

Marian Library Studies

Volume 10

Article 12

1978

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Recommended Citation

Byrnes, Joseph F. (1978) "Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres" on the Pilgrimage at Chartres During the XIXth and XXth Centuries: A Profile in Social History," *Marian Library Studies*: Vol. 10, Article 12, Pages 159-206.
Available at: http://ecommons.udayton.edu/ml_studies/vol10/iss1/12

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A SOCIOGRAPHIC PROFILE

PERSPECTIVES OF "LA VOIX DE NOTRE-DAME DE CHARTRES" ON THE PILGRIMAGE AT CHARTRES DURING THE SIXTH AND XXTH CENTURIES

I. LA VOIX AND THE HISTORY OF PILGRIMAGE

From the time of its construction, beginning in the twelfth century, the Cathedral of Chartres has been a place of Christian pilgrimage, but the flow of pilgrims was almost completely cut off after the Revolution of 1789. With the Concordat and the Restoration, revival became possible; the best way to understand this revival and the personalities involved is to study *La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, a small pious review for pilgrims, which appeared for the first time in mid-January, 1857, and continued publication until 1969. Other sources are simply not that helpful. There is *general* information available on the history of Chartres pilgrimages¹, but there is nothing specific enough to warrant any kind of description of the pilgrimages in social scientific terms, even in more modern times. Sociographic information is available on local religious practice, i.e. attendance at church, performance of basic religious duties in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but this had little to do with pilgrimage to Char-

¹ For a general history of Chartres pilgrimage, cf. Yves DELAPORTE, "Chartres," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, tome XII (1953), cols. 50-52. The best basic bibliography is that of Maurice JUSSELIN, the late archivist of the Department of Eure-et-Loir, *Chartres dans le passé, suivi de l'introduction à l'étude de L'Eure-et-Loir* (Chartres: Imprimeries Lainé et Tantot, 1937). The collection of historical and art essays edited by Robert BRANNER is helpful and accessible: *Chartres Cathedral* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1969); also good is George HENDERSON, *Chartres* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968). While written to sustain a highly specialized thesis, Otto Von SIMSON's *The Gothic Cathedral* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956) is a helpful study of the background of medieval pilgrimage at Chartres, with pertinent bibliography.

tres cathedral as such¹. In addition, there are studies of religious folklore in the Chartres region², but folklore, almost by definition, deals with the anonymous, and there is no way of knowing the relation of folk practices to the pilgrimages of Chartres or even to the religious lives of the normal "pratiquants" of the cathedral parish. Such information can provide some helpful background, but it is not the central data for this study. Only in *La Voix* do we find *specific* data on the ideas and attitudes of the local clergy at Chartres who re-established the pilgrimages, and also data on *some* of the people with whom the clergy dealt.

Certainly, there are problems to be resolved because of the diffuse nature of a review such as *La Voix*. A researcher reads many hundreds of pages and skims many thousands, and can do no more than state the ideas which seem to him to predominate; the danger, in presenting the analysis of such an amorphous review and writing its history, is that the reviewer is likely to structure his discussion of it in accordance with all of his pre-conceived notions. It is, furthermore, difficult to distinguish the influence of the different personalities who edited and who wrote for *La Voix*, since one is dealing only with the pages which finally went to press and not with the other writings of the authors who signed the articles. The difficulties of such an enterprise have been summed up quite well by Jean Rivero, pro-

¹ There is a group of historians in France whose Church sociology was given its principal impetus by the work of Gabriel Le Bras. Cf. the observations on this work by A. LATREILLE, "Pratique, piété et foi populaire dans la France moderne au XIX^e et XX^e siècles," in *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. by G. D. CUMING and D. BAKER (Cambridge: The University Press, 1972). Cf. also LE BRAS' own studies, "Introduction à l'enquête" and "Conditions générales de la pratique religieuse," *Études de la sociologie religieuse*, tome II (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956). On church attendance in the diocese of Chartres in particular, cf. Fernand BOULARD, "Aspects de la pratique religieuse en France de 1802-1939," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, LIX (juillet-décembre 1973), p. 269-311. The Chartres statistics (p. 276-83) were collated by the present diocesan archivist, Rev. Pierre Bizeau: they indicate general stability across the period examined here—roughly 20 % of the women and 3-4 % of the men went to Sunday Mass, with a slow downward movement reaching a low point in 1909, when only 16 % of the women and 1.5 % of the men attended Sunday Mass. The development of similar statistics on pilgrimages is impossible, however, because no meaningful baseline can be established.

² Cf. Charles MARCEL-ROBILLARD, *Le Folklore de la Beauce*, especially vols. VII and VIII: *le folklore de la peur* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve & Larose, 1972) and the more compact, but theologically-oriented, work of Ernest SEVRIN, "Croyances populaires et médecine surnaturelle en Eure-et-Loir au XIX^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, XXXII (1946), p. 265-308.

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

fessor at the Paris Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences; in his preface to Jacqueline and Philippe Godfrin's study of the mainline popular French Catholic press from 1873 through the present day, he says:

In the forest of journalism, the Catholic press, for a long time impermeable to scientific investigation, and now in the process of being explored, constitutes a huge area that is the least-known and the most difficult to get into. . . . Besides it is difficult to grasp its meaning given the multiformity of its manifestations; outside of the well-known publications, how can one get a view of the mass of Catholic periodicals? . . . It is difficult to explore, because there is throughout, a non-commercial, almost specially-crafted character which excludes ordered files and well-kept archives. It is a press oriented toward action, which cares little for self study and which is operated largely by free labor, people who have time only for what is essential: for the issue which must be published, that is, not for statistics about the number printed nor for varieties of index cards¹.

