photos which lined one living room wall. She proudly noted that they had all graduated from university and had successful careers. Ellen was particularly proud of one daughter who had chosen to become a nun, explaining that she had always prayed that God would

call one of her children to religious life, but that she had never actively encouraged any of them to pursue this calling. When Ellen's gaze fell upon Francis' picture, her eyes misted with tears. Like her other children he had held such promise, but his and their hopes for a career and marriage had been dashed:

The Costellos had made such a tremendous sacrifice to put their children through university, that they had virtually no savings. Francis had to make his initial pilgrimages alone, as the family budget didn't permit an accomplice. Ellen noted that they could barely afford to make the trip even now, but each year as soon as the pilgrimage is over, she starts saving for the following year.

Religion, and Saint Anne in particular, had always been an important part of Ellen's life. In her earlier years of marriage, when the family lived in a small community just outside St. John's, Ellen was a member of the parish St. Anne's sodality. When they moved to St. John's she left the sodality, as the nearest group was in a distant parish, and with a young family it was impossible to attend meetings. Ellen related that she had come back to a strong devotion to Saint Anne upon Francis' illness.

Ellen prayed on a daily basis, but claimed, "I'm not good at praying," explaining that she simply "offered up her joys, sorrows, pains and frustrations to God each morning." Based on this explanation, it seems that by 'not good' Ellen meant that her prayers were not sophisticated; they were simply a humble offering of herself to the Lord. Her husband was also religious. Although he had never been to the shrine Mr. Costello noted, "I say my prayers." He was also actively involved in parish work.

The Costello's living room was marked by signifiers of their faith. Two small plastic shrines perched on top of the china cabinet, and a metal souvenir plate depicting Saint Anne hung over the doorway leading from the living room to the rest of the house.

Ellen related that ideally, if they had the money, she and her husband would like to drive to Ste. Anne de Beaupré, and combine the pilgrimage with a holiday. However, she claimed that she didn't regret not being able to do so, since she made the pilgrimage as an act of penance and thanksgiving. She gave thanks for her children's career and marital successes, and Francis' and her own miraculous recoveries.

Her penance was performed on behalf of family members, both living and deceased. In addition to her family's health, and the salvation of the deceased, Ellen prayed for the intentions of a son who was separated from his wife. She explained that the situation was very distressing as she was fond of both the son and his wife. Ellen blamed neither one for the discord, but was perplexed as to the cause, as she thought they were getting along fine just prior to the separation.

Ellen was fascinated by the droves of Amerindian pilgrims who arrived at the shrine during the final week-end of our stay. She admired the fact that many travelled in campers or vans, bringing the whole family to the shrine. She also liked the traditional dress which some wore, and posed for a picture with a couple clad in beaded buckskin.

Ellen claimed that at the shrine "pilgrims forgot all of their personal worries and ailments." Here she found a deep sense of personal peace despite her many hardships.

Mae Greene

A tall, gracious woman in her late 60s, Mrs. Mae Greene was my roommate during the June pilgrimage. Mae

denied having any physical intentions; indeed she believed that old age had so far treated her very kindly. Mae conceded that she was a bit overweight and had some arthritis, but nothing really to complain about. Mae confided that the one condition which she dreaded was swollen ankles. She had always been proud of her delicate feet and ankles--believing they were her best features--and feared that the circulatory problems and attendant swelling of old age may mar her fine features. However she noted that she was very conscientious about health care, and foot care in particular, so she didn't foresee imminent problems.

Mae said that her pilgrimage intentions were purely spiritual, mainly to give thanks to Saint Anne and God for a happy and fulfilled life which was always filled with love. She also wished to pray for the intentions of her two daughters and deceased husband. Her husband, whom she had loved dearly, had died of cancer two years before. He was an invalid for the final year of his life, and Mae had diligently nursed him at home until he died one night in his sleep.

On Tuesday morning after Mass Mrs. Kelly beckoned me over to where she was standing with Brother Charles, a

longtime shrine attendant. A tiny, jovial man, his humility and pleasant disposition made him a favorite with the Newfoundland pilgrims. As Brother Charles explained, "I'm just an Indian among many chiefs." Mrs. Kelly happily related that Brother Charles had agreed to take me on a private tour of the Basilica.³ Just as Mrs. Kelly was expanding upon my academic pursuits, Mae joined us. The organizer hesitated for a moment, then judging that Mae would not be perturbed by this development, she plunged right ahead with her explanation. As usual Mrs. Kelly had made an accurate assessment; Mae was thrilled to be my accomplice in this 'underground operation'; it was an unexpected highlight.

Mae accompanied Brother Charles and me on the Basilica tour. He took great pride in exhibiting his vast knowledge of the architecture and ornamentation of the Basilica, explaining the symbolism of floor mosaics, statue groups, and carvings on the pews. He commented on why certain stones, metals, or colour schemes were selected, sharing fascinating tidbits of information that only an insider would know. Mrs. Greene was enthralled with his commentary, and reflected that it was a shame that all pilgrims weren't privy to this information, as it would add greatly to the meaning of their pilgrimage.

After about 45 minutes Brother Charles excused himself, explaining that it was time to prepare the sacraments for the upcoming French Mass. We both thanked him profusely, and headed back to the Auberge. As soon as Brother Charles was out of earshot, Mae interjected, "Don't you think we should have given him a little something for his time?" Coming from a religious culture in which monetary contributions were rarely made outside a religious service, and 'tips' to the clergy would normally be viewed as highly inappropriate (if not insulting), I was totally taken aback by this suggestion. However, recognizing that there was probably a precedent for this within Catholicism, or Mae wouldn't have mentioned it, I suggested that we ask Mrs. Kelly's advice. We tracked down the organizer in the cafeteria, and Mae explained her suggestion. Mrs. Kelly immediately agreed that it would be highly appropriate to offer a monetary token of thanks, because Brothers have few worldly resources. Mae volunteered to pick up a thank-you card while I was on Mass duty that afternoon, and we agreed that \$5 would be an appropriate token of thanks.

Mae arrived back with both the card and some Yardley soaps for us. We both had an aversion to the claustrophobic shower stalls, and had decided that even the inconvenience of a trip down the hall to the bathtub was preferable. Mae told me that she had always loved perfumed soaps, and if we had to march down the hall she thought we might as well enjoy it.

On Wednesday afternoon I asked Mae if she wanted anything at the store, as I was going to buy some apple cider to bring back to friends. Mae had never heard of fermented cider⁴ before; intrigued with the idea, she suggested, "Why don't you buy a bottle for us to have after Mass tonight?" Again, I was astonished, as in my religious culture it would be outrageous--especially for a woman--to suggest drinking in such a context. However, this seemed preferable to our usual nightly quota of Pepsi, a necessity after the one and one-half hours of evening devotions in the sultry mid-summer heat.

Before leaving for Mass we set the cider to 'chill' in the tiny sink with tepid cold water--the best we could do as the Auberge has no ice machines. After Mass as I struggled to open the cap, I quipped, "If Saint Anne could see us now, she'd probably have our heads!" Mae retorted, "No, she'd probably come right down and have some

with us. I don't think the saints want us to go around with long faces." As Mae's comments revealed, in this folk Catholic culture, there was no contradiction between earthly pleasures and other-worldly pursuits; saints, who once lived on earth, were allies and friends, supportive of earthly wants and needs. As long as we exhibited the proper public 'front' we were allowed our backstage indulgences (cf. Goffman 1959:24,112).

After some initial small-talk, Mae confided that what concerned her most at this point in her life was her daughter, Anne.⁵ Mae explained that due to the Depression, she and her husband had to delay their marriage 10 years, hence she was in her late 30s and her husband in his early forties when they wed. Fearing infertility, Mae prayed to Saint Anne for a child. Within two years, Anne was born, and later a second daughter.

Anne had always been very bright, but lazy and lacking 'common sense.' Despite her intellectual potential, she had married an American serviceman shortly after graduation from high school. They moved to Tennessee, where Anne soon bore two children, a son and a daughter. Tragically, after only 10 years of marriage, Anne's husband suffered a fatal heart attack. Mae had been in close contact with her

daughter during this traumatic period, visiting her several times.

Two men started seeing Anne shortly after her bereavement. Mae related that John kept his distance from Anne, but portrayed his affection by showing considerable interest in her children. Robert, on the other hand, paid marginal attention to the children, but "moved right in on Anne." Mrs. Greene declared that although Robert was a very likeable young man, she strongly disapproved of his tactics, approaching Anne during a vulnerable period. Furthermore, he was a divorced Protestant with three children by a previous marriage, thus prospects for a Roman Catholic church wedding were virtually nil.

However, Robert was the man Anne eventually chose. They currently lived together 'common-law', although Mae related that "they went through some kind of wedding ceremony for the benefit of the children".⁶ Anne claimed that she was the happiest she'd ever been, and was positive she had made the right decision.

Mae was further perplexed by the couple's relationship with Robert's ex-wife, and Robert's parents' attitude

towards their union. Robert maintained he was still "the best of friends" with his former wife; he simply didn't love her anymore, and reasoned that he could not continue living with her. Furthermore Anne had met his former spouse, and she, too, liked her. Mae was most perplexed and distressed that Robert's parents liked Anne, and approved of their union. Mae noted that she had always found Americans very self-centred, which for her explained their condonation.

Mae was still perturbed at the relationship. She was heartbroken that Anne had abandoned the ways of the church, and prayed that her daughter would soon "come to her senses" and leave him. Undoubtedly Mae's remorse was accentuated due to her belief that Anne had been a special gift from God and Saint Anne. Thus Anne was insulting her sacred patron, and indirectly Mae felt culpable for her daughter's irreligion.

For Mae her trip to the shrine was a graphic affirmation of her belief in the tenets and values of the church. In particular, Mae revered and exemplified the values and roles personified by Saint Anne: patience, self-sacrifice, marriage and motherhood, dedication to one's

husband and children. It was dedication to these time-honored, sacred roles and values--and the compassion of Saint Anne--to which Mae accredited her happy life. Although all around her the secular world was abandoning the ways of the church, Mae was confident in her beliefs. At the shrine the sacred rites and symbols, exalted clerics, and her pilgrim compatriots, confirmed her belief in the rightness of these values. It was Mae's fervent hope that through her pilgrimage her daughter, too, would embrace these tenets and values and acknowledge her sacred patrons, so that she, too, would enjoy the dignity, self-confidence, and sense of fulfillment which Mae now felt in the twilight of her life.

Maude Billard

My roommate during the July pilgrimage, Mrs. Maude Billard was a shy, reticent widow making her first pilgrimage. A fairly young widow (around 60), Maude had been considering a visit to the shrine for the past three years--since her husband's death. Maude said his death was devastating and her grief was increasing, not subsiding. Although she still had an 18-year old son at home, and cared for two grandchildren on a daily basis, Maude maintained that

she had felt depressed and useless since the time of her husband's death.

Although Maude's experience of widowhood had been emotionally destructive, her bereavement did not entail the financial deprivation which is also a frequent characteristic of widowhood (cf. Cohen 1984). She lived comfortably in a well-kept bungalow in a new St. John's subdivision.

Maude's misery was further exacerbated by the onset of diabetes shortly after her husband's death. Her physician had placed her on a strict diet to aid weight loss and minimize symptoms, but Maude claimed it had only made her more miserable and depressed. Maude felt it was useless to tell others about her problems since they didn't have the time to help her, and they probably couldn't help her even if they had the time.

If the ethnographer's experience can be taken as typical, Maude's assessment was accurate to a degree: my attempts to console her did little good. I insisted that she was far from worthless, that she must mean a great deal to her family, but Maude would retort that she was indeed worthless in comparison with her former vigor. She nostalgically

reminisced about her early years of marriage, when life had been a whirlwind of work, catering to the needs of husband and nine children. In addition to performing the myriad regular household chores, Maude proudly noted that she also painted, wallpapered, and sewed for her children and neighbourhood children as well. Now, Maude sighed regretfully, she could accomplish only menial household tasks without becoming exhausted.⁷

Maude's first day of the pilgrimage was marked by trepidation and insecurity. She said she hadn't spoken to anyone on the nine-hour journey to the shrine, conceding that she had chatted briefly with the woman who sat next to her on the plane; but only because her neighbour did all the talking. Maude confided that she usually found it very difficult to make friends.

Maude declared she was happy to have me as a roommate, as being a veteran I could accompany her to all the devotions. She claimed that she probably never would have found them on her own. Again, this may have been a self-fulfilling prophecy, as Maude's trepidation probably would have deterred her from striking out on her own or asking someone else for assistance.

Indeed Maude was my constant companion until Tuesday afternoon. I had promised to accompany her to the 3:00 Way of the Cross devotion, but at 2:45 I was still tied up at the Mass collection table. Instead of waiting for me, Maude agreed to join two other women who were on their way over. This seemingly small act signalled new-found initiative, and seemed to bolster Maude's self-confidence.

Mrs. Billard was soon captivated with the pilgrimage experience. After visiting St. Gerard's chapel on Wednesday morning she commented, "This certainly is a beautiful, holy city." She reflected that scores of other Newfoundlanders would probably come to the shrine if only they had the money.

Besides the benefits of the rich ritual and visual elements of the shrine, Maude's growing contentment was derived from interaction with other pilgrims. She learned of the complaints, physiological and psychological, suffered by fellow pilgrims, many of which paralleled her own, and some which made her own tribulations pale in comparison. As she reflected to me, "I don't think that there's one person here without a complaint, except maybe you."

Late in the week Maude experienced an emotionally shattering incident. On Thursday I accompanied her to the crypt to light one of the week-long votive candles for her husband's intentions. A sea of candles flickered in the dimly lit crypt, with only the occasional one remaining unlit. Maude took great pains in selecting a candle from among the few remaining, as this votive offering would burn for her husband's intentions for the following seven days. The next day after Mass Maude approached me, her face pale. Her voice strained with agitation and worry, Maude whispered that she had just gone downstairs to pray by her husband's candle, only to discover that it was extinguished. In an attempt to console her, I replied that she must be mistaken and agreed to accompany her to the crypt. I too was startled to discover that, unlike yesterday, only about one third of the candles were lit. I could summon up few rational explanations to allay Maude's agitation. Her eyes portrayed her anguish, contemplating that someone, perhaps an intruder--or worse yet, one of the shrine officials--had callously erased her sacred link with God and her husband.

We never again discussed the affair, and I doubt that Maude mentioned it to any of the other pilgrims. The incident, and our behaviour, were consistent with Goffman's

theories regarding disruptions of the moral ideal: they create anomie, and every effort is made to block out their existence (1959:14,41,83,254). Maude must have been able to sufficiently block out the disconfirming effect of the incident, as she continued to fully participate in all the ritual activities.

On Friday, she bought me a necklace with a birthstone pendant and St. Anne's medal attached. Saturday morning she declared, "I suppose, you haven't had your medal blessed yet?" I sheepishly replied that I hadn't, so as she would with any negligent child, Maude ushered me over to the crypt to receive the blessing rite.

Although still shy and reserved, at the shrine Maude found purpose, control and contentment. This sacred world celebrated motherhood and sacrifice, the values and roles which had given her life dignity and meaning. Likewise her compatriots upheld these values, and empathized with her anguish when bereft of her main focus of devotion and service. They also sympathized with her distress at the fading capacity to excel as a service provider, the fulfillment of which she regarded as essential to her personal worth and dignity. At the shrine Maude received

sacred and social support which lessened her personal burden and sense of isolation.

Clare Hogan

Apart from Mrs. Kelly, Clare Hogan was unquestionably the most influential and illustrious member of the Newfoundland pilgrimage, having made over 20 pilgrimages with the group. As the result of a genetic defect, Clare's limbs were severely underdeveloped and were no larger than those of a toddler. She could barely clasp her hands together, and her legs barely extended beyond the seat of her wheelchair. Despite her severe physical disability, Clare was a supremely happy person, who made the most of her abilities, while disregarding her limitations. Both in secular life and at the shrine Clare was a self-appointed champion of the handicapped and other disadvantaged groups, challenging stereotyped roles and attitudes perpetuated by both the handicapped and society in general. In effect she epitomized the message of the shrine: acceptance of one's fate, and charitable devotion to others. Through example and counsel it was Clare who most effectively transmitted this message to other suffering pilgrims.

Clare's faith, self-confidence, and positive attitude came almost naturally, as it had been fostered by her family since she was a child. Born in a small community on the Cape Shore, Clare and her three brothers had all been affected by the genetic deformity, and various attendant complications, Clare's being the most severe manifestation. However their mother had stressed that they shouldn't bemoan their limitations, instead they should be thankful for their blessings, and should develop their talents and skills to their fullest potential. A key factor in strengthening this positive conviction was faith, in particular devotion to Saint Anne, a devotion also instilled by their mother.

Clare and her siblings had been served well by these teachings. Currently they lived in a neat white clapboard bungalow on the outskirts of St. John's. At home Clare could manage without the use of her chair, and was completely independent. She was often occupied at her sewing machine, as she designed and made all of her own clothes.

Although Clare had never had a paid job, she was in effect a full-time counsellor. In the ethnographer's opinion

Clare's disability was a decided asset in the development of her vocation. In dealing with her own affliction she had acquired key coping skills. Prohibited from actively participating in some activities, from the confines of her wheelchair Clare was an attentive listener and observer; her perceptive skills were uncanny. Among her wide circle of friends she was renowned for her intuitiveness and sound advice. Hundreds had sought her counsel about countless matters: teenagers confused about sex or exasperated by problems with parents; husbands and wives experiencing marital difficulties; the afflicted, devastated by physical and mental anguish. Carefully she assessed each situation and advised appropriate action. Clare's advice was often beneficial; according to Mrs. Kelly she had been responsible for the reconciliation of dozens of marriages.

The story of Clare's first pilgrimage to the shrine over 20 years ago was legend among the Newfoundland pilgrims. Emblematic of faith itself, the tale was recited by Mrs. Kelly at a lobby meeting during both the June and July pilgrimages:

Clare was in her chair at the base of the Miraculous Statue and she sang out to me,

"Mrs. Kelly, come here, I wants ya."

So I went over and I said, 'What is it, Clare?'

She said, "Oh, Mrs. Kelly, how am I ever going to thank you for bringing me here?"

I replied, "Oh, you don't have to thank me, Clare. Just say a prayer for me."

She said, "You know, it's a funny thing--very hard to explain--but I wouldn't want to change places with anyone else here, because I'm so happy that no one could be happier."

What do you think of that now? Now that's faith.

This short story graphically illustrated Clare's epitomization of some of the central themes of the pilgrimage: total resignation towards the will of God, and the joy which is derived from this acceptance.

Concomitantly Clare deplores the curative elements of the shrine, particularly the magical healing agents such as the Miraculous Spring and St. Anne's oil. She also despises the tacky souvenirs, claiming that the splashy-coloured, cheap plastic statues despoil Saint Anne's beauty. Clare lamented, "Oh, the things I've seen brought back on that plane...Some people spend \$200-\$300 on religious articles and other gifts that they could have bought here at considerably less cost." Clare indicated that she left a

space only as big as a pencil case in her suitcase--and that's all she bought. Having a penchant for fine china and gold jewellery, she occasionally purchased distinctive items not available in Newfoundland.⁸

Clare maintained that the prime focus of the pilgrimage should be prayer for others, and helping others in a practical sense. However she cautioned that one should never allow oneself to become engrossed in others' problems, as it would only destroy one's own happiness. One should only give advice when asked; "After that, the only thing you can do is pray for the person."

In other words the key word is 'charity,' both sacred and secular. Clare said she strongly disapproved of those few pilgrims who go to the shrine only for a holiday. However, on another occasion Clare claimed that the pilgrimage is an enjoyable type of vacation experience-- "If we just wanted to pray, we could pray at home."

Clare held that if a pilgrim had no personal intentions she should bring along a handicapped or needy person. But such acts should be motivated strictly by charity, not an attempt to achieve "merit," either in the

eyes of God, or one's fellow pilgrims. Clare found that, fortunately, "merit-minded" pilgrims were few in number.

Clare was recognized by all as someone who practised what she preached. In the late afternoon she could often be found in prayer in the transept of the Basilica, facing a diminutive statue of the child Mary. Even more notable was her selfless devotion to eradicating myths and misperceptions about the handicapped and other disadvantaged groups. Clare recalled battling racial prejudice on one occasion. She was on her way to the Basilica, accompanied by an older woman and a young girl, neither of whom had the strength to push her up the long winding ramp leading to the front doors. A group of black pilgrims was approaching the steps, so Clare suggested that they ask one of the burly men to assist. Sensing her accomplices' hesitancy, Clare admonished:

"You don't want to ask him just because he's black, right? Well, look here--Young man, would you mind giving me a bit of a boost?"

"Why, surely," he replied.

At the top of the ramp they started chatting, and the man revealed that he and his family had been coming to

the shrine in thanksgiving for 13 years, in gratitude for his abstinence from alcohol since participating in an inspiring Mass while on summer vacation.⁹

However, Clare's main cause, to which she dedicated herself at the shrine, was counselling the handicapped and the sick. Through her example and tutelage she demonstrated that the handicapped can make valuable contributions to society and achieve self-dignity and happiness. She insisted that the handicapped live by these tenets, and that society in general recognize their worth. Clare despised pity and patronizing behaviour, as illustrated by the following encounter:

I was in the Basilica praying one day, when this woman came up to me.

Woman: "God bless you, you've missed a lot in life."

Clare: "No, I haven't. There's a few things that I can't do, but I've lived a very good life."

Woman: "You've never been loved by a man?"

Clare: "Well, how do you know? And, as a matter of fact, I have."

Woman: "You've never been in bed with a man?..."

Clare: "No, that I haven't. But I'd rather they'd dam it up, if that's all there is."

Woman: "God bless you."

In the end I wanted to jump down out of the chair, and run up to the Miraculous Statue--just to shock her.

Although empathetic towards the problems of the handicapped, Clare never allowed herself to demonstrate pity, and refused to allow the handicapped to become victims of their own self-pity. She said she was "disgusted with people who go to the shrine to seek a cure and nothing else," implying that this self-centered attitude is inappropriate to the pilgrimage. To the severely handicapped who persisted in their supplication for a cure, she bluntly challenged: "How many wheelchairs do you see on those pillars?" On both a symbolic and social level, Clare inspired the handicapped to adopt new perspectives: to count one's blessings, devote oneself to others through prayer and practical action, and to maximize one's potential. She related the following anecdote illustrating the devastating effects of misguided self-centred concern:

Eleven year-old Cathy first came to the shrine five years ago seeking a cure for her paralyzed legs. Her two great aunts who accompanied her had promised that if she

prayed a lot, Saint Anne would cure her. In the middle of the night they awoke to Cathy's heart-rendering sobs; Saint Anne had not answered her prayers.

Clare arrived on the scene the next morning. She admonished Cathy for being so upset over her affliction, stressing that she had lots to be thankful for, and that she should be praying for others. To the aunts, she glared, "So if all you had to do was pray a lot, why wasn't I cured?"

For the rest of the pilgrimage and during several subsequent pilgrimages, Cathy devoted her prayers to the intentions of fellow pilgrims, particularly the handicapped with whom she had formed special friendships.¹⁰

Clare's courage, drive and concern for others were unsurpassed; she epitomized consummate development of human potentiality, and was an inspiration to all who knew her.

Patrick Roche

A pilgrim whom Clare influenced greatly was Patrick Roche. A timid, lightly-built young man, Patrick was devastated by his affliction of multiple sclerosis. His

mother had died three years before the onset of his illness, and he was accompanied by his father, Patrick Roche, senior.

At age 16 Patrick's vision started to blur and he sometimes lost his balance. His trade school instructor suggested he have his eyes checked. When the optometrist could find nothing wrong, he referred Patrick to a neurologist. Patrick was horrified, believing this implied he had a mental disorder, and would be relegated to the much-feared provincial mental hospital.

Patrick's first spinal tap was conducted in the upright position, the pain so great he collapsed, remaining unconscious for three days. A second tap conducted in the horizontal position one month later confirmed the diagnosis of MS.

When contracted as a youth, the disease is swiftly debilitating. Patrick was usually confined to a wheelchair, and could only walk short distances with the aid of a cane. His speech was also impaired.

Extremely depressed about his condition, Patrick had very low self-esteem and believed no one would like him or want to socialize with him. He was one of few pilgrims who would answer negatively when asked how he was doing, his standard reply being, "I don't know whether I'm coming or going."

As she had with Cathy, Clare admonished Patrick for succumbing to self-pity. She bluntly remarked, "No wonder no one wants to talk with you--you're always so glum."

Rather than being hurt or taking affront at Clare's criticism, Patrick said she was the nicest person he'd ever met. He found her counsel encouraging, and said all the pilgrims were so friendly, he was completely amazed. At the shrine Patrick found compassionate compatriots who eased his suffering.

SELF-ACTUALIZATION AMONG PILGRIMS

Psychologist Abram Maslow was captivated by the unique qualities of select individuals whom he labelled, 'self-actualizing people' (1973:177-178). According to

Maslow such people have no mental illness, and feel "safe and unanxious, accepted, loved and loving, respectable and respected..."(1973:178). In addition, they make full use of their "talents, capacities, potentialities..."(1978:178). Maslow delineates a complex of psychological characteristics and behaviours shared by self-actualizing people.

It is useful to examine Maslow's findings in detail, since they can aid our understanding of both Clare's and other pilgrims' unique qualities. Clare's perspectives, beliefs, and behaviours were in some respects exceptional, yet at the same time she epitomized the message of the shrine. In effect all of the pilgrims were striving towards this self-actualizing perspective and behaviour. Clare exhibited self-actualizing characteristics to the greatest degree and consistency, both in secular life and on the pilgrimage; however, many other Newfoundland pilgrims also exhibited these qualities to a certain degree, particularly within the pilgrimage context. It was in the sacred world of the shrine that the symbolic messages and social interaction best enabled them to focus upon and develop self-actualization.

Maslow posits that self-actualizing people have a very accurate perception of reality, and are comfortable with their relations within it (1973:181). They are excellent judges of character, politics, art and science; the social and natural world. Self-actualizers have superior reasoning ability and are not constrained by their own desires, anxieties, and/or cultural values (1973:182).

Clare, Mrs. Kelly and Father Lefebvre were all uncanny judges of character and astute observers and interpreters of social relations. Their thoughts and actions were not constrained by their own desires or cultural perspectives, including their religion. All three virtually rejected or ignored certain elements of their religion, and imbued other elements with distinctive meaning.

According to Maslow, self actualizers are very comfortable with the unknown, therefore they do not engage in self-defeating behaviours neglecting, denying, or avoiding the unknown (1973:182). Some even find the unknown attractive. Maslow posits that the latter quality is limited to intellectuals and researchers (1973:182); however I contend that this is a false conclusion due to the bias of

his sample, which was in fact largely confined to intellectuals and researchers.¹¹

Clearly, Clare and many other pilgrims were very comfortable with the supreme unknown: death. Indeed the symbolic message of the shrine made this unknown attractive; only through death could one experience the ultimate existence.

Maslow states that self-actualizers have a high degree of acceptance of self, human nature, the environment and physical reality (1973:183,198). They calmly accept flaws in themselves and others. They also accept their need to fulfill basic human needs; self-actualizers have hearty appetites for both food and sex, and enjoy "themselves mightily without shame or apology" (1973:183). They are not plagued with guilt, shame or severe anxiety (1973:183).

Clare exhibited the supreme degree of acceptance. Her severe handicap was of virtually no concern to her; she lived life to the fullest, disregarding her limitations. Her social life was filled with good times, and she saw no basic contradiction in having a good time at the shrine, provided that one faithfully performed acts of prayer, penance and

charity. Clare also was not ashamed of her occasional exhibitions of vanity and self-indulgence, in particular her love of fine jewellery and china.

Maslow discovered that the only things self-actualizers feel guilty or disturbed about are improvable shortcomings, both their own, and the faults of their subculture and/or group with whom they identify. In essence, they "...feel bad about discrepancies between what is and what might very well be or ought to be" (1973:184). Self-actualizers sometimes become exasperated with the shortcomings of others because they can perceive and accomplish things in a manner superior to others; "...the truth which is so clear to him is for most people veiled and hidden" (1973:191). One of Maslow's self-actualizers described his flawed fellow humans as follows:

Most people after all do not amount to much, but they could have. They make all sorts of foolish mistakes and wind up being miserable and not knowing how they got that way when their intentions were good. Those who are not nice are usually paying for it in deep unhappiness. They should be pitied rather than attacked (1973:192).

Clare, Mae, Mrs. Kelly and Father Lefebvre were all saddened and/or frustrated by pilgrims, friends, relatives,

and/or world citizens who were mired in personal problems or self-centered concerns which compromised their ability to help themselves and others--their potential for self-actualization. Based on experience and deep personal conviction, all were convinced of the tremendous power and benefit (both personal and collective) of self-actualization. Hence they were saddened when they or others failed to develop this inner talent to the ultimate degree. This was evidenced by Mrs. Kelly's repeated insistence on charity and prayer for others at the lobby meetings. Clare's alternating empathy and disgust with Cathy and Patrick was clearly rooted in her contention that they were stifling their potential. The pilgrims not only identified with their own sub-culture, their concern was also directed toward world-wide political and economic exploitation and social deprivation. They hoped that through their prayers and persuasion others would be moved to abandon their self-serving ways, adopting values and behaviors consistent with individual and collective self-actualization.