Given these difficulties, given the diffuse nature of pious church publications in general and *La Voix* in particular, I have chosen to treat the group of writers who worked on or for the latter down through the years as a unity, as a *moral person*. Although the attitudes and interests of individuals do emerge from this mass of written material, I do not consider any of the works of the various authors worthy of individual analysis for its own sake; they are of interest only insofar as they cast light on Chartrian pilgrimage. Therefore, "*La Voix*" will be considered as the ongoing pious journal of a moral person, a journal which also represents the interaction of that moral person with a certain number of devotees, the readers and pilgrims. Such a strategy, in fact, has been adopted in recent French studies of the Catholic Press, in order to salvage and reconstitute the valuable witness which the pious religious press has to offer².

¹ Jacqueline et Philippe GODFRIN, *Une Centrale de Presse Catholique: La Maison de la Bonne Presse et ses publications* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), p.v. (Hereafter, this work is cited as *Presse Catholique*).

² Cf. J. and P. GODFRIN, *Presse Catholique* and Pierre SORLIN, *La Croix et les Juifs (1880-1889): Contribution à l'histoire de l'antisémitisme contemporain* (Paris: Editions Bernard Grasset, 1967). In both cases the authors tell the ongoing story of the attitudes and interests of the writers and editors. However, the formulation, "journal of a moral person," is my own. Note also the remarks of Claude BELLANGER, et al. in *Histoire générale de la presse française*, tome II: *1815-1871* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969), p. 295-297. *La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres* is cited as a helpful source for understanding the "enthusiasm" of the period in vol. II of J. BRUGERETTE, *Le prêtre français et la société contemporaine, Vers la séparation (1871-1908)* (Paris: Lethellieux, 1935), p. 8, n. 1; Brugерette feels that a perusal of *Le Pèlerin* would also be the best starting point.

A. *The Pilgrimage Revival—in France and at Chartres*

During the early years of the Second Empire in France (1852-70) there was an increase in the efforts of the Ultramontanists, those who emphasized the authority of the Pope "beyond the mountains." While the movement had various forms, there is no doubt that its leading figure was the layman, Louis Veuillot (1813-83), and that the most important source of ultramontane doctrine was his newspaper, *L'Univers*. He and his fellows condemned the modern world *en bloc* and insisted that religion and morality would flourish only when State and Church were united. Furthermore, in their view, the Church should be under the absolute power of the Roman pontiff and no other religions should be tolerated. Although Veuillot displeased a number of bishops who preferred more independence for French diocesan Catholicism, he especially appealed to country priests who appreciated his popular language and his spirit. More than anyone else, he was the cause of the clericalism which became such a strong current in the Empire and the Republic. Veuillot was opposed by Charles Montalambert (1810-70), who in his journal, *Le Correspondant*, promoted a "free Church in a free state." He was aided by Bishop Felix Dupanloup (1802-78) of Orleans, a basically conservative but brilliant and moderate man. There was a third group, generally allied with Montalambert and led by Mgr. Henri Maret (1805-84), dean of the theology faculty of the Sorbonne. Maret severely condemned the hostility of the "ultracatholic" party, since its members refused to recognize the value of liberty of conscience and the positive efforts made by the Empire to safeguard this liberty.

These controversies were settled by the First Vatican Council (1869-70) and were then pushed into the background of people's consciousness by the political violence which immediately followed the Franco-Prussian War. The Paris Commune of 1871 brought an anti-clerical violence which culminated in the execution of the Gallican Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Georges Darboy (1813-71), who had been an opponent of papal infallibility at Vatican Council I. On the other hand, the new National Assembly voted for public prayers of reparation, a vote that was followed and reinforced by the activities of mayors, magistrates and army officers. Demonstrations of piety and expiation were multiplied everywhere; these reached a high point in 1873 when a certain Gabriel de Belcastel (1821-90), during the national pilgrimage to Paray-le-monial in southern Burgundy (the scene, two hundred years before, of an apparition of Christ exposing a burning-heart symbol to the Visitation Sister, St. Marguerite-Marie Alacoque), read an act of "con-

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

secration of penitent France to the Sacred Heart of Jesus" in the name of a hundred of his colleagues in the National Assembly. Thousands of pilgrims, rosary around their necks or the image of the Sacred Heart on their chests, thronged to the shrines of Lourdes, La Salette, Chartres and above all to Paray-le-monial, where the constant refrain was:

*Save Rome and France
In the name of the Sacred Heart.*

In the second half of the nineteenth century, seventy per cent of Catholic missionaries throughout the world were French and, although the quality of education was poor, French seminaries were filling up. On the ideological level, Catholic loyalty was forced into being ultramontane; on the level of manifest piety, devotionism and pilgrimage were the order of the day. The first words found in *Le Pèlerin*, the new magazine started by the Assumptionists in 1873, were: "The thought of pilgrimage is born of our sorrows and the persecutions to which the common Father of Believers (the Pope) is submitted, as if God wanted to teach us never to despair." In a more developed article in the same issue, the Assumptionist Father Tilloy tried to describe the causes of the pilgrimage movement. He points out that the movement exists for general theological reasons:

God has placed at certain intervals along the way "faith stations" where his grace operates with greater efficacy. In the same way as he . . . opened here and there in the earth's interior, sources of life which overflow to give health to the body, so has he established in the realm of the spirit places where souls can come and be regenerated and receive new spiritual energy.

Secondly, he states that the movement exists for a specific moral reason:

For us Christians who know that public and national crimes can be expiated only by public and national reparation, there is no doubt that among the means offered us to appease the justice of God and to ward off the lightning of his anger, the most efficacious and opportune is public prayer; national reparation, such as it is widely practiced in our day by pilgrimages¹.

The first issue of *Le Pèlerin* also gives the official set-up for the *Conseil général des pèlerinages* and reports on pilgrimages to La Salette and Pontmain. In the issues which would follow there would be reports on Paray-le-monial, Chartres, Lourdes and Le Puy. In general, there was an attempt

¹ *Le Pèlerin* (organe du Conseil général des pèlerinages; Paris, rédaction et administration, 6 rue François I), I (12 juillet, 1873), p. 1, 4, and 7.

to steer a middle path on the issue of visions and miracles; there were the usual edifying stories.

Fifteen years earlier, *La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres* had been founded, in intimate connection with the revival of pilgrimage to that cathedral. Abbé André Goussard (1835-1913), editor of the review for over fifty years, said of it:

A review of this type was something quite new in France; the only things previous to this—the little parish bulletins which parish churches had started to sell a few years before and the *Review of Parish Libraries* of Avignon. The example of Chartres was followed later in other cities; it was the origin of *Semaines religieuses*, of *Echos des pèlerinages*, and of reviews of various pious works¹.

And on the inside cover of the second issue one reads the following statement of purpose:

La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres has for its main purpose:

- 1) To aid in the restoration of our ancient and illustrious church and in the material repairs of one of the most famous shrines of Mary, in renewing the faith and devotion of peoples toward the Virgin of Chartres, once so venerated throughout Christendom.
- 2) To show that Mary is now, as formerly, the Virgin who must become a mother; that children, especially today, must be born to grace by her and become her little apostles for the salvation of society. Consequently, the worship rendered to the Virgin of Chartres, the Virgin about to give birth, is most opportune and ought to be more fruitful than ever. (1857, 2)².

It would be erroneous to think, however, that these qualities of the cult of Notre-Dame de Chartres—"opportune" and "fruitful" as it was called—simply emerged out of the religious sentiment of the staff of *La Voix*, as part of general religious currents in France and for no other reason. Alexan-

¹ Chanoine GOUSSARD, *M. L'abbé Ychard: Chanoine Vicaire-général honoraire, supérieur du petit séminaire de Chartres* (Chartres: Imprimerie Garnier, 1896), p. 42. This type of "local" biography is not found, naturally, in university libraries. Goussard's work is mainly for edification, and so I refer to it only for certain peripheral facts that cannot be "homogenized" by edifying interpretation.

² Here, and in all future reference to the pages of *La Voix*, the volume, month and page will be given immediately in the text rather than by footnote. Editions of this pious review are difficult to come by. Naturally, there are several sets of it (1857-1969) available in the seminary library at Chartres; the *Bibliothèque Nationale* possesses only a few decades of the twentieth century in the "côtes de Versailles" shelves. In the U.S., the University of Dayton's *Marian Library* possesses a run from 1857 to 1880 and individual issues of July, August, 1899 and March, April, May, 1901.

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

der Clerval (1859-1918), a priest and superior of Chartres and later professor of Church history at the *Institut Catholique* of Paris, described those years of revival, during which the cathedral chapels and venerable statues of the virgin were restored, in connection with the revival of the choir school as a source for priestly vocations. The connecting link was another priest of Chartres, Cyril Ychard (1822-96), who was even more concerned than other clergy of the period with the need to imbue children with a full faith¹. The choir school which he founded, the *Maîtrise*², was his passion and the motive behind Ychard's own promotion of Chartres pilgrimage; on this, Clerval quotes Ychard's remarks in the December 1860 issue of *La Voix*:

We said to ourselves this is what has to be done; there is a serious Work to establish, a Work which must stir up the zeal of all Christian souls; a Work which can at the same time insure the success of what has been confided to us. This was already enough to give us courage and the first hope of success. But it was still necessary to offer something more palpable and material which would make a further impression³.

And what was it that Ychard would do to "offer something more palpable and material" to "stir up the zeal of all Christian souls" and thus insure the success of his choir school, his *Œuvre des Clercs de Notre-Dame de Chartres*? He took the already existing idea of restoring the venerable shrine of Our Lady in the crypt of the cathedral and made good practical use of it; he felt that "this restoration of the most famous European sanctuary of Mary should interest all of France and even the entire Church⁴." So, Cyril Ychard was motivated to found *La Voix* in order to 1) restore a shrine, 2) encourage pilgrimage, and so 3) foster a nursery for clerical vocations.

¹ This and other information on the founding of the *Maîtrise* and its connection with *La Voix* can be found in Alexander CLERVAL, *L'Œuvre des Clercs de Notre-Dame de Chartres, 1853-1885* (Chartres: Maison des Clercs de Notre-Dame, 1910). Clerval, whose study of the medieval schools at Chartres was at one time the standard work, served as superior of the *Œuvre* and professor of Church History at the *Institut Catholique* of Paris. For some background on the origins of Ychard's apostolic interests, Clerval suggested one look at the maxims and rules of Bartholomew Holzhauser (1613-58), founder of a similar institute (the Bartholomites) in Germany.

² Besides Clerval's pious history of the *Œuvre des Clercs* and the modern *Maîtrise*, cf. also his study of the medieval *Maîtrise*: *L'ancienne maîtrise de Notre-Dame de Chartres du V^e siècle à la Révolution* (Paris: Ch. Poussiélgue, 1899).