Maslow indicates that self-actualizers are not defensive and do not present a false front (1973:184). They know who they are, what they want, what their opinions are (1973:186). Consequently their "behavior is marked by

simplicity and naturalness, and by lack of artificiality or "straining for effect" (1973:184). Concomitantly, they have a "distaste for such artificialities in others" (1973:184).

Clare's, Mrs. Kelly's, and Father Lefebvre's openness and integrity were clearly evident in their interactions with the ethnographer, an 'outsider' to their world. Mrs. Kelly's acceptance of the ethnographer into the pilgrimage was a prime example; a more defensive organizer would have forbidden a skeptical non-Catholic from joining the group. All three responded to my naive and a-religious questions with magnanimous openness, patiently explaining complex concepts and beliefs both in their own terms, and using social concepts with which they thought I would be more familiar.

Although all three were dynamic people who had very high status within the pilgrimage context, neither portrayed themselves as 'saintly' or superior. They freely shared their frustrations, fears, and joys. In accordance with this, both Clare and Mrs. Kelly privately decried pilgrims who displayed a virtuous "false front," actions and demeanor motivated by 'merit.'

Secure and self-confident, self-actualizers are not motivated towards gratification of basic needs--food, safety, love, etc.--they feel they already have these needs fulfilled (Maslow 1978:186). Maslow relates:

The determinants of satisfaction...are for them now inner² individual and not social. They have become strong enough to be independent of the good opinion of other people, or even of their affection" (1973:189, emphasis Maslow).

Instead they are motivated by 'expressive' goals, the development of their humanity (1978:186). Because they feel all their basic needs are satisfied, they have "...surplus,...wealth,...overflowing abundance" to share with others (1973:198). Not concerned with themselves, they focus on problems outside themselves; they "have a mission in life..." (1973:187).

This mission is characterized by Alfred Adler's (1939) term "Gemeinschaftsgefühl," a tremendous "identification, sympathy, and affection" for mankind (1973:191).¹² Self-actualizers are strongly motivated to help others, treating everyone as a member of a great family of humanity. This mission is something they feel they must do, rather than merely a pleasurable pursuit. They are not dependent on the "real world," other people, or extrinsic

rewards for their personal satisfaction; self-actualizers derive their personal fulfillment from the development of their own potentiality¹³ (1973:188).

Clare, Mrs. Kelly, and Father Lefebvre were all self-confident and little concerned with their own interests. All three had a mission: to alleviate the suffering of those whose personal burdens weighed much heavier than their own. For Mrs. Kelly, this was pursued by conducting the pilgrimage, something she felt she 'must' do. For Clare it was a life devoted to counselling the troubled and the suffering. For Father Lefebvre, it was a lifetime of ministering to suffering millions through his preaching, writing and counselling. All received little or no monetary gain from their mission--indeed it brought them considerable additional headaches and heartaches--yet each appeared to be very fulfilled, confident that they were exercising their potentiality, that they were doing right.

Other-centered self-actualizers appear somewhat detached from their own lives. They remain calm and serene when faced with personal misfortune (1973:187), and can retain their dignity in all situations (1973:188). They "...sleep soundly, ...have undisturbed appetite, ...smile and

laugh through a period of problems, worry and responsibility" (1973:188). Maslow observed that self-actualizers "...can maintain a relative serenity and happiness in the midst of circumstances that would drive other people to suicide" (1973:189). He posits: "Perhaps this comes in part from their tendency to stick by their own interpretation of a situation, rather than to rely upon what other people feel or think about the matter" (1973:188).

Clare in particular epitomized the above characteristics. Her life was full of laughter, and she appeared oblivious to her incapacity, which was periodically life-threatening. As posited by Maslow, her serenity and happiness can largely be credited to her unusually positive perspective on her life; she derived her dignity and sense of personal worth by emphasizing what she could do, rather than what she was prohibited from doing. She was adamant about this, casting off disparaging or pitying comments of others, such as the woman's appraisal of her love life. It is noteworthy that the lower class working men studied by Sennett and Cobb (1972) derived their dignity in a similar fashion.

Self-actualizers are strongly ethical, yet their notions of right and wrong may not be conventional (Maslow 1973:185,194). Human-created taboos and moral 'problems' are often seen as trivial; including religious prescriptions, rules of sexuality and social behaviour, and attitudes towards death (1973:198-199). The 'battle' between the sexes may also be regarded as artificial. Male and female differences do not provoke anxiety, fear, or aggression; instead they are viewed as a "delightful collaboration" (1973:199). However, self-actualizers often choose not to express their unique thoughts and actions as they might offend or hurt others. They go through ceremonies and rituals of convention gracefully for the sake of others (1973:184-185).

Clare, Mrs. Kelly, and Father Lefebvre were all highly ethical, and they and others would describe themselves as deeply religious. This did not mean that they embraced all the conventional practices and prescriptions of their religion. Both Clare and Mrs. Kelly had an aversion to the strictly curative and commercial elements of the pilgrimage. Clare frequently challenged stereotyped norms of sexual and social behaviour, including misconceived attitudes towards the sexuality and love life of the handicapped. In opposition to some of the traditional views of the church, Clare believed young people should be well informed about

their sexuality, and she actively counseled teenagers on this "problem." She also challenged the unspoken prescription prohibiting inter-racial social interaction. An article by Father, Lefebvre in the Annals (1975b:89(10):332) reflected that his views differed somewhat from the Church's standard judgement that abortion is immoral.¹⁵

Maslow's findings indicate that self-actualizing people frequently experience 'mystic experiences' as defined by William James (1943), however Maslow's subjects usually did not express their feelings in theological or supernatural terms¹⁴ (1973:190). Some subjects drew parallels between these feelings and religious themes, explaining, "life must have meaning" (1973:190). Maslow posits that unlike classical religious theory, there can be a quantitative continuum of mystic experience (1973:190-191). He holds that at the top of the scale: "...the acute mystic experience is a tremendous intensification of any of the experiences in which there is loss of self or transcendence of it, ...intense sensuous experience, self-forgetful and intense enjoyment..." (1973:191).

Attainment of this 'mystic' feeling was the supreme goal and reward of the pilgrimage, expressed as achieving a 'state of Grace' or a feeling of deep personal peace. In

essence, the self and its problems were transcended. It can be argued that Clare and Father Lefebvre regularly experienced this mystic 'state of Grace' in their daily lives, as they lived the selfless message of the shrine. For Clare this feeling was heightened through the pilgrimage experience. Here she felt in close proximity to her selfless patrons--Christ, Mary, and Saint Anne, and she actively attempted to share her recipe for serenity with fellow handicapped pilgrims. Polio victim Lillian Power, and allergy-sufferer Regina King also found deep personal peace at the shrine; here their afflictions were minimized and no longer a source of stress and concern. Father Gingras also recognized the deep personal serenity attained by many pilgrims, relating, "Above all, this is a place of peace".

At the shrine pilgrims learned how to deal with adversity and maximize their potential, to see the world and themselves in a new light. This reordering of existence was graphically communicated through the sacred symbols and paradigms of the shrine, the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX - FOOTNOTES

1 Although Francis' romantic intention was unusual, it was not unique. Mrs. Kelly fondly recalled that two of her past single pilgrims had met at the shrine and later married.

2 An extremely timid woman in her mid-thirties, Genevieve was an epileptic. She had made the pilgrimage accompanied by her elderly father, and they could often be seen walking arm in arm to the devotions. Mrs. Kelly speculated that "she would be lost without him."

3 Despite the large number of both pilgrims and tourists, there are no public tours of the shrine. Pamphlets and guidebooks for self-directed tours are available at an information kiosk on the grounds.

4 Alcohol content of the product is about 10%.

5 The ethnographer has taken the liberty of using the actual given name due to its symbolic significance.

6 It is possible that the couple did have a legal civil marriage ceremony, however Mae may have termed this 'common-law', as opposed to (Roman Catholic) 'Church law' which she considered the only bona fide marriage union.

7 Maude's fatigue may have been a symptom of her diabetes (cf. Brunner & Suddarth 1980:835). However she did not mention this possibility, and she may not have been aware of it.

8 To further illustrate her disregard for the material elements of the shrine, Clare told the ethnographer an amusing anecdote regarding her gold neckchain. She related that fellow pilgrims frequently complimented her on her "lovely holy medal." "But look," she motioned, "it's not St. Anne--it's Leo, my Zodiac sign!" "Sometimes I tell them the difference--and sometimes I don't," she chuckled.

9 Mr. Jones and his family had arrived in Ste. Anne de Beaupré one hot summer afternoon while on vacation 13 years ago. A heavy drinker, the first thing he did was to search for a liquor store. Finding none, he went to church instead. There he heard the most inspiring Mass he had ever heard, which motivated him to quit drinking right then and there, and he hadn't touched alcohol since. Clare added that it was, no doubt, one of Father Lefebvre's Masses which inspired him.

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CHAPTER SEVEN
A CELEBRATION OF SUFFERING

This chapter is a detailed examination of the symbolic and social elements of the Newfoundland pilgrimage, elements transmitting the key message of the shrine: the celebration of suffering. Through symbol, ritual, and social processes suffering is transposed from a dreaded burden to the most exalted and rewarding human experience. On a symbolic level, messages associated with the shrine's key figures, Christ and Saint Anne, sanctify suffering. Sacred rites, symbols, and liturgy graphically appeal to the pilgrims' senses, providing new models for thought and action. Analysis will refer extensively to St. Anne's Prayer Book and the Annals of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, as these are the pilgrims' primary guides to symbolic thought and action.

"On a social level, the structure of the pilgrimage experience entails highly focussed, clearly defined, repetitive activities which maximize communicative efficacy, personal fulfillment, and confirmation of faith. The pilgrims share many of the intrinsically rewarding attributes of 'flow activities' as defined by Csikszentmihalyi (1971; 1975a; 1975b). The social and ritual structure enhances the symbolic message of the shrine, confirming the faith of the pilgrims, and making suffering and

self-sacrifice an enjoyable and rewarding experience.

SYMBOLISM

The Newfoundland pilgrimage shares many of the structural and symbolic elements characteristic of rites de passage, as defined by Arnold van Gennep (1908). However, unlike liminal rites of passage which are prescribed and directed by the dominant society, pilgrimages are self-chosen liminoid enterprises in which a new ethos and social order are created by the pilgrims for their own purposes.

During the separation in Phase I, pilgrims adopt signifiers of their liminoid status: formal dress, and the pilgrimage name tag. They endure the dangers of travel to the liminal space, reported as a harrowing experience by many previously un-travelled pilgrims. Now removed--spatially and symbolically--from normal social structure, the pilgrims form a communitas group, evidenced by their burgeoning comradeship in the Montreal airport. It may be argued that during the plane trip, pilgrims make the transition from the separation Phase I to the liminoid, communitas Phase II. As they near the liminal pilgrimage center, the organizer/ritual leader 'sets the stage,' urging the initiands to note the 'other-worldly' features; the pastoral countryside and the absence of fences.

Upon arrival at Ste. Anne de Beaupré pilgrims have clearly entered the liminoid Phase II. Within the sacred space, the pilgrims are exposed to religious sacra and rituals which reveal an alternate, higher level of existence. This world is liminoid not only in terms of its social/geographic separation from the secular world, but in terms of its ability to socially and symbolically establish a new value system and social order. During the final Phase III, pilgrims are integrated into society, not through formal ritual, as in rites of passage, but through informal assimilation.

It is within the sacred Phase II that innumerable ritual and symbolic reversals take place, transmitting higher-order sacred messages (cf. Turner 1974b and Leach 1961:132,136). Time and space are no longer secular but sacred. In this sacred space and time, secular meanings and values are reversed, along with time itself. Death is converted into rebirth (cf. Leach 1961:136), and time is conceived of as cyclical rather than linear (cf. Leach 1961:125,129-130,134).

The transposition of death to rebirth is clearly delineated in Father Lefebvre's Annals article, "Death: Way to a New Life":

...death...is said wrongly to be the end of life. In fact, death is not the end of life; it is merely a change in the way of living.The body--which is, as it were, the instrument that the soul needs to operate on earth--is discarded, like a piece of clothing that is worn out, like a pencil that is used up. But the soul, because it is immaterial, survives the death of the body and finds a new way to know, to remember, to love and to make free choices (1975:89(10):322).

The elements of reversal from secular to sacred space and time are clearly evident in Father Lefebvre's introductory paragraphs in St. Anne's Prayer Book. Pilgrimage is portrayed as a sacred journey, symbolic of life itself; the transposition from a secular to a sacred world:

Life on earth is a journey. Every day, man is brought closer to God.

A pilgrim is such a man, as he journeys on to a holy place, to a Promised Land.

As his journey--his pilgrimage--comes to an end, as the holy place is reached, the pilgrim is ushered into God's presence (Lefebvre 1977:III).

The village of Ste. Anne de Beaupré is held to be sacred because it was chosen by God through the manifestation of miracles: "It is God himself who, by the sign that is a miracle, has indicated the towns or the temples where it was agreeable to him to act in more tangible fashion than elsewhere" (Lefebvre 1977:III). Through symbolic reversals

of space and time, this tiny French-Canadian village is transposed to the holy land, becoming Jerusalem at the time of Christ. Pilgrims are engulfed in the graphic panorama of the Cyclorama, and partake in Christ's anguish through the Way of the Cross, the Holy Stairs, and the Eucharist. They sing, recite, reenact, and witness every minute detail of the Crucifixion on a daily basis.

Christ is the key symbolic referent for the sanctification of suffering. The 'root paradigm' or 'key scenario' of the Crucifixion represents a condensation of multiple elements of suffering--physical anguish, rejection, humiliation, shame, and loneliness--dramatically stating that the ultimate way to deal with these trials is through dignified resignation, faith in God, and devotion to others (cf. Turner and Turner 1978:10-11; Babcock 1978a:297; Munn 1973:592; Berger 1967:20). Symbolic reversal is evident in that the agony of the Crucifixion is sometimes referred to as the "Passion of Christ."² Through the ritual and liturgy of the shrine pilgrims replicate Christ's suffering, and symbolically unite their suffering with that of their Saviour. Suffering and problems are transposed from dreaded afflictions to sacred 'crosses,' as evidenced in the recitation from the second Station of the Cross:

My Jesus, I embrace the suffering you have destined for me until death. By your sufferings in carrying your cross, help me carry mine with perfect patience and resignation. Saint Anne, teach me to accept my crosses as Jesus accepted his (Lefebvre 1977:93).