³ Quoted in CLERVAL, *L'Œuvre des Clercs de Notre-Dame de Chartres, 1853-1885*, p. 117. (Note: There is a typographical error, 1861 instead of 1860, on this page in Clerval's book.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

When the first issues appeared, Ychard's interests did not dominate. The first article, written by a priest-historian, Abbé Adrien-Chrysostome Hénault (b. 1828)¹, purports to attract lovers of art, lovers of history and the religiously devout to Chartres, pointing out the "ancient and illustrious" quality of the church.

But each person has his own way of seeing: people will not approach the Christian basilica in all three ways.

Some, lovers of beauty, enthusiastic admirers of form, will eagerly look at all the marvels that man has been able to create with his compass, his chisel and his brush. . . .

Others, not endowed with a feeling for beauty, but impassioned researchers of all the old adventures, of all the simple naive tales, of all the notable facts buried in the mystery of the past . . . will search through an edifice for scattered legends and ancient traditions. . . .

There is one group, and it is the largest, for whom the sacred temple has no other charm than that of piety, no other voice than that of religion. . . . For them, the gothic cathedral is a venerated shrine, it is a haven of repose, offered to the tired pilgrim here below. . . . (1857, 1, p. 5-6)

Hénault feels that *La Voix* should thus appeal to all the tastes which the great cathedral itself appeals to and assumes that even artists and historians will appreciate the cathedral on a religious, spiritual level, though he admits that piety is difficult to define: ". . . filial respect for our forefathers intertwines with a touching veneration for her whom the nations call Blessed." (1857, 1, p. 6)

Hénault was right, no doubt: this piety, a combination of respect for the forefathers and veneration of the Virgin, was difficult to define. But in the course of the years *La Voix* did effect a consistent description. That is to say, the interests and emphases of the staff can be described as a common front. Though certainly there were conflicts, strong ones, among the priest writers—as other historical references and even memories of contemporary clergy at Chartres do indicate—these did not appear in any traceable way in the pages of *La Voix*. If it was necessary for the clergy to present a united front in the nineteenth century, the priests of Chartres did what was necessary; *La Voix* is a witness to this united front in local, Chartrian

¹ Abbé Hénault was a clerical historian of the period. He wrote for the early *La Voix* as well as for two other small journals. Among the books he authored was a full-length book on the druidic foundations of Chartres, *Origines Chrétiennes de la Gaule celtique; recherches historiques sur la fondation de l'église de Chartres et des églises de Sens, de Troyes et d'Orléans. Suivies d'un appendice sur la vierge druidique* (Paris: Bray et Retaux, etc., 1884).

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

form. These words of Hénault testify to a common clerical opinion: a principal goal was to be moral reform:

Dear reader, you will take part in a work of moralization; your name will be placed alongside those of your ancestors who have cooperated in the adornment of our beautiful cathedral; your offering is going to be transformed into carved stone, symbolic ornament, rich wall paintings and serve as an offering of eternal prayer in the most famous shrine of Mary. (1857, 1, p. 16)

Over the course of the first year, the editors developed an arrangement of material which was to continue for many decades. Regularly, there appeared religious news, a chronicle of pious practices, items about the hierarchy and about church events in different parts of France. The second issue contained news of the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Marie Dominique Sibour (1792-1857); the death of the old, retired bishop of Chartres, Mgr. Clausel de Montals (1769-1857); the progress of monthly devotions to the Infant Jesus; financial progress toward the building of a gigantic statue of the Virgin Mary at Le Puy; and the fashioning of votive offerings, miniature hearts containing the names of magazine subscribers. In the fifth issue there were reports on Easter duty in the parish of Sours; the reception of the habit by five postulants of the Sisters of Notre-Dame de Chartres; events in the village of Donnemain-Saint-Mamès; the new Way of the Cross in the church of Reclainville; and the work of the *Petites-Sœurs des Pauvres*. The staff, of course, was especially pleased by a pilgrimage of youth, for this combined their interests. Hénault reported the following month on a pilgrimage of the College Sainte-Geneviève as representing "the elite of Parisian youth." There were also reports on the number of subscribers; the number of votive candles lit in the cathedral; and the progress of pious associations, the *Œuvres of Sainte-Enfance* and *Sainte-Foy*.

The historical-archeological articles presented the druidic history of Chartres, a story which was accepted with most of its mythical baggage even by clergy and believers who had been somewhat trained in history. Hénault, whose work on this topic was eventually to culminate in an entire book, sounded the keynote of this story:

Chartres is then the most ancient sanctuary where the mother of Jesus was honored before her birth, the first center to which the people's devotion was directed, the most ancient city where God to honor his mother worked wonders in her name, the first place in Gaul where the light of truth drove out the darkness of paganism, and of which Mary herself wished to be called the Lady and sovereign. (1857, 3, p. 44)

There was, from 1857 on, a constant emphasis on the continuity of faith with the ancient druidic tradition which stated that, on the very site of the cathedral, the druidic priests of ancient Gaul once worshipped a *Virgo paritura*, a virgin about to give birth¹.

B. Chartres—Reparation by Religious Revival—for France

If the restoration of the Crypt shrine of *Notre-Dame de Sous-Terre*², was a combination of sentiment and practicality in its clerical origins, and if there was a dogmatic emphasis on the cultic continuity with mediæval forefathers and prophetic druidic traditions, the principal moral theme spoken of in *La Voix* was that of REPARATION—an attitude which shall be further described in the sections which follow.

Finally the hour has arrived: expiation is going to be made, and within several weeks our pious bishop will give this new proof of his completely filial love toward the Virgin of Chartres who has confided to him the care of her church. We are happy to be able to announce to our readers: a statue like the one which we unfortunately lost will soon appear in our basilica. . . . This happy event, we do not doubt, will give joy to all true children of Mary and will be for our diocese the sign of that religious revival which we ask for and desire, and which we shall obtain by the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin. (1857, 7, p. 156-157)

¹ On the history of this myth which was at the center of the pilgrimage revival, cf. p. 159, n. 1 above: DELAPORTE, "Chartres," cols. 549-550 and R. BRANNER, who in *Chartres Cathedral*, p. 71, writes that "in the Renaissance, it was felt necessary to prove that the cult of the Virgin had been prefigured by local practices at Chartres long before the advent of Christianity. One of the first modern men to write on the Cathedral, Sébastien Rouillard..., supposed that the Druids had had an altar there dedicated to a *virgo paritura*, a virgin who was to give birth.... The tale, of course, has no historical foundation whatsoever, for the Druids did not use icons and there was no statue at Chartres until the eleventh century. There may, all the same, have been a double source for the Virgin cult at Chartres—one Christian and imported, the other pagan and local. Regardless of what may really have happened in that dimly-known time, Christianity was well established at Chartres by the end of the fourth century, and throughout the Middle Ages it flourished and found its clearest expression there in the cult of the Virgin."

² Chartres Cathedral abounds with images of the Virgin—done in sculpture, painting and stained glass. Of these, two images have been especially singled out in the devotional life of the pilgrims and visitors to Chartres over past centuries. Located in the crypt, the statue of *Notre-Dame de Sous-Terre* is the oldest such image, the object of a Marian devotion for over seven centuries. The present statue replaced the original one (1389) which was burnt in a fire set by revolutionaries in 1793. On the main level of the Cathedral, there is another statue which has also long been the object of widespread popular devotion, *Notre-Dame du Pilier*. There, in her own chapel, the Black Virgin (*la Vierge noire*) has reigned since early in the sixteenth century.

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

The old statue, dating from the twelfth century¹ and destroyed during the Revolution, was attributed to the Druids. The purpose of the dedication of the new crypt statue was to bring the reproduction into continuity with the original. Cardinal Louis-Edouard Pie (1815-80), a monarchist and former priest of Chartres whose sentiments about the cathedral and its traditions had already been quite influential, emphasized that the new statue was as "real" as the original.

No, this statue is not the same as the old one, but it was reproduced in accordance with the tradition of Chartres: I affirm this evening that the new statue, which is going to be placed where the old one once was, will inherit all its power. Already the powerful and authentic prayer of the Church has separated and distinguished this inanimate wood from the domain of the profane; holy water has not only purified it, but has sanctified and consecrated it to be forever the representation of the Virgin who was awaited by the nations of the earth. . . . (1857, 10, p. 230)

In the final issues of the first year of publication, the staff returned to the importance of the inculcation of piety in children and the importance of the education of youth in general, the primary interest of Ychard. The *Œuvre des Clercs de Notre-Dame de Chartres* existed in order to beautify the cult of the cathedral; the choir boys considerably enhanced the music and ceremonies. The youngsters are spoken of as "confided to us by Christian families, to give them an instruction suitable to their age and above all to preserve in them the precious treasure of innocence which ought to be their most beautiful characteristic". (1857, 11, p. 235) To be sure, Ychard wanted more than a choir school. In effect, he wanted a seminary for poor youths who would serve the cathedral of Chartres as altar boys and, later on, the diocese of Chartres as priests:

. . . We have in view equally, to recruit for the service of the Church other children or youth of various countries who might show potential for the ecclesiastical state, but whose economic status prevents their entering any seminary. (1857, 11, p. 235)

The very last page of the year's final issue contained a very general and laconic description of the whole thing: *La Voix* is a review of "the religious and architectural history of our church and the monthly bulletin of the good works which are connected with it". (1857, 12, p. 260)

¹ For a more complete discussion of the dating of the statue, cf. Yves DELAPORTE, *Les Trois Notre-Dame de la cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres: Editions Houvet, 1955; 2nd ed., 1965). Delaporte died in 1979. Cf. article of P. Bizeau, "Yves Delaporte, chanoine de Chartres (18 décembre 1879 - 11 avril 1979)," in *Notre-Dame de Chartres* (Sept: 1979), 18-21.

C. Chartres—Mission to the World—for France

A basic format was established which would change little in the years to come. But if we care to talk about attitudes and interests which developed early on, right after the first year, we might say that there was an attempt to tie the interest in *Sous-Terre* pilgrimage to an interest in the establishment of the Church in the foreign missions.

Along with the mission interest, throughout 1858, *La Voix* contained more of Ychard's campaigning for the *Matrise* and Hénault's description of the newly-decorated *Sous-Terre* chapel. There was a brief tirade against some sort of a dance or ball in which children were dressed up in imitation of adults, which was certainly in keeping with the magazine's interest in preserving the "innocence" of children. In these issues there also began a series of edifying lives or *Fleurs des saints*. Fulbert (960-1028), the renowned bishop of Chartres in the eleventh century, was the first saint whose life was recounted. Clerical circles had insisted for centuries that the actual Gothic cathedral was built under Fulbert, though this was denied in other learned sources. The first *priest* of Chartres to affirm that Fulbert's Romanesque edifice was destroyed, and that there was no substance to the then-current legend that the existing cathedral was built by Fulbert, was Abbé Marcel Joseph Bulteau (d. 1882)¹. In any case, the series of saints' lives, which was to be a feature of the magazine from then on, began with Fulbert. All the lives in the early years were written by one Madame de Charbanne; later on, there would be edifying biographies of pious individuals, usually children, members of religious orders, seminarians, and so on.