In the symbolic world of the shrine, suffering is a sacred privilege, the means to attain personal and collective redemption. Thus it is the sick and the afflicted who contribute the most to society and attain the highest status at Ste. Anne de Beaupré:

All pains and miseries are means of expiation and personal enrichment. They may also become instruments of apostolate. It was through the cross and suffering that Our Lord redeemed the world. The sick person, rivetted to his bed, can do more toward spreading the kingdom of God than if he were to go through the whole world, preaching (Lefebvre 1977:19).

As Berger argues (1967:58), while the individual wishes relief from life's adversities, more importantly he needs meaning in life. Through embracing the symbolic message of the shrine, the lives of the afflicted are given new meaning and purpose, bestowing a sense of fulfillment, reward, even joy. This is evident in the following passages extracted from the Prayer Book:

Dear mother of Mary, all Christians who ever prayed to you have been taught to believe in God's designs for them, in the meaning and value of life and all its miseries. They have been endowed with the strength to carry their crosses with patience, even with joyful resignation (Lefebvre 1977:3).

The most precious favor that Saint Anne bestows on her ailing and handicapped pilgrims is not to cure them; it is to teach them the meaning and value of sickness and infirmity (Lefebvre 1977:20).

The exalted place of the sick and afflicted is reinforced through their ritual position at the shrine. It is the seriously ill who lead the evening procession and the Way of the Cross devotion, and assume primary importance at the Blessing of the Sick on the feastday: "Hardly is there any more solemn moment during the entire feastday than these few minutes of intimate contact of Our Lord with those He loves best, the sick and afflicted" (The Annals 1960:74(9):276).

Saint Anne, the patroness of the shrine, symbolically supports the message of Christ's suffering, providing a female model of self-sacrifice. Through the mythology of her life story, Saint Anne appeals particularly to the trials and difficulties associated with the role of

traditional women: neglect or abandonment by one's husband, infertility, motherhood, bereavement and widowhood. Through this mythology and associated liturgy, it is communicated that the qualities necessary to fulfill this sanctified role are those of suffering and self-sacrifice. This is evident in the cluster of values and roles depicted in the litany of Saint Anne:

Saint Anne, model of womanhood...
 Saint Anne, model of obedience...
 Saint Anne, model of patience...
 Saint Anne, model of mercy...
 Saint Anne, model of piety...
 Saint Anne, model of all virtues...
 Saint Anne, protectress of the Church...
 Saint Anne, guardian of children...
 Saint Anne, example of mothers...
 Saint Anne, support of the family...
 Saint Anne, consolation of widows...
 (Lefebvre 1977:18).

The association between self-sacrifice and the rôle of motherhood is clearly designated in the explanation of the symbology of Saint Anne's Cord:³

The five knots [in the cord], in honor of Jesus, Mary, Joseph, Joachim and Saint Anne, symbolize penance, meekness, humility, patience and confidence in God, all virtues necessary to a Christian mother (Lefebvre 1977:13).

Saint Anne, in particular the Miraculous Statue, serves as a condensation symbol for motherhood, communicating multiple messages simultaneously (cf. Munn 1973:592). Since there is scant 'factual' evidence about the life of Saint Anne, many of her qualities have been imputed based upon her relation to Christ and Mary. As Father Lefebvre writes:

Holy Scriptures do not even mention her name. Yet we know that she is the mother of the Mother of God, and that says more for her power, her virtues and her glory than the most intimately detailed biography (1958:24).

This amplification of meaning is consistent with Berger's contention that all "nomos" (socially constructed orders) expand into wider areas of meaning. Saint Anne's messages centre around the trials and life crises of motherhood, stating that the proper manner in which to deal with these adversities is through faithful resignation. Just as Saint Anne embodies motherhood qualities, so too do these qualities condense many contexts and meanings. Sacrifice entails accepting material and socio-psychological deprivation, and charity entails innumerable spiritual and practical acts in aid of others.

Based upon their biological ties with the Virgin Mary and Christ, and the virtuous lifestyle accredited to them, Anne and Joachim enjoy a prominent position among Roman Catholic saints. According to Father Lefebvre, Joachim, Anne and the Virgin Mary "have become the greatest saints in paradise" (1975a:51). He speculates that Saint Anne is probably the second most popular saint in the New World, surpassed only by the Virgin Mary (1975a:121).

Father Lefebvre credits Anne and Joachim's exalted position with their perfect Christian lifestyle, attested to by God, by the blessing of the birth of Mary after years of sterility: "They were bound in perfect union, through the love which husband and wife had for each other and which consumed them both for the wondrous child to whom they had given birth in their old age" (1975a:52).

Anne and Joachim's marriage is regarded as the epitome of perfect love, and they are revered as model parents: "Joachim and Anne, what fine models for spouses and parents! How they loved each other! How well they worked together in the education of their child! The reward was magnificent..." (Lefebvre 1975a:54-56).

Although both Anne and Joachim are credited with being model family figures in church writings, Anne is clearly the dominant figure in the symbology and liturgy of Ste. Anne de Beaupré and the Church in general. It is Anne who is the patroness of families and educators:

It was the Eucharist, the familial meal, that sowed the love in their [the pilgrims'] hearts that sent them searching for more Love. And they came to Anne, Jesus' Grandmother, with that Supernatural sense of family that lovers of the Holy Eucharist have. (Schumacher, 1965:79(1):18).

Due to her earthly role of wife, mother and grandmother, Saint Anne is believed to have special compassion for family members and family problems, evidenced by her intercessory powers:

How many Christian couples have been helped in their temporal needs! How many more, in their spiritual needs...!" (1975a:54).

How many children have been helped by Saint

Anne who saw in them the living image of her grandson! (1975a:54)

...she has the heart of a grandmother; and grandmothers love children very much. They have to give them all they have" (1975a:56-57).

Saint Anne's grandmother role and attendant qualities has particular appeal for many of the elderly Newfoundland pilgrims. Like Saint Anne they are very concerned for the welfare of their children and grandchildren, and willingly make sacrifices to make their lives easier.

The Annals supports the grandmother role by the inclusion of a "Grandmother's Page" in each issue. Readers are encouraged to join the "Grandmother's Club," whose members pray for each others' intentions every Tuesday.

For the pilgrims, Saint Anne symbolizes love, compassion and self-sacrifice, in her role as wife, mother and grandmother. Consistent with the Turners' supposition, the statues and relics of Saint Anne concretize these abstract meanings and qualities (1978:48). Father Lefebvre is also acutely aware of the inspirational power of sensory symbols:

Man is not a pure spirit; he is flesh and spirit, body and soul. That is why in prayer as in other occupations, the soul needs the participation of the body and its senses. The eyes, even the touch are needed to do their part in the spiritual uplift of the heart.

The Church well understands this. Her temples contain crucifixes, portraits and statues. She invites us to hang on the walls of our dwellings the outward symbols of God and his saints (1975:63).

Mrs. Kelly explains the veneration of these objects as follows:

When we pray to a shrine or a statue we do not regard it literally as the Saint or God. It is the artist's attempt to capture the qualities of that person which inspires prayer and devotion to the actual personage who is in heaven.

It follows that the capacity to capture the mythological qualities of the saint is central to the efficacy of the symbol. I posit that this resolves the question why the pilgrims preferred the Miraculous Statue to the Major Relic. It is logical that the grey, decaying bones and flesh of the Major Relic did little to transmit the sense of love, compassion and warmth pilgrims associated with Saint Anne. Also, the discrepancy between the mythological qualities and the dour, disciplinarian facial expression of the present Miraculous Statue probably accounts for why some pilgrims preferred the beneficent, happy expression of the original statue and the fountain statue.

This emphasis on the traditional role of motherhood is again a reversal of current trends in modern society,

Tragically and ironically the Women's Movement's emphasis on the political, economic and social emancipation of women, has been for some a devaluation of motherhood, leaving housewives and mothers feeling inadequate, confused and betrayed. The message of the shrine reaffirms the worth of this role, giving it sacred sanction. In conjunction with Mother's Day, the May issues of the Annals have traditionally focussed on the celebration of motherhood. In May 1979, the "We Women" column focussed on reaffirming the role of motherhood in response to current demoralization:

A new book by a Japanese convert, "A Life of Jesus," describes Christ as having maternal qualities. Stuisako Eudo, the author, would understand our description of (good) mothers, our presentation of them as "a little like God."

Pope John Paul II has extolled motherhood as the choice vocation of women.

We have been collecting these thoughts and exhortations to use on these pages to make mothers "feel good about themselves."

Mothers have had to hear a lot of downgrading of their role in recent years. It has not been good for overly-sensitive full-time mothers.

It is not easy to hear your role maligned as "incomplete" and "unfulfilling." There has been too much talk about atrophied talents by people who are unable to see those talents are interwoven in the fabric of flesh and blood and soul offspring (Schumacher 1979:151).

Through emphasis on self-sacrifice and concern for others, based on the lives of Christ and Saint Anne, the communitas ethos is given divine sanction. The structure and teachings of the pilgrimage organization are key to fostering this ethic of sisterhood and selfless concern for others. Group membership is signified by the wearing of distinctive name tags. Pilgrims were encouraged to pray for others and to provide practical assistance to fellow group members. Communitas was also fostered by the room sharing system; roommates who may have been total strangers prior to the pilgrimage assumed responsibility for each other's welfare and formed bonds of friendship. Commensality also fostered communitas; over meals pilgrims shared their joys and sorrows, and offered advice and prayers to their fellow pilgrims.

Communitas was very effectively instilled through the twice daily lobby meetings, a feature unique to the Newfoundland pilgrimage. Through the organizer pilgrims shared their collective concerns. Always the key word was 'charity'; emphasis was placed upon prayer for others, and helping others.

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Tangible signs of *communitas* also extended beyond the group, encompassing pilgrims of other groups, races, nationalities and ethnic origins. This was evident in the June group's affinity and admiration for the Amerindian pilgrims, who arrived in great numbers to celebrate the traditional Indian Sunday on June 24. Clare's comraderie with the family of black pilgrims also exemplified transcendence of social boundaries. As in Malcolm X's pilgrimage to Mecca, racial and ethnic boundaries were transcended by *communitas* (cf. X 1965:326, 330). The cosmopolitan nature of the shrine reverses the pattern of the pilgrims' secular world, since in secular life the pilgrims lived in a homogeneous world, with little or no opportunity for interaction with people of different backgrounds.

Through participation in *communitas*, the loneliness and isolation of widows and the handicapped is transposed to sisterhood and a sense of belonging. In secular life these pilgrims are often alienated from the mainstream of social life, but at the shrine they are central. By joining the group and focussing their attentions on the joys and sorrows of others, the pilgrims' own problems are forgotten or their anguish considerably lessened. The efficacy of Mrs. Kelly's leadership in fostering a sense of sisterhood among the pilgrims is evident in this comment by polio victim Lillian Power: "I just love the shrine. Sometimes I wish I could

say here forever--but it wouldn't be the same without the group."

The special *communitas* shared by pilgrims was also fostered through the Annals, whose readers are conceptualized as members of the shrine 'family': "The Guardians of the Shrine and our pilgrims and Annals readers constitute one vast family, united in their common devotion to Saint Anne, and in the spirituality they share--that of the pilgrim People of God..." (The Annals 1977:91(11):339). One of the benefits of subscribing is a High Mass said each day for the intentions of readers. *Communitas* of traditional women is fostered through the "We Women" column and the "Grandmothers Page."

The dominant messages of the shrine, exemplified by its two divine referents, are resignation to earthly suffering, concern for others, and faith in God. However, these multi-vocal symbols also represent compassionate sympathy for earth sufferers, sometimes manifested in miraculous healing. These dramatic curative episodes are largely responsible for the shrine's reputation in the secular and religious world; however, for the 'genuine pilgrim' and the shrine officials, this function is clearly regarded as secondary. According to the shrine mythology, the cure is not an end in itself, but God's dramatic attempt to stimulate or reaffirm the faith of both believers and non-believers. It is held by both the faithful

and the officiants that such dramatic healing is a blessing bestowed almost exclusively on those who have already embraced the message of faithful resignation, and that the most important element of the cure is that it serves to strengthen faith.

The ethnographer posits that Mrs. Kelly's and the shrine officiants' distrust of the media reflects the media's failure to perceive and/or report this critical point. The preoccupation of the media is exemplified by an exclusive and frenetic interest in the feastday, focussed solely on recording dramatic cures. Attention is focussed merely on that which is easily perceived, implying that what is not must be unimportant. To the faithful, the opposite is true.

The temptation to concentrate exclusively on the curative aspect is also great for anguished pilgrims. In the eyes of believers, God works through the sacred symbols not only to stimulate faith, but to bestow concrete blessings. The Turners observe that believers' propensity to stress the curative/magical element of the symbol, rather than its symbolic meaning, is common at pilgrimage sites (1978:28). Mary Douglas also argues that magic and religion frequently become intertwined in religious cultures which emphasize symbolism and ritual (1973:26-28, 64). The pilgrimage organization played a key role in discouraging concentration on the magical elements of symbols and persistent supplication for cures.

The power which the Newfoundland pilgrims credited to the shrine's symbols and rites was clearly evident in their attentiveness to ritual accuracy and full participation. They made every effort to comply with the shrine's manner of celebrating the Mass by following the example of the organizer and other pilgrims (cf. Chapter 2). The majority of the pilgrims participated in the maximum number of rituals possible on a daily basis. For most this entailed attendance at two Masses, veneration of the relic, and participation in the procession and the Way of the Cross. Participation in other Masses, prayers, devotions, and making the Holy Stairs were included as time, energy and health allowed.

The pilgrims' strong belief in symbolic efficacy was probably best illustrated by their reactions to situations in which they believed ritual structure was, or might have been, violated or compromised. Pilgrims were distressed if their candles extinguished during the procession, and Maude was traumatized when she found her votive candle expired. In addition some pilgrims were anxious about not contributing a sufficient amount to collections or Mass offerings. Ritual dress requirements, outlined in the pilgrims' preliminary information, were complied with

throughout the pilgrimage. Many pilgrims were upset at tourists' casual dress, claiming that, "They wouldn't dress like that in their own church."⁴

Both the "management" of the Newfoundland pilgrimage and the shrine (Mrs. Kelly and Father Lefebvre respectively) are key to clarifying the multivocal messages of the shrine, highlighting the spiritual and social elements which bring pilgrims maximal personal rewards. To the pilgrims, both the organizer and even more so, Father Lefebvre, are potent symbols of the shrine, models for living according to the tenets of pilgrimage. Both exhibit faith, acceptance of suffering and dedication to others. Father Lefebvre's influence is paramount, illustrated by the pilgrims' trepidation about his impending death, and the perceived inadequacies of his presumed successor. Paralleling Mexican folk healer Don Pedrito (cf. Romano V 1965), Father Lefebvre exhibits charismatic qualities which stimulate faith to the ultimate degree. "His calm, unassuming selflessness have inspired countless pilgrims, and as with many of Don Pedrito's followers, he is God." As Romano argued (1965:1170), this leader's message is not radical, as posited by other analyses of charismatic leaders, but he epitomizes the reverse message of religious ideology, making abstract theological doctrine concrete.

PILGRIMAGE AS A FLOW EXPERIENCE

Pilgrimage and its pilgrims share many of the characteristics of 'flow activities' and their participants (cf. Csikszentmihalyi 1971;1975a;1975b). Detailed analysis of these characteristics sheds considerable light on why pilgrims find the experience so "intrinsically rewarding," a feeling they describe as "a state of Grace" or "peace."

Csikszentmihalyi posits that in everyday life one is bombarded by innumerable, sometimes conflicting, demands--a situation which creates anxiety but which can be relieved by flow experiences (1975a:56). The ethnographer submits that this is particularly true of disadvantaged or marginal groups, whose roles and values are often antithetical to the dominant society's though these groups must live within that society. As illustrated in Chapter 5, the values and trends of modern society often conflict with the traditional roles and values upheld by the church and embraced by the Newfoundland pilgrims. Daily they are

bombarded by direct and subliminal messages extolling the revered values and roles of the dominant society: youth, health, beauty, independence, urban sophistication, 'upward mobility'; the acquisition of increasing social, economic, and political power. Not only are these goals and roles virtually unattainable for most of the Newfoundland pilgrims, they conflict with their value system which is founded upon self-sacrifice. The vast majority of the goals of the dominant society can be attained only at the expense of others; one person's gain, is another's loss. This is a zero-sum game: one only looks good by making someone else look bad. The political, social and economic system of the dominant society is founded upon competition and exploitation. As a result disadvantaged individuals and groups fall prey to the system; their personal worth is devalued and/or they are denied access to certain resources and privileges.

By contrast, in the world of Ste. Anne de Beaupré and the Newfoundland pilgrims, status is gained not by exploitation but by self-sacrifice. Those at the top are in effect the "biggest losers;" they are the ones who give rather than take the most from society. As author Father Hugo Rahner puts it, in this sacred game, "the fundamental

rule...is 'He who loses, wins' (1967:56). Therefore, one person's loss is both her and everyone else's gain. In this game, everyone is a winner.

The striking contrast between the dominant and marginal socio-cultural systems is obvious, a discongruity with which the Newfoundland pilgrims are forced to cope on a daily basis. Csikszentmihalyi posits that flow experiences provide an escape and an alternate to social chaos by simplifying or restricting reality "to the point that [it] is understandable, definable, and manageable" (1975a:49). Within this limited stimulus field there are clearly defined, non-contradictory, rules for action (1975a:41; 1975b:48). The individual concentrates and acts solely within this framework; ideally all potentially intruding stimuli are eliminated or ignored (Csikszentmihalyi 1975a:47).

In making the pilgrimage, pilgrims are physically removed from their secular world, shielded from social and cultural injury. In the social realm they escape from an inhumane medical system, troubled marriages, a spouse's alcoholism or abuse, burdens of child care and household chores, loneliness, bereavement, and all the messages of the dominant society which degrade and belittle the values and

lifestyle they cherish. At the shrine there is minimal intrusion of the elements of secular life: rooms at the Auberge had no radios, televisions or telephones. In addition, the organizer discouraged pilgrims from engaging in any hedonistic secular activities which ran counter to the penitential pilgrimage ethic; eating out and secular sidetrips were frowned upon. Pilgrims had no duties or responsibilities apart from participation in the devotions, and adherence to the pilgrimage ethic.

However, in contrast to some of the secular flow activities studied by Csikszentmihalyi, due to the multivocality of religious symbols, and the fact that one cannot totally escape secular society, rules for action were not always clearly defined or non-contradictory. With respect to symbolic multivocality, the contradiction centered on the reward-oriented versus the resigned approaches to suffering and penance. Concentration on achieving tangible earthly rewards often resulted in disappointment and anomie, as illustrated by the experiences of Cathy* and Patrick*. Indeed it was those who were most resigned who received the greatest blessings/satisfaction. The role of the pilgrimage organization in stressing the benefits of the resignation/self-sacrifice approach was crucial. At the lobby meetings

emphasis was placed on prayer for others who were experiencing tremendous difficulties. By adopting this new other-focussed perspective, a pilgrim's own problems appeared considerably less momentous, and/or were temporarily forgotten. In the case of deeply troubled, suffering pilgrims who had difficulty in transferring their focus from self to others, Clare made it her personal mission to transmit these messages. A flesh and blood symbol of the message of the shrine, she had an impact equalled by none.

Csikszentmihalyi postulates that ideally flow activities challenge, but do not overwhelm a person's physical, intellectual, and social abilities (1975a:45,56; 1975b:xiii, 32,100). They "offer a wide range of 'flow channels'" at various levels of skill and commitment (1975b:80), hence individuals can commence at a level commensurate with their skills, and progress according to their desire and ability, transcending their initial limitations (1975a:60-61; 1975b:26, 33).

The structure of the pilgrimage fulfills many of these ideal requirements. Firstly, the pilgrimage organization offers organizational and moral/spiritual support, making it possible for timid, inexperienced pilgrims to undertake what is

perceived to be a physically, intellectually, and spiritually challenging journey. Social support is offered in a myriad of ways: the organizer directs and assumes ultimate responsibility for all travel and accommodation arrangements, and secures the services of a nurse. For many ailing or timid pilgrims these services were essential to their embarking on this enterprise. The organizer encourages pilgrims to participate in ritual activities to the fullest extent possible, and provides special opportunities for doing so; for example, by accompanying novices to ritual sites, and by making special arrangements with shrine officiants.

In effect, pilgrims are encouraged to 'maximize their flow experience;' but they are also cautioned "not to overly do it;" in other words, not to go beyond their abilities. While 'charity' and comradeship are stressed by the pilgrimage organization, pilgrims are not forced beyond their social abilities or inclinations. Pilgrims are not obliged to divulge their intentions, and while passive attendance at the lobby meetings is required, pilgrims are not obliged to actively interact with group members unless they choose to do so. Generally, pilgrims were very tolerant of anti-social or aberrant behaviour, even though it ran

counter to the ethos of the pilgrimage.⁵ To have been intolerant would also have been a breach of the pilgrimage ethos.

The ritual activities themselves offered a variety of 'flow channels.' Masses were celebrated in two languages at multiple times during the day, and pilgrims were free to come and go as they pleased at other ritual sites. Always the sick and the handicapped were accommodated to the fullest extent possible. Wide ramps led to the doors of the Basilica, constructed in such a way that they were a strikingly beautiful feature of the architecture. For anyone not feeling up to participating in the procession, remaining seated was perfectly permissible. Likewise, the Way of the Cross devotion was broadcast to park benches for the benefit of the sick and the handicapped.

The Holy Stairs was clearly the most physically challenging pilgrimage ritual. While pilgrims were encouraged to "make the Stairs" as an act of devotion, they were not obliged to do so. It is interesting to note that some pilgrims, including both of my roommates, 'built up' the psychological and physiological strength needed in order to attempt this ritual over the course of the week. Both Nae*

and Maude* felt they were incapable of performing this rite at the beginning of the week; however, they were challenged to undertake the rite as a result of the example and encouragement of fellow pilgrims, coupled with increasing confidence in their own abilities. Thus both women progressed according to their desire and ability, transcending their initial limitations (cf. Csikszentmihalyi 1975a:60-61; 1975b:26,33).

Csikszentmihalyi posits that by restricting one's attention to a manageable pattern of items, one gains control of one's actions and environment (1975a:41,50; 1975b:192). Rather than a feeling of mastery, this control is more akin to not being worried about lack of control or the ultimate outcome (1975a:50; 1975b:35).

These concepts prove useful in analyzing the social, ritual, and symbolic aspects of the Newfoundland pilgrimage. In secular life many of the pilgrims probably felt that they were 'out of control' due to the authoritarian, inscrutable nature of the medical system; the debilitating effect of serious illness; and/or the aimlessness of old age, which left them with little to do, hence a loss of purpose and direction. Through participation in the penitential rites of the shrine, the pilgrims found purpose

and regained control, as it was believed through their efforts many personal and collective blessings were bestowed.

However, as Csikszentmihalyi characterized flow activities, it was held that one could not and should not aim to control the ultimate outcome--that was in the hands of God. To attempt to control the outcome was only an exercise in frustration and despair, as evidenced by the experiences of Cathy* and Patrick*. In succumbing to self- and societal pity, they lost their dignity. One gained control not by pinning one's prayer and penance on the hope of temporal/material favours, but by performing one's prayer and penance confident that one was doing some personal and collective good regardless of whether it was immediately or readily perceived. Now convinced that she was actively aiding her own and others' intentions in the best way possible, the pilgrim gained a consciousness of self-worth and dignity. No longer was she controlled by her problems and afflictions; by faith, she controlled adversity. The achievement of this unique state of human integrity, which the pilgrims termed "a state of Grace" or "peace," was the aim and reward of the Newfoundland pilgrimage.

These conceptions and experiences of suffering are analogous to those of Roman Catholic Spanish Americans,

delineated in Richardson, Pardo and Bode's (1971) analysis of Holy Week celebrations in San Pedro, Colombia. As at the shrine, it is Christ's dignified suffering rather than his resurrection which is celebrated in San Pedro. Again, the principal message is that dignified faith and resignation are central to retaining control in the face of adversity. The following explanation was offered by a believer:

God cannot be coerced, but it is through your faith that he moves. If man does not resign himself to his own fallibility, he will break out of the balanced state of conformity and endlessly knock himself against life, over which he has no control. He will have lost his paciencia,

A sick person without paciencia will fight sickness and will become more ill; a man without paciencia fights suffering, and so he suffers more.

The ideal man is the one who always acts with conformity, commitment, resignation, and patience. Such a man was Christ (1971:249).

Richardson, Pardo, and Bode summarize this model of thought and action:

Unlike the Anglo-Protestant conqueror of death, the Spanish American figure conveys the specific information that man maintains his humanity by suffering in the manner of Christ on the cross. The manner in which Christ suffered was con *paciencia*. Through suffering with patience, Christ exhibits to the perfect degree the values of conformity, commitment, and resignation. The lesson of Christ is not fatalistic; instead it teaches how man should exercise control over the raw experience of the untamed world. Christ is the ideal man of

cultura who refuses to allow the crude pain of the cross to destroy his own personal faith and his sense of inner worth. By suffering patiently, Christ demonstrates how man should hold fast to his sacred humanity in face of an inhuman world (1971:256-257).

In flow activities, Csikszentmihalyi characterizes this ideal state as "a total merging of action and awareness" (1971:46; 1975a:44; 1975b:87). The actor becomes one with his environment; stimulus and response appear automatic, with one action flowing into another (1975a:43). Csikszentmihalyi notes that this state is often marked by a loss or distortion of the sense of time (1975a:43; 1975b:87). Immersed in the flow activity, one experiences a transcendence of the self and "selfish" concerns (1971:56; 1975a:41,49); prior feelings of boredom, worry or anxiety are forgotten (1975a:55; 1975b:48).

As illustrated in the earlier part of this chapter, transcendence of self and selfish concerns is encouraged through the symbolic and social structure of the pilgrimage. In travelling to the sacred world of the shrine, the pilgrim transcends time, space, and the self, uniting her suffering with that of her Saviour. In highly structured rituals such as the Way of the Cross and the Holy Stairs, thought and action are potently fused through liturgy and pain. The degree of

involvement demanded by the pilgrimage's ritual round minimized both boredom and anxiety.

Csikszentmihalyi posits that flow activities offer unparalleled 'intrinsic rewards,' because while these activities often are not pleasurable, by meeting the physical, social and psychological demands, participants gain a deep sense of fulfillment (1975:198). In the pilgrimage context these intrinsic rewards were expressed as "being touched by God through his Grace" or attaining deep personal peace.

Csikszentmihalyi discovered that in the case of many flow activities, participants initially need some form of inducement to participate; the intrinsic rewards are only discovered afterwards (1975a:48; 1975b:42). This seems to hold true for the pilgrimage as well. For many pilgrims the initial inducement was the hope of a cure or other material favour, or an obligation to fulfill a vow or to give thanks for a favour received. However, once the intrinsic rewards of the experience were discovered, many of the faithful returned repeatedly, without aspirations of external reward.

Striking parallels are evident between the flow experiences of the Newfoundland pilgrims, and those of rock

climbers studied by Csikszentmihalyi (1975b).

Csikszentmihalyi posits that: "Rock climbing is the exact antithesis of the American preoccupation with spectator sports" (1975b:76). Analogous to rock climbing, pilgrimage is the exact opposite of hedonistic secular vacations; it is an exercise in personal sacrifice, rather than personal indulgence. That is not to say that pleasurable experiences are non-existent, but they are clearly regarded as secondary. The penitential aspects of pilgrimage are the pilgrims' primary concern.

Csikszentmihalyi discovered that rock climbers on the whole were reluctant to discuss their sport. He concluded that: "These misapprehensions...reflected the desire to protect the integrity of the deep-play sphere from the pererially reductive glosses of the outsider" (1975b:78). A rock climber made the following observation: "The press and popular media over-emphasize the danger.. They generalize from the carelessness of irresponsible climbers. People see climbers as risqué, danger-loving daredevils--all misconceptions" (1975b:83).

Likewise, the pilgrims are often reluctant to discuss their sacred journey with outsiders, due to non-believers'

injudicious emphasis on the curative elements of the shrine. Just as rock climbers deny that danger is the central element in their pursuit, pilgrims deny that miraculous favour is their principal motive. What Csikszentmihalyi chooses to call "the deep-play sphere", is in essence the true meaning of the experience, a meaning revered and protected by both rock climbers and pilgrims.