1. Foreign Missions

One report on the foreign missions pointed to the devotion of the people in mission territories to Notre-Dame de Chartres. It involved the dedica-

¹ Abbé Bulteau's history of Chartres is a standard reference and is available in most libraries: *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres* (3 vols.; Chartres: Librairie R. Selleret, 1887-92). His work was revised by Abbé Alexandre Brou (1862-1947) to tone down the rigor with which Bulteau opposed some Chartrian legends dear to his fellow clergy; Bulteau refers to his acquiescing to the revision in the Preface. His earlier *Description de la cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres: Garnier, 1850) is a brief and honest predecessor of the three-volume work. Bulteau, because of the antagonism at Chartres, spent the later part of his priestly career in the diocese of Cambrai. The Bulteau story is briefly related in Ernest SEVRIN's *Un évêque militant et gallican au XIX^e siècle, Mgr. Clausel de Montals*, Bibliothèque de la Société d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France (2 vols.; Paris: J. Vrin, 1955), 2: 472-474. Sevrin was an adequate historian; he was archivist of the diocese of Chartres before the current Father Bizeau.

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

tion of certain Huron and Abenaki Indians in Canada to the Virgin of Chartres specifically; their dedication was symbolized by strips or bands of porcelain beadwork which were then sent to the cathedral as a permanent sign. *La Voix* reports that a full description of the object or ex-voto sent by the Indians could be found in a newly published book by a civic official of Chartres, Doublet de Boisthibault. After praising the book in general and pointing out one specific error, the writer in *La Voix* tells of the importance of these gifts:

—The belts of porcelain beads sent to the Virgin of Chartres by the peoples of Canada are in the first rank of offerings placed at the feet of Our Lady. They have a significance greater than that which visitors might imagine. They are not simple ex-votos at all, as one might believe, but are the signs of a solemn and true contract by which peoples have made an act of submission to Notre-Dame de Chartres. For these Indians, to offer such a present to a chief is to become his vassal and to depend totally upon him. (1858, 10, p. 144)

These North American Indians' vow was used as an indication of the "spread" of devotion to Notre-Dame de Chartres. The Indians, of course, learned of Chartres from French missionaries who were natives of the territory around Chartres. We know little more than the fact that they sent these porcelain-bead belts.

There was information on the *Confraternité de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, a group united by prayer, sacrifice and a few contributions. This encouragement of solidarity in devotion could be considered part of the mission theme, which was more specifically represented by a number of remarks on conversion and some extremely unctious words on St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit missionary who had baptised thousands in the Far East. The record books of the Confraternity are still extant at Chartres; while one cannot speak of "statistical significance," it is worth noting that, at most, one-fifth of the 1,453 total enrollment for the year 1857 were men and that there was a higher percentage of priests among the men than Sisters among the women—about one-tenth of the men were priests but only a few Sisters were listed. The enrollment was made up of people from Paris, from Chartres, from nearby Evreux and Dreux, with a few from the more distant cities of Nantes, Le Mans and Rouen. There were also some isolated cases, such as an entire family of French name who were from St. Petersburg, Russia. Listed also were several members of the nobility and/or their wives, several members of the military and/or their wives. The staff of *La*

Voix was very interested in the nobility and the military, in any case¹. Abbé Ychard continued to push the *Matrise* with vigor; he made reference to decrees of the Council of Trent which "preferred" the education of the children of the poor for the priesthood and asked that the more important churches be served by clerics. (1861, 1, p. 3)

There is no precise way of describing the connection established between pilgrimage and mission. In the July issue of *La Voix* of 1862, there is a report which indicates a relationship between the two, based on the generalities of faith, charity and Christian heroism. Two groups, one a missionary and one a pilgrimage group—both of them closely tied to nineteenth-century Chartres' local history—made news in Chartres on the same day. A congregation of Sisters, the *Dames de Saint-Paul*, founded by a bishop of Chartres, was sending off some Sisters to Indo-China; at the same time, a pilgrimage group from the parish of St-Sulpice in Paris (which came every year from the 1850's up to the time of the report—and, for that matter, which has continued until our own day) was arriving.

Already one month has rolled on since the parish of St-Sulpice, led by its venerable curé, came and paid a visit of the heart, which Christian language calls a pilgrimage; . . . Besides, by a happy coincidence, this arrival of pilgrims was bound up intimately with a departure no less moving, no less solemn, so that the day of May 31 ought to be registered in the Chartrian annals as one of those great moments of faith, charity and Christian heroism. (1862, 7, p. 106)

2. Pilgrimage

There were articles at this time praising the renewal of pilgrimage, centering attention on Rome, and criticizing people and publications which might prove dangerous to the faith. Special venom was reserved for the Orientalist and philosopher, Ernest Renan (1823-92), whose *Vie de Jesus* (1863) denied the existence of a transcendent, incarnate God. Pilgrimage was spoken of as an event sharing in the same spirit as the renewal of religious orders, the work of the missions, and the activity of Christian councils and

¹ It is interesting to compare numbers from various years, even though one cannot strictly speak of statistical significance. In 1914, the percentage of men pilgrims was still one-fifth, of which, again, almost one-tenth were priests. Membership was recruited in different ways, so if percentages are the same it is an interesting coincidence. But there is no possibility of taking a numerical count and figuring statistics on the fluctuations of membership through the years. These membership records are kept in the Cathedral sacristy, and I am grateful to the rector of Chartres Cathedral, Father Robert, for making them available to me.

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

congresses. Abbé Goussard, who had taken over as editor after Ychard, wrote a series of articles on the human voice and music as a gift from God.