A key phenomenon not addressed by Csikszentmihalyi is that flow participants often share a communicative code which is largely inscrutable to outsiders. In the case of the Newfoundland pilgrimage, pilgrims shared an elaborate symbolic code, including liturgy and myth, and a language code of 'emic' meanings shared and understood by group members. A special bond forms between people who share in this special meaning, strengthening *communitas* and emphasizing social and symbolic distance from non-participants. I believe that the following reflection of a rock climber holds true for the sense of mutual understanding and comradeship felt by many pilgrims:

Who can you trust more in the twentieth century than these people? People after the same self-discipline as yourself; following the deeper commitment. The facades come rolling off. A bond like that with other people is in itself an ecstasy (1975b:94-95).

The ethnographer posits that the sense of fulfillment achieved by the following rock-climber was shared by every pilgrim who triumphed in the excruciating climb up the Holy Stairs:

It's exhilarating to come closer and closer to self-discipline. You make your body go and everything hurts; then you look back in awe of the self, at what you've done, it just blows your mind. It leads to ecstasy, to self-fulfillment. If you win these battles enough, that battle against yourself, at least for the moment, it becomes easier to win the battles in the world (1975b:95).

Through the symbolic messages and ritual action of the shrine, the pilgrims gain new meaning in life and achieve a rewarding sense of self-fulfillment.

The following chapter will examine the socio-cultural context of the pilgrims' secular world, illustrating correlates between the emic world of Ste. Anne de Beaupré and the emic experience of Newfoundland society. Both realms share a value system and social order based on the achievement of dignity through self-sacrifice.

CHAPTER SEVEN - FOOTNOTES

1 Unlike the pilgrimages studied by Turner, the Newfoundland pilgrims made their stopover at a lesser shrine, Cap-de-la-Madeleine, during Phase III, rather than during Phase I. The ethnographer posits that this itinerary was primarily due to time constraints dictated by flight and mass schedules. As Turner posited, the trip home was much less emotionally charged than the journey to the shrine, the visit to the Cape having somewhat of a perfunctory nature—an obligation while in the neighbourhood.

2 'Passion' is derived from the Latin word for 'suffering,' which comes from the same Latin root as 'patient,' one who 'suffers' an illness (Ferguson 1983:97).

3 Saint Anne's Cord is an instrument of prayer analogous to Rosary Beads.

4 The pilgrims were probably quite right in their judgement. Those who visited the shrine as tourists regarded it as a secular rather than a sacred attraction, and their dress reflected this perspective.

5 The ethnographer was a case in point. My vague intentions and surreptitious note-taking on park benches were never criticized by fellow pilgrims.

CHAPTER EIGHT
DIGNITY AND DEPRIVATION

This chapter examines the socio-cultural orders of dominant and marginal social groups, positing that the dominant order is founded upon exploitation, while the marginal order is founded upon self-sacrifice. In the dominant sphere dignity and status are attained through the acquisition of wealth and power, while in the marginal sphere dignity and status are attained through devotion to others.

An ethnohistorical examination of Newfoundland society illustrates how an oppressed populace achieves dignity through glorification of a lifestyle based on self-sacrifice. Traditional folksongs are utilized to portray the emic view of the common man.

The final section focusses on the women's world in Newfoundland society, detailing a life of hardship and sacrifice from which they derive dignity and self-fulfillment. Parallels are drawn between Dona Davis' study of the women of Grey Rock Harbour, and the socio-cultural world of the Newfoundland pilgrims.

DOMINANCE AND MARGINALITY: ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVES

Turner and Turner (1978:251) define marginality as:

A category whose individuals (marginals) often look to their group of origin, the so-called inferior group... for communitas; and to the most prestigious group in which they mainly live, for their structural position. They may become critics of the structure from the perspective of communitas... (citing Turner 1974a:233).

Situated in the North Atlantic on the fringes of North America, the island of Newfoundland and its people have epitomized marginality since time immemorial, a society removed from the centers of social, economic and political power.

In the 1600s the island served as a seasonal fishing station for the great seafaring nations of Spain, France, Portugal and England. Until the mid-twentieth century political and economic control of the island lay in the hands of the English or those with English connections; first West Country merchants, then St. John's merchants and the British Crown. After joining Canada in 1949, political and economic

power lay thousands of miles to the east in the central Canadian heartland.

Alienated from the sources of power, this marginal populace has adopted a cooperative value system appropriate to their non-hierarchical liminal world. Brox posits that Newfoundland's 'dual economy'--the maintenance of a subsistence/simple technology economy juxtaposed with modern industry--is a deliberate strategy on the part of the rural population, who perceive limited personal opportunities in an urban, competitive environment (1972:6-7,48-49).

He argues "the Newfoundland settlement pattern... [is] a manifestation of the egalitarian social structure in the province. Social structure is maintained by a process in which people interact with each other in order to maximize their values" (1972:61).

Since the first permanent Newfoundland settlers surreptitiously settled themselves along the craggy coastline, Newfoundlanders have experienced innumerable ecological and sociological hardships trying to wrest a living in this

marginal world. To this day, the vast majority of the populace has little social, economic or political power.

One might think that accounts of the lives of these people would be exceedingly depressing; however, often the reverse is true. Consistently social scientists and other writers have been captivated by the dignity, selflessness, creativity, and humour which characterize Newfoundland social life, qualities which have developed and flourished despite--and because of--political and economic oppression and harsh environmental conditions. Isolated from, and often despised by, the larger society, Newfoundlanders have constructed value systems and attendant social institutions which maximize members feelings of self-worth and dignity in spite of their deprivation. This distinctive ethos and attendant social practices have mitigated against the destructive influences of a harsh reality.

Many ethnographic, historic, and narrative accounts have explored these remarkable individual and collective efforts to maintain dignity in the face of deprivation. Several accounts delineate the communitas which characterizes

community relations, including James Paris' (1972) Cat Harbour, Louis Chiaramonte's (1970), Craftsman-Client Contracts; and Ralph Matthews' (1976) "There's No Better Place Than Here". Cassie Brown's (1972) Death on the Ice, and Guy Wright's (1984) Sons and Seals chronicle the distinctive ethos, comraderie, and courage which have evolved from what may be the island's physically and psychologically harshest pursuit, the seal hunt. Other accounts explore individual and collective efforts to maintain dignity in the face of modern economic hardships; Cato Wadel (1973) explores the effects of and adaptations to unemployment in Now, Whose Fault is That?, and Elliot Leyton (1975) examines the physiological and psychological ravages of industrial disease in Dying Hard. Recently several accounts have been written about the female experience of this marginal environment, a life of hardship and self-sacrifice analogous to their male counterparts. This lifestyle is eloquently portrayed in Dona Davis' (1983) Blood and Nerves, and Clare Mowat's (1983) The Outport People.

Extracting from these works, the ethnographer will first present a brief ethno-historical overview of Newfoundland society, focusing on the contrast between structural-instrumental deprivation, and the ethos and

social conventions of endurance and self-sacrifice which evolved in response to these indignities. It is a study in contrasts: of cruelty, oppression, and hardship inflicted by the environment and dominant society; of stoic endurance, self-sacrifice and dedication to others, attempts by the common person to mitigate against indignities, to provide dignity for themselves and their compatriots. As the Newfoundland population was male-dominated until the mid-1800s, the institutions and perspectives addressed in this overview are primarily male-oriented. This orientation can also be attributed to the failure of social scientists to document the female sphere until recently. The historic overview is focussed primarily on the Southern Avalon region, (see Map 1) as this is where the majority of pilgrims resided.

Following the ethno-historical overview, the ethnographer will examine on Dona Davis' (1983) study of the women of "Grey Rock Harbour." Davis' depiction of the world of these Anglican women on the southwest coast has many parallels with the social realm and value system of their Irish Catholic counterparts on the island's southeast coast.

ETHNO-HISTORICAL OVERVIEW: MALE SACRIFICE AND DIGNITY

European nations, chiefly England, France and Spain

began visiting Newfoundland shores in the 1500s to exploit the rich cod fishery on the Grand Banks off the island's southeast coast. The operations were purely seasonal; fleets arrived in the spring and erected temporary shelters, fish 'flakes' (drying racks), and 'stages' (wharves), where fish were landed, split, dried and salted (Cell 1969, cited in Davis 1983:38). A handful of crew members sometimes wintered over in order to reserve the fishing 'rooms' (shore areas) for their captains the following year (Galgay 1982:5). Southern Shore communities were amongst the first of these transient settlements, Renew's having been mentioned in a French fishing captain's log in 1504 (Galgay 1983:8).

West Country English merchants were granted control of the Newfoundland English fishery in the 1600s. They viewed this enterprise as a lucrative source of goods for world trade, and a good training ground for naval personnel (O'Neill 1984:27; Davis 1983:38, citing Cell 1969:97). They were vehemently opposed to settlement as they believed settlers would have 'unfair access' to fish and threaten their prerogatives (Davis 1983:38). The English government supported their position passing anti-settlement laws, some with severe penalties attached. In 1676 Charles II decreed the destruction of all settlers' homes and establishments (Prowse 1895: 171, cited in Faris 1972:8). Until 1811 it

was illegal to erect any building without the Governor's permission (Paris 1972:8, citing Bonnycastle 1842:147), and until the early 19th century, the master of an English vessel could be fined for bringing settlers to Newfoundland (Paris 1972:5-7).

Nevertheless scattered settlements were established, some with the Crown's blessing. In the early 17th century there were about half a dozen short-lived attempts at colonization in Southern Shore communities (cf. Nemeč 1980:21). One of the more notable colonies with respect to the present study is Ferryland. Occupied seasonally throughout the 16th century, it was officially founded in 1621 by Roman Catholic convert Lord Baltimore as a refuge for persecuted English Catholics. The community lays claim to being the oldest Roman Catholic parish in Newfoundland. In the latter part of the decade Lord Baltimore brought over several priests to serve the needs of the colonists. It is believed that previous to this priests had travelled with the Spanish, French and Basque fleets, but none had been assigned parochial duties (Galgay 1983:47).

Deliberate attempts at colonization were few; more often permanent settlement was initiated by defiant seamen,

who formed "a small but pugnacious and stout-hearted population of resident fishermen..." (Nemec 1980:26). They were subject to the mercy of the seasonal fishing admirals who ruled over "crewmen and residents alike...the rough customary justice of the fishing smack and the rum keg court" (Story 1969:13, cited in Nemec 1980:28).

A distinctive group of permanent residents in the Southern Shore region was the "Kerrivan Gang" or the "Masterless Men," escaped Irish indentured fishing servants who lived off the land in the secluded interior during the summer, and drifted into the colonies in the fall after the judicial officials had left for the year. The colonists sympathized with their plight, adopting them as their own. Many married fishermen's daughters and were assimilated into the community. Galgay cites (1983:6) that there is not one recorded instance of a member of this group being turned over to the authorities.

Not only were English settlers subject to persecution at the hands of their own rulers, until the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, English Southern Shore settlers were subject to frequent attack by the French garrison at Placentia, a side-effect of animosities on the European front.¹

Nemec (1980:44), citing K. Matthews (1968:277,315), argues that even in the absence of these detrimental politico-military conditions, permanent settlement would have been limited due to the dearth of employment opportunities. The summer fishery was the only viable means of earning a livelihood; there was virtually no off-season commercial activity.²

Population growth was extremely slow during the first three centuries of West European occupation. Even though the English were the dominant settler group, "...as late as 1675 there were probably no more than five to six hundred people of English descent living permanently in Newfoundland" (Nemec 1980:25). Women in particular were scarce; from 1622-1628 there were only seven women as opposed to 25 men wintering in Lord Calvert's colony at Ferryland (Handcock 1977:19, cited in Davis 1983:39). Handcock relates that in 1670 females composed only 25% of the island's permanent population, and he posits that the lack of resident females was another factor retarding population growth (1977:19-24, cited in Davis 1983:40).

Towards the end of the 17th century, the West Country merchants and some of the more prominent resident

'planter' fishermen merged forces, effectively controlling the entire economy of the island (Nemec 1980:40-41). All seasonal and resident fishermen were tied into a perpetual debt relationship with these merchants, as they were compelled to sell to the merchant whom had supplied them prior to the fishing season. Nemec, citing Seary (1971:20-21), characterizes this as "...a reciprocal relationship in which a fisherman was given credit following lean sessions but overcharged for supplies following productive summers" (1980:43). The fisherman had no negotiating power in the price of his catch, and many "...had never seen money from their birth to their grave, they were in debt to the merchants all their lives long..." (Prowse 1895:379-380, cited in Paris 1972:15).

The fishermen were acutely aware of their economic plight, but given the precarious nature of the international salt cod market (cf. Paris 1972:15), and the need for substantial capital backing, there appeared no other social-economic option. Rather than allowing the forces of the economic bondage to erode their dignity and self-worth, they celebrated their life of hardship, eloquently expressed in the traditional folk-song, "Hard, Hard Times":

Come all you good people I'll sing ye- a song
 About the poor people, how they get along;
 They'll start in the Spring, finish up in the
 Fall,
 And when it's all over they have nothing at
 all,
 And it's HARD, HARD TIMES.

Go out in the morning go on a drift still;
 It's over the side you will hear the line nell; For
 out flows the jigger and freeze with the
 cold,
 And as to for starting, all gone in the hole,
 And it's Hard, Hard Times.
 The fine sign of fishing we'll have bye and
 bye;
 The fine side of fishing we'll have a goodbye;
 Seven dollars for large and six-Fifty for
 small;
 Pick out your West Indie, you got nothing at
 all,
 And it's Hard, Hard Times.

When you got some split and hung out for to
 dry,
 'Twill take all your time for to brush off the
 flies;
 To keep off the maggots 'tis more than you'll
 do,
 And out comes the sun and it's all split in
 Two,
 And it's Hard, Hard Times.

Then next comes the carpenter to build you a
 house;
 He'll build it so snug you will scarce find a
 mouse;
 With holes in the roof and the rain it will
 pour;
 The chimney will smoke and 'tis open the door,
 And it's Hard, Hard Times.

Then next comes the doctor, the worst of them
 all,
 Saying: "What is the matter with you all the
 fall?"
 He says he will cure you of all your disease;

When the money he's got you can die if you
 please,
 And it's Hard, Hard Times.

The best thing to do is to work with a will;
 For when 'tis all finished you're hauled on
 the hill;
 You're hauled on the hill and put down in the
 cold,
 And when 'tis all finished you're still in the
 hole,
 And it's Hard, Hard Times.

In the last quarter of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century there was a surge of population growth³ due to a variety of political and economic factors. On a political level Europe was experiencing upheaval due to the Napoleonic Wars and the American and French Revolutions. Also, the anti-settlement laws were repealed in 1819, which resulted in previously unsurpassed numbers of immigrating women and children. In Newfoundland, the economy improved with the development of the salmon fishery, boat building, and tertiary industries such as blacksmithing and cooperage. Most important was the development of a commercial sealhunt, a lucrative off-season activity (Nemec 1980:50-52).

It was during this period that significant Irish immigration took place. In the mid-eighteenth century seasonal fishing ships from North Devon, England transported

cheap Irish seasonal labourers to the southern half of the Avalon (Mannion 1973:11). These labourers worked on the fishing vessels or tended small farming plots in the coastal settlements, supplying produce for the fishermen (Mannion 1973:8-9).

In the 19th century the seasonal fishery ended; however, this period marked the true beginnings of permanent Irish settlement in Newfoundland. In 1800-1850 there was a huge wave of Irish migration to all parts of northeastern North America, primarily due to population pressures in rural Ireland (Mannion 1973:10-11). One of the favoured settlement areas was Newfoundland, with settlement concentrating in the same Southern Avalon communities frequented by the seasonal fishermen. Mannion summarizes this pattern: "The Irish dominated the area from St. John's to Placentia by 1836, with concentrations in lower Conception Bay and scattered settlements in the northeast" (1973:11). He labels St. John's as the "first substantial immigrant Irish urban ghetto" (1973:6). In the southwest Irish counties of Waterford, Wexford and Kilkenny, from which most of the Newfoundland settlers were drawn, the Catholic faith was particularly strong (O'Neill 1984:63).

During most of the 18th century there was severe religious persecution of the lower class Irish Roman Catholics in Newfoundland.⁴ In 1755 the Governor ordered

the "hunting down of an Irish Augustinian priest who was circulating in Conception Bay" (Lahey 1984:5). Homes of practising Catholics and buildings where Masses were said⁵ were burnt, and Catholics were inflicted with harsh fines and/or banishment (Lahey 1984:5; O'Neill 1984:65-67). According to Prowse (1895), Governor Richard Dorrill's administration was "distinguished by intolerant bigotry and the persecution of Roman Catholics" (cited in O'Neill 1984:65). Referring to governor Sir Hugh Palliser, Howley (1888) concluded: "difficult as it may seem (he) surpassed all his predecessors in bigotry" (cited in O'Neill 1984:73). Despite this, Bishop O'Donel who arrived in Newfoundland in 1784, reported that he was amazed at the strong faith of Irish Newfoundland Catholics, in spite of their persecution, poverty, and limited exposure to clergy (Lahey 1984:20-21).

In light of my findings, the ethnographer posits that this deprived group clung to their faith precisely because of this oppression. It was faith which infused their lives with meaning, sanctifying their suffering, and providing dignity for this marginal population. This perspective is also reflected on the dust jacket synopsis of O'Neill's (1984) Upon this Rock: The Story of the Roman Catholic Church in Newfoundland and Labrador: "...it tells

of an incredible struggle against bigoted officials, intractable governors, apostate priests.... It is a tale of simple people of faith stubbornly toppling the stony edifice of power."

During the period of rapid population expansion in the 1800s, one of the main modes of settlement growth was through partible inheritance of familial property by sons, resulting in localized kin groupings (Mannion 1977:11, cited in Davis 1983:40). This practice has continued until the present day in some outport communities. Families formed socio-economic groups, whose members were interdependent, interacting with each other on a regular basis (Faris 1972: 86). In essence they formed a communitas group, the ethic and practice of self-sacrifice and cooperation being essential to the effective functioning of the group.

However sometimes serious tensions or discord arose between brothers or their wives. This was often signified by the erection of a fence between properties (Faris 1972:34,95-96). As Mrs. Kelly implied in her bus trip commentary (Chapter 2), this situation is shameful and undesirable, as it is in opposition to the revered traits of self-sacrifice and devotion to others.

With the demise of the migratory fishery in the early 1800s, familial socio-economic ties were further strengthened. The small homemade dory became the dominant vessel (Mannion 1977:11,12, cited in Davis 1983:42), with father-sons and brothers the typical crew members (cf. Nemeč 1980, Chiaramonte 1970). Unlike the hierarchical, oppressive relationship which characterized fisherman-merchant relations, relations between crew members were egalitarian, founded upon cooperation.

Another distinctive socio-economic feature of outport life is what has become known as 'craftsman-client' contracts (cf. Chiaramonte 1970). The reverse of the constrained, exploitative relations between fishermen and merchants; community craftsmen deliberately undercharge their clients, in the knowledge that clients will reciprocate their goodwill by 'over-paying.' Often these contracts are entered into informally with neither the fee nor the service clearly defined beforehand (cf. Chiaramonte 1970:19-46). In this economic system both parties gain respect and dignity.

As mentioned earlier, the seal hunt became established in the 1800s, providing much needed winter employment for small-boat fishermen, and windfall profits for merchants. Conditions faced by the sealers both on the ships

and on 'the ice' were abominable (cf. Brown 1972:35-36, and passim; Wright 1984 passim). Sealers submitted themselves to weeks of inconceivable hardship and toil, which often resulted in sickness and injury, sometimes even death.

Yet participation in this annual rite was arguably the most revered male occupation in Newfoundland society. Wright attributes its high status to its symbolic meanings, meanings which celebrate hardship and self-sacrifice. He posits that the seal hunt symbolizes "qualities Newfoundlanders most respect: adherence to heritage, stoic endurance, hardiness, the ability to provide" (1984:97-98). In this male context the "ability to provide" meant economic provision; in the female context of the Newfoundland pilgrimage its equivalent was the ability to provide care and "affective support."

As with the pilgrims Wright discovered strong fraternalism amongst sealers. The ethnographer posits that the seal hunt and its sealers constitute a secular male pilgrimage; in the liminoid world of 'the ice' sealers endure supreme hardship, celebrating central male values. Motivated by these meanings more than material reward, it is on this

stage which males attain supreme dignity. The supreme attraction of the seal hunt is evident in a remark made by a Conception Bay man in 1907: "Man'll go for a swile [ie., a seal] where gold won't drag 'un" (Nemec 1980:47, citing Story 1969:14-15). Reverence for these roles and values is illustrated in the opening verse and chorus of "A Noble Fleet of Sealers":

There's a noble fleet of sealers,
 Being fitted for the "ice."
 They'll take a chance again this year
 tho' fat's gone down in price.
 And the owners will supply them
 As in the days of old,
 For in Newfoundland the Sealing Voyage
 Means something more than gold.

For the ice is drifting 'suddard'
 It's getting near the Funks,
 And men will leave their feather beds
 To sleep in wooden bunks
 Tho' times are getting hard again
 Our men have not gone soft.
 They'll haul their tows o'er icy floes
 Or briskly go aloft.

In the early twentieth century logging developed as an important industry in the central and western regions of the province. Again this life of hardship and deprivation is celebrated in song. Following are the first two verses and chorus of "The Badger Drive":

There is one class of men in this country,
 that never is mentioned in song.
 And now, since their trade is advancing
 they'll come up on top before long.
 They say that our sailors have danger
 and likewise our warriors bold,
 But there's none know the life of a driver,
 what he suffers from hardship and cold;

Chorus:

With their pikepoles and peavies and bateaus
 and all
 And their sure to drive out in the spring,
 that's the time
 With the caulks in their boots as they get on
 the logs.
 And it's hard to get over their time.

Verse 2

Billey Dorothey he is the manager, and he's a
 good man at the trade;
 And when he's around seeking drivers, he's
 like a train going down grade,
 But still he is a man that's kindhearted, on
 his word you can always depend,
 And there's never a man that works with him
 but likes to go with him again.

Newfoundlanders suffered severe economic hardship in the 1930s Depression period. With the fishery and the entire economy in a state of collapse, local government was suspended, and a Commission of Government responsible to the British Crown established (Davis 1983:42). The economy improved greatly during World War II, so in the latter 1940s a convention was held to consider future forms of government. Amid heated debate, in 1948 a 52% majority voted to join Canada. Economic benefits-- particularly old age pensions and the Baby Bonus--were key attractions. Many

citizens reviled what they perceived as a "sell-out" of their souls. The "Anti-Confederation Song" illustrates their contempt for both privileged oppressors, Canada and Britain, and the dignity and value attached to Newfoundland life:

Hurrah for our own native Isle, Newfoundland, Not a
stranger shall hold one inch of its
strand,
Her face turns to Britain, her back to the
Gulf,
Come near at your peril Canadian Wolf.

Ye brave Newfoundlanders who plough the salt
sea,
With hearts like the eagle so bold and so free
The time is at hand when you'll all have to
say
If Confederation will carry the day.

• Cheap tea and molasses they say they will give
All taxes take off that the poor man may
live:
Cheap nails and cheap lumber our coffins to
make,
And homespun to mend our old clothes when they
break.

If they take off the taxes now then will they
meet
The heavy expense on the country's up-keep?
Just give them the chance to get us in the
scrape
And they'll chain you as slaves with pen, ink
and red tape.

Would you barter the right that your fathers
have won,
your freedom transmitted from father to son?
For a few thousand dollars of Canadian gold,
Don't let it be said that your birthright was
sold.

FEMALE SACRIFICE AND DIGNITY

The emic world of the women of "Grey Rock Harbour," depicted by Davis (1983) parallels the socio-cultural value system of the Newfoundland pilgrims. A detailed examination of the world of these Anglican women sheds light on the social-secular world of the Newfoundland pilgrims.

Davis discovered that the most valued role of womanhood is being a good mother and housekeeper, achieved through hard work, resourcefulness, thriftiness, and devotion to others (1983:74,104). As in the world of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, status and self-esteem are achieved through self-sacrifice (cf. Davis 1983:113). Davis indicates that women had a favorite self-portrayal as long sufferers (1983:64).

Grey Rock Harbour women are extremely dedicated to their families. Davis asserts the lifestyle of middle-aged women is marked by worry over their children and grandchildren (1983:90). Grandmothers frequently care for grandchildren on a full-time basis, as did pilgrim Maude Billard* (cf. Davis 1983:69,122). Women are thought to have the special character and patience necessary for child care (1983:124). They are not envious of men's work; the

husband-wife relationship is regarded as a social-affective team with each party making equivalent sacrifices in their separate spheres (Davis 1983:125). As it seemed with the Newfoundland pilgrims, divorce and extramarital affairs were almost nonexistent (Davis 1983:61).

These traditional women were exemplary housekeepers, elevating spring cleaning to a penitential rite. Davis remarks that homes are "literally torn apart" during spring cleaning, which entails a full month of washing, painting and wallpapering (1983:101). The Newfoundland pilgrims also prided themselves on their housekeeping skills, exemplified by Maude's nostalgic reminiscing about earlier days of endless toil.

Grey Rock Harbour women are regularly involved in formal and informal community work, the focus of which is to provide affective and practical support for others. Daily telephone calls and visits to friends and relatives are still fairly common (1983:103-104). Baby and wedding showers are much enjoyed community-wide events, providing practical and affective support for wives and mothers (1983:73). Community fundraising to obtain specialized medical treatment for the severely injured or disfigured is also common place (1973:75).

The Newfoundland pilgrims labelled all of these acts 'charity.' In effect self-sacrifice and devotion to others received divine sanction. It was in the sacred realm of Ste. Anne de Beaupré in which the sacrificial values and roles of traditional Newfoundland women attained highest status.

At the shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré the sick, the suffering, and those committed to the sacrificial model, find purpose, meaning and rewards the dominant society does not offer.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER EIGHT

1 Ralph Matthews (1970:16) cites, "in 1696-1697 alone the French garrison [at Placentia] killed, wounded, or captured a majority of the English settlers on the Island" (cited in Nemeč 1980:40).

2 Even subsistence agriculture was a precarious pursuit, and most of the island's mineral deposits were as yet undiscovered (Nemeč 1980:44-45).

3 Between 1803 and 1836, the population rose from 19,000 to 75,000 (Davis 1983:40).

4 One theory explaining the persecution is that the English feared permanent Irish settlers would be sympathetic to French interests (cf. Lahey 1984:5).

5 The Governor did not officially grant permission for a Roman Catholic chapel to be built until 1783, hence Masses were held in secular buildings.

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APPENDIX A

NEWFOUNDLAND PILGRIMAGE TO STE. ANNE DE BEAUPRE¹

GROUP I - JUNE 18-24, 1979

GROUP II - JULY 30 - AUGUST 5, 1979

Departure: Group I - Monday, June 18th, Time: 7:00 a.m.
Group II - Monday, July 30th, Time: 7:00 a.m.

Place: St. John's Airport, Torbay - Flight 60 (Air Canada)

N.B.: Each pilgrim is requested to be at the Airport at least one hour before departure time; to go directly to the Air Canada counter, identify yourself as one of the pilgrimage group and check in your luggage. (Only one [1] piece of large luggage per pilgrim. It is important that the enclosed luggage tag is properly addressed -- Newfoundland Pilgrimage, Ste. Anne De Beaupré and attached to your suitcase.) Then proceed to the nearby table.

Return: Group I - Sunday, June 24th (Flight 150, Air Canada) arriving St. John's 10:20 p.m.
Group II - Sunday, August 5th (Flight 150, Air Canada) arriving St. John's 10:20 p.m.

Total Cost of Pilgrimage: Two hundred and eighty-five dollars (\$285) (not including meals). This amount must be paid in the form of a cheque or money order made out to the organizer () and forwarded to P.O. Box _____, St. John's, not later than the specified time below:

Group I: MAY 31, 1979 ** Remember to deduct the ten dollar (\$10) deposit if you have already sent it to the organizer.
Group II: JULY 8, 1979

Dress: Proper dress is required at all times as this is a religious pilgrimage and is not to be treated as a vacation; therefore, slacks or shorts are not to be worn. Pant suits are permissible.

Health: All elderly people (over 65 years) plus any pilgrim suffering from a serious or chronic illness, or being treated by a doctor, or on long term medications, must submit a "permit to travel stating the nature of your illness" from the doctor under whose care he or she is, and also must have completed an Air Canada health form (by your doctor) which must be in the hands of the Air Canada doctor within ten (10) days previous to your departure. (Both forms may be forwarded to the organizer). It is compulsory that such people be accompanied by a relative or friend who will assume responsibility for the sick or aged person.

NB; I assume no responsibility for accidents or loss of items incurred travelling to or from the shrine or during the pilgrimage at St. Anne de Beaupr e.

Should you have to cancel your pilgrimage your ten dollar (\$10) deposit will not be refunded as five dollars (\$5) of this will be used to cover initial expenses and the other five dollars (\$5) will be given to the Director of the Shrine for a high mass for your intentions, unless you wish otherwise. (A mass card will be forwarded to you.)