In March, 1864, it was reported that finally all of the "works" at Chartres were tied together by a decree giving official Roman approval to a pious association that, by means of prayers and contributions, supported the pilgrimage, the restoration of *Sous-Terre* and the *Maîtrise*. Ychard's wishes were fulfilled: *Sous-Terre* and pilgrimage would henceforth support the *Maîtrise*:

It is in the name of the foster father of the Divine Infant that we are coming to tell you, dear associates, that the common Father of the faithful, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Supreme Pontiff, on the demand of our beloved Bishop, has just solemnly approved the *Œuvre des Clercs de Notre-Dame* for the recruitment of ecclesiastical vocations among poor boys, granting indulgences for all those who will aid in its extension by their alms and prayers. This is an absolute approval which gives, as the sun's rays do for nature, light, warmth and life for a pious association. (1864, 3, p. 33)

Ychard was satisfied; from then on *La Voix* could concentrate on the importance of pilgrimage in general and national religious renewal in particular. The basic operational structure at Chartres itself had been established.

Father Ychard once said that devotion to *Notre-Dame de Chartres* would be good for Chartres and would interest all France. In the late 1860's, the staff of *La Voix* began to emphasize that devotion to *Notre-Dame de Chartres* would be good for all of France. The constant cause of priestly anxiety, the possibility of the disappearance or near-total decadence of religion in France, could be offset by reports of numbers of devotees—hence, the increased interest in the numbers of pilgrims to Chartres and to other centers in France.

In the March issue of 1868, Father Goussard reports on statistics in other countries. He says that pagan Oceania is being conquered for Christ, that there are dioceses, abbeys, convents, hospitals, schools everywhere. In the city of Washington, U.S.A., Martin John Spalding (1810-72), the Archbishop of Baltimore, has just confirmed 1000 people, among whom 130 were converted Protestants. Within twenty years, England and Wales had an increase of 700 churches, 300 convents and 1000 priests; Goussard gives exact statistics for the beginning and end of the twenty-year period. Most encouraging: contrary to impressions, France is also doing well. . . .

The following statistics, that we are borrowing from a town and country record, will inform us on the supposed decadence of Catholicism in France. In 1700, when the administrators opened a survey in all of the provinces, following the orders of Louis XIV, it was found that the total number of Catholics in France was 18,000,000. When, in 1802, the First Consul ordered a new census, there were 26,000,000 Catholics. The movement of the population, it is true, accounts somewhat for this increase; at the same period, though, the number of Protestants was 1,500,000. The last census gave 36,000,000 Catholics . . . , while the dissidents numbered no more than 800,000.

The numbers speak for themselves and can moderate our fears. (1868, 3, p. 42)

The number of Catholics keeps growing and the number of Protestants keeps diminishing. The significance which Goussard draws from this is "obvious"—the Revolution was an insignificant interlude in the growth of the Church in France.

II. CHARTRES—HISTORIC CENTER OF FRENCH CATHOLIC PATRIOTISM

The year 1873 was pivotal in the history of religion in France during the nineteenth century. Vatican Council I had pointedly defined the supremacy of the Pope in 1870, providing a victory, generally-speaking, for the ultramontanist group led by Louis Veuillot. And on the level of national politics, the Franco-Prussian war brought the reign of Napoleon III to an end and reintroduced the intense political competition between Catholic-conservative and laicist-Republican elements of the French politicians. The coming generation was going to see, on the one hand, the use of government funds for the building of a shrine for reparation to the Sacred Heart at Montmartre in Paris, and, on the other, the expulsion of the religious orders from France. The great pilgrimages of 1873 would be a great show of religious patriotism and anti-rationalism.

La Voix of January, 1873, begins with a resumé of the accomplishments of the review itself, but immediately turns to the larger struggle at hand. Since the number of subscribers has continued to grow, while other reviews have had to cease publication due to the Franco-Prussian War, the staff does take pleasure in the increased number of subscriptions, but warns that courage and hope are needed to grow stronger for another kind of war being waged against God by members of the Assembly itself.

Courage is necessary to put up with the sight of a society overturned by the Revolution and saturated with deadly principles. . . . to resist the

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

invasion of error and falsehood which prepared the way for an attack of satanic brutality. Let us fight as soldiers of the truth; let us speak without ceasing of a Religion which is outraged, of rights unrecognized, of a real program of demagoguery which raises its pen to lie or to trick the poor people. (1873, 1, p. 3-4)

Not only the government but also the press controlled by the Freemasons is a source of the evil propaganda. To this, *La Voix* wishes to oppose a propaganda of publications¹ which are "healthy, moral and true". (1873, 1, p. 4)

In 1873, the great year of pilgrimage in France, *La Voix* separated its news reports into national, local and pilgrimage news, all pretty much connected with the clerical united-front aimed at saving the French Church. A pious story, *The General and the Curé*, showed that military and political figures were most patriotic when they were most Catholic. The report on the *Croisade des Enfants* was followed, two issues later, by a letter from the Bishop of Chartres, Louis-Eugène Regnault (1800-89), on Christian teaching:

Anti-religious men said to themselves: we take no account of the traditions of the past. Though others have just proclaimed that teaching ought to be moral and religious, we do not want it to be a question of anything more than a school of science: we do not want the name of Jesus Christ to be murmured any longer by the children. (1873, 2, p. 44)

The enemy is always the laicist politicians and teachers, and the trouble they cause is often reported in *La Voix*. Conversely, the staff is happy to report news of faithful Catholics and flourishing Catholicism whenever it can.

Rome—Among the receptions which took place at Rome in the course of December, we cite especially the day of the Immaculate Conception. On that day a great number of Catholic women were presented to the Holy Father and offered him the sum of 70,000 francs, with an album which contained 70,000 signatures; the first names were those of the Count of Chambord, the King of Naples, the Duke of Modena and Parma, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany. (1873, 1, p. 16)

¹ The movement of the Assumptionist priests and the efforts of Father Vincent de Paul Bailly to found a center for Catholic publications are described in J. and P. GODFRIN, *Presse Catholique*. Cf. also Michel GUY, *Vincent de Paul Bailly, fondateur de "La Croix," cinquante ans de luttes religieuses* (Paris: La Colombe, 1955). It was Bailly who led the staff of *Le Pèlerin* in the attacks on the government, Jews and Freemasons; he was displeased with the earliest issues of that journal because they simply contained pious reflections on pilgrimage.

So, there were plenty of well known people, in France and elsewhere, standing up for the Church of Rome; furthermore, the Catholic schools were doing quite well also:

Something very curious and instructive is taking place at Paris. The municipal council declared and voted that public schooling be free and obligatory; following the vote, the public schools lost ten percent of their students who were placed under the Brothers; all the [Brothers'] schools became so full that they could not accept all the students. (1873, 1, p. 16)

Finally, the apparition shrines were also doing quite well. Everyone knew of Lourdes, but a report on Pontmain¹ seemed useful:

Although the apparition of Pontmain is of a recent date, an immense crowd arrives each year at this little village, once so ignored, today so illustrious. Our readers will be happy to learn that since January 17, 1872, two thousand Masses were celebrated there, and about 90,000 pilgrims came there to venerate the holy Virgin. (1873, 1, p. 17)

Since 1873 was to be a year of pilgrimage, a general review of pilgrimage statistics for Chartres was an appropriate item to offer. For the years 1867-72, *La Voix* gave the number of vigil lights requested—6,481; children consecrated—1,972; individual pilgrims to the *Sous-Terre* shrine—44,119 (This does not include major pilgrimage groups.); Masses said in the crypt—17,271; and visitors to the bell-towers—21,715. (1873, 1, p. 18) In that year's third issue, *La Voix* published an enthusiastic letter from Abbé Bulteau, who was the first successful clerical historian of Chartres and who had done his major work about twenty-five years before. This was followed by a pastoral letter of Mgr. Regnault, Bishop of Chartres, on the great pilgrimage which would take place May 27-28; it would begin to repair the damage and indifference of the past century:

This is why, under the auspices of this lovable mother and to acquiesce to the requests addressed to us by Catholics from different regions, we have resolved to authorize in our city of Chartres a solemn pilgrimage; we have formed there a committee composed of ecclesiastics and persons well-known for their religious sentiment. This committee has formed a program for the feast days, and it will take the necessary means to direct the crowds properly and to conduct the ceremonies in perfect order. (1873, 4, p. 75)

¹ Pontmain is the site of one of the lesser-known Marian apparitions. On the evening of January 17, 1871, the Virgin appeared in a star-filled sky; she was visible to many of the children of this small village. The adults who shared in the experience believed, though they did not see the vision which the children described. Cf. p. 11, no. 19, bibliography.

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

Not only were the ceremonies to be in perfect order, but the pilgrimage committee wanted the arrivals to be in perfect order. *La Voix* published an extensive list of train arrangements, and special prices covered great portions of France: the "réseaux de la compagnie de l'Ouest, d'Orléans et de l'Ouest, d'Orléans, d'Orléans à Rouen, du Nord, Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée, de l'Est." There would be a special price in both classes for groups of 200 to 500. (1873, 5, p. 100 ff.)

And on May 27, 1873, the trains came! The first special train bearing pilgrims was that from Versailles. When the train stopped in the station, the clergy of the cathedral were gathered there in choir habit, and the fanfare played by the Brothers saluted the arrival of the pilgrims. Next came two groups from Orleans—two processions moved toward the cathedral singing: a total of ten churchmen, 1,500 people and, says *La Voix*, there were 900 communions. They came from Le Mans, la Flèche, la Ferté-Bernard, Mamers, Connerré, Alençon, Argentan, Sées, Mortagne, Nogent-le-Rotrou, and Condé. Six hundred pilgrims from Angers and Sablé had to be brought by a special train. From Mayenne, there were 580. On regular train-runs, pilgrims and church-men came from Quimper, Saint-Brieuc, Nantes, Rennes. Says *La Voix* happily, "The statistics furnished by the provinces of Maine, Brittany and Normandy, if they could be rendered exactly, would make a nice number." (1873, 6, p. 147) From the diocese of Le Mans, they came with banner and special songs. Nearby Dreux and Evreux were well represented, especially since a new train line had just been inaugurated; *La Voix* asks, "Was not this sacred voyage a benediction for the train?" (1873, 6, p. 148)

Then came the pilgrims from Cambrai, Lille, Arras. The groups from Paris set foot on the holy ground, banners floating, ex-votos gleaming. More trains arrived from Le Mans, Paris, Blois; groups from Tours, Vendôme, Montoire. Always, there was the triumphal march with clergy and music to the Cathedral, where a special Mass was celebrated for each group somewhere in the church, and many communions: *La Voix* preaches, "Communion is the act par excellence of the true pilgrim, for it bears the seal of sacrifice and is a proof of love." (1873, 6, p. 148) The author of the report tries to present the drama of the occasion. We can only guess at how this show of religious force must have impressed the people and filled to brimming the cup of the clergy. For the finale:

The bishops raise their hands and pronounce the solemn prayer. We catch some of their words, we understand their gestures and we pray. Then, enthusiastic shouts follow the final Amen: shouts from all sides:

Vive Pius IX! Vive La France! Vive Notre-Dame de