Pilgrimage Organizer

Kindly detach the form below, fill in and return with your cheque or money order.

Name: _____

Mailing Address: _____

Group Section: _____

This document has been retyped to comply with the double spacing requirements of thesis material. The wording was transcribed verbatim, except for the omission of the name of the organizer and the pilgrimage post box number. The style is consistent with that of the original document.

APPENDIX B

THE WAY OF THE CROSS

A miniature pilgrimage to the Holy Land

ORIGIN

Historically, pilgrimages are intimately connected with the Way of the Cross. The first pilgrimages known in the Church were made to the Holy Land.

The "Stations," as popularly known nowadays, became an exercise of devotion separate from the pilgrimage to the Holy Land and a substitute for the latter, when European Christians were prevented from going to the original "Stations" in Palestine, especially after it had fallen into the hands of the Turks, in the 12th century.

PREPARATORY PRAYER

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My Lord, Jesus Christ, you have made this journey to die for me with love unspeakable. Pardon me all my past sins and allow me to go with you on this journey. You went to die for love of me; I desire to die for love of you. My Jesus, I will live and die always united to you.

Saint Anne, help me make these Stations, with a perfect spirit of penance and contrition.

Hymn: O Mary, let me weep with you;
 And mourn him who so mourned for me,
 All the days that I may live!

Chorus: Sancta Mater, istud agas,
 Crucifixi fige flagas
 Cordi meo valide!

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ALL MY HOPE
 IS IN YOUR SAVING WORD!

THE FIRST STATION: Jesus is condemned to death

We adore you, O Christ, and we bless you.
 Because by your holy cross you have redeemed the world.

L.--Leaving the house of Caiphas and dragged
 before Pilate and Herod, mocked, beaten, and spit upon, his
 back torn with scourges, his head crowned with thorns,
 Jesus, who on the last day will judge the world, is himself
 condemned by unjust judges to a death of ignominy and
 torture.

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My Jesus, it was not Pilate; no, it was my sins that
 condemned you to die. I pray you, by the merits of this
 sorrowful journey, to help my soul on its journey to
 eternity.

Saint Anne, implore for me resignation in my trials
and sufferings.

Pater...Ave...Gloria...

V.--Have mercy on us, O Lord.

R.--Have mercy on us.

V.--May the souls of the faithful departed, through
the mercy of God rest in peace.

R.--Amen.

Hymn: Beneath the cross with you to stay;
With you to grieve and e'er to pray,
Is all I ask you to give!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD,...

THE SECOND STATION: Jesus accepts his cross.

We adore you, etc.

L.--A heavy cross is placed upon his torn shoulders.
He receives it meekly, nay, with gladness of heart, for it is
to be the salvation of mankind.

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My Jesus, I embrace the sufferings you have destined
for me until death. By your sufferings in carrying your
cross, help me carry mine with perfect patience and
resignation.

Saint Anne, teach me to accept my crosses as Jesus accepted his.

¶ Pater..., etc.

Hymn: Oh! Let me share with you his pain,
Who then for all my sins was slain,
Who for me in torments died!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ...

THE THIRD STATION: Jesus falls the first time

We adore you, etc.

L.--Jesus, bowed down under the weight of the cross, which trailed after him, slowly sets forth on his way, amid the mockeries of the crowd. His agony in the garden itself was sufficient to exhaust him, but it was only the first of all a multitude of sufferings. He sets off with his whole heart, but his limbs fail him, and he falls.

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My Jesus, it was not the weight of the cross, but the weight of my sins which made you suffer all this pain. By the merits of this fall, keep me from falling into mortal sin.

Saint Anne, obtain for me a true sorrow for my sins
with a firm purpose of amendment.

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: O Holy Mother, pierce me through
And in my heart each wound renew
Of my Savior crucified!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ...

THE FOURTH STATION: Jesus meets his Mother.

We adore you, etc.

L.--Jesus rises; though wounded by his fall, he
journeys on, with his cross still on his shoulders. At one
place, he sees his Mother. Jesus and Mary look at each other
and their looks become as so many arrows that wound those
hearts which love each other with all love's tenderness. For
an instant they just see each other, and he goes forward.

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My Jesus, by the sorrow you suffered in this
meeting, grant me the grace of a devoted love for your
Mother, with a tender remembrance of your passion.

Saint Anne, mother of Mary, make me share her
compassion for Jesus.

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: O Virgin o'er all virgins blest,

Now listen to my fond request:

Let me share your grief divine!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ...

THE FIFTH STATION: Jesus is helped by Simon.

We adore you, etc.

L.--At length, Jesus' strength fails utterly and he is unable to proceed. The executioners soon see a stranger who seems strong, Simon of Cyrene. They compel him to carry the cross with Jesus. The sight of the sufferer pierces the man's heart. O happy soul! He takes the part assigned to him with joy.

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My Jesus, I will not refuse the cross, but, as Simon did, I accept it. I accept, in particular, the death you have destined for me. I unite it to your death; I offer it to you.

Saint Anne, help me carry my crosses with Jesus.

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: Oh! Let me to my dying breath

In all my body bear the death

Of that martyred Son of yours!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ...

THE SIXTH STATION: Jesus is consoled by Verónica.

We adore you, etc.

L.--As Jesus toils up the hill, a woman makes her way through the crowd and wipes his face. In reward of her pity the cloth retains the impression of the sacred countenance upon it.

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My Jesus, your face was beautiful before beginning this journey; but now, wounds and blood have disfigured it. My soul also was once beautiful when it received your grace in baptism; but I have disfigured it since by my sins. You alone, my redeemer, can restore it to its former beauty. Do this by the merits of your passion, and then, do with me as you please. Saint Anne, keep me from defiling my soul by sin.

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: O you, dear Mother, fount of love;
Do touch my spirit from above,
Make my heart with yours accord!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ...

THE SEVENTH STATION: Jesus falls a second time.

We adore you, etc.

L.--The pain of his wounds and the loss of blood increasing at every step of his way, again he falls to the ground. This fall renews the pain in all the wounds of our afflicted Lord.

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My Jesus, how many times you have pardoned me; and how many times have I fallen again and begun again to offend you! By the merits of this second fall, grant that, in all my temptations, I may call upon you in prayer.

Saint Anne, inspire me to have recourse to confession if ever I fall into sin.

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: Oh! Make me feel as you have felt;

And make my soul to glow and melt,

With the love of Christ, my Lord!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ...

THE EIGHTH STATION: Jesus comforts the holy women.

We adore you, etc.

L.--At the sight of the sufferings of Jesus some women are so pierced with grief that they cry out and bewail him. Jesus, turning to them, said, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not over me, but weep for yourselves and for your children."

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My Jesus, laden with sorrows, I weep for the sins which I have committed against you, because of the pains they have deserved; and, still more, because of the displeasure they have caused you, who have loved me with an infinite love.

Saint Anne, Patron Saint of mothers, help them set their children the example of a true Christian life.

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: Could there be one who would not weep,
All whelmed in miseries so deep
Christ's dear Mother to behold?

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD,...

THE NINTH STATION: Jesus falls a third time.

We adore you, etc.

L.--Jesus had now reached almost to the top of

calvary; but, before he had gained the very spot where he was to be crucified, again he fell. Again; he was dragged up and goaded onwards by the brutal soldiery.

Leader: Let us pray!

People: My Jesus, by the weakness you suffered in going to calvary, give me the strength to conquer human respect and the evil passions which have led me to despise your friendship.

Saint Anne, teach me to rely, not on my virtues, but on Jesus.

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: How could a human heart refrain
From partaking in all the pain
And that Mother's grief untold?

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ...

THE TENTH STATION: Jesus is stripped of his garments.

We adore you, etc.

L. - At length he has arrived at the place of sacrifice. His garments are torn from his bleeding body. Consider the violence with which Jesus is being stripped of

his clothes. The inner garments were blood-clotted with his torn flesh, and the soldiers tore them off so roughly that the skin came with them.

Leader: Let us pray:

Peoplè: My Jesus, by the torment you suffered in being stripped of your garments, help me to strip myself of all undue attachment to things of earth, that I may give all my love to you, who are most worthy of my love.

Saint Anne, obtain for me abnegation from all things, but above all from myself.

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: Oh! See how sad and sore distressed
Is that sweet Mother highly blessed
Of the sole-begotten One!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

-I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ...

THE ELEVENTH STATION: Jesus is nailed to the cross.

We adore you, etc.

L.--The cross is laid on the ground and Jesus stretched upon it. As the executioners drive in the nails, he offers himself to the Eternal Father as a ransom for the world. The blows are struck--the blood gushes forth. Then

the cross is raised and dropped into the hole ready to receive it.

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My crucified Jesus, nail my heart to the cross that it may ever remain there to love you and never quit you again.

Saint Anne, help me to accept the death that God has chosen for me.

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: Above in torments Jesus hangs;

Beneath him Mary sees the pangs

Of her dying tortured Son!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ...

THE TWELFTH STATION: Jesus dies upon the cross.

We adore you, etc.

L.--Jesus hung for three hours. During this time he prayed for his murderers, promised paradise to the penitent robber and committed his Mother to Saint John. Then, he bowed his head and gave up his spirit.

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My Jesus, devoutly do I kiss the cross on which you died for love of me. Your death is my hope. By your death, grant me the grace to die in your love.

Saint Anne, obtain for me, the grace of final perseverance.

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: O Christ! When you shall call me hence,
Be your own Mother my defence,
Be your cross my victory!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I, PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ...

THE THIRTEENTH STATION: Jesus is laid in Mary's bosom.

We adore you, etc.

L.--The multitude have gone home; calvary is left solitary and still, 'except that Saint John and the holy women are there. Then come Joseph of Arimathga and Nicodemus; they take down from the cross the body of Jesus and place it in the arms of Mary.

Leader: Let us pray:

People: Mother of Sorrows, for the love of your Son, pray to him for me. And, you, my redeemer who died for me, allow me to love you, for I desire but you.

Saint Anne, assist me that I may never grieve God
by a serious sin

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: Be then to me, O Virgin, nigh,
Lest in the flame I burn and die,
On that awful judgment day!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD,...

THE FOURTEENTH STATION: Jesus is laid in the tomb.

adore you, etc.

L.--But for a short three days, Mary then must give
him up. He is not yet risen. His friends and servants take
him from her and place him in a tomb. They close it safely,
till the hour comes for his resurrection.

Leader: Let us pray:

People: My buried Jesus, I kiss the stone that encloses
you. But you did rise glorious on the third day. I pray
you, by your resurrection, make me rise on the last day, to
be united with you and to love you forever.

Saint Anne, obtain for me confidence in the passion
and resurrection of Jesus.

Pater..., etc.

Hymn: While lo! my body here decays,
May e'er my soul Your goodness praise,
In paradise, safe with you!

Chorus: Sancta Mater...

--I PLACE ALL MY TRUST IN YOU MY GOD, ...

(Lefebvre 1977:91-102).

APPENDIX C

The Scala Sancta Devotion

Preparatory Prayer

(To be said on one of the four semi-circular steps which are seen on entering the chapel)

Merciful Jesus, for the salvation of mankind, you submitted to the suffering of the scourging and the crowning with thorns; you allowed yourself to be dragged by impious hands on these stairs and to be led before Pilate. I desire to venerate with respect the blood-stained traces of your feet, and I beg you, by the merits of your passion, to grant that I may, one day, ascend to the throne of glory, where you live and reign with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.

Prayer for each of the 28 steps

1st step.--My Jesus, by the anguish of heart you experienced on separating from your Mother to go to your death, have mercy on me!

2nd step.--My Jesus, by the confusion that you felt and that caused you to sweat blood in the Garden of Olives, have mercy on me!

3rd step.--My Jesus, by the intense grief that filled your heart, on seeing yourself betrayed by Judas, have mercy on me!

4th step.--My Jesus, by the confusion you felt when led as a malefactor through the streets of Jerusalem, have mercy on me!

5th step.--My Jesus, by the sweetness you showed when brought before the tribunal and struck in the face, have mercy on me!

6th step.--My Jesus, by the patience you showed amid the outrages and mockeries of which you were the object, throughout the night preceeding your death, have mercy on me!

7th step.--My Jesus, by the insults you endured when dragged on the Sacred Stairs, have mercy on me!

8th step.--My Jesus, by the silence you observed in the presence of those who bore false witness against you, and of Pilate who unjustly condemned you, have mercy on me!

9th step.--My Jesus, by the humiliation to which you were subjected amidst the derision of Herod and his court, have mercy on me!

10th step.--My Jesus, by the shame you felt on being stripped of your garments and tied to the pillar to be scourged, have mercy on me!

11th step.--My Jesus, by the pain you suffered on being scourged, when your body was covered with wounds and bruises, have mercy on me!

12th step.--My Jesus, by the torture of the thorns, with which your adorable head was pierced, have mercy on me!

13th step.--My Jesus, by the patience you showed when, clothed with purple rags and with a reed in your hand, you were derided and treated as a mock-king, have mercy on me!

14th step.--My Jesus, by the affliction you felt when you heard the people cry out against you and clamor for your death, have mercy on me!

15th step.--My Jesus, by the humiliation to which you were subjected on being compared with Barabbas, and on seeing that criminal preferred to you, have mercy on me!

16th step.--My Jesus, by the resignation with which you embraced the cross, and proceeded with it on the road to calvary, have mercy on me!

17th step.--My Jesus, by the sorrow you felt on meeting your Mother and on witnessing her anguish, have mercy on me!

18th step.--My Jesus, by the weariness that overcame you, while bearing the burden of the cross, have mercy on me!

19th step.--My Jesus, by the bitterness you experienced when the gall and vinegar touched your lips, have mercy on me!

20th step.--My Jesus, by the agony you endured, when your garments were torn from you, have mercy on me!

21st step.--My Jesus, by the pain you suffered, when fastened with nails to the cross, have mercy on me!

22nd step.--My Jesus, by the charity that moved you to forgive your executioners and pray for them, have mercy on me!

23rd step.--My Jesus, by the goodness with which you promised paradise to the penitent thief, and Mary unto John as his Mother, have mercy on me!

24th step.--My Jesus, by the burning thirst with which you were tortured on the gibbet of the cross, have mercy on me!

25th step.--My Jesus, by the torment you suffered on seeing yourself abandoned by all, have mercy on me!

26th step.--My Jesus, by the love for me with which your divine heart was inflamed on breathing forth your last sigh, have mercy on me!

27th step.--My Jesus, by the kindness you manifested in permitting your side to be opened, have mercy on me!

28th step.--My Jesus, by the condescension with which you permitted your body to be placed in the arms of your Mother and afterwards in the sepulchre, have mercy on me!



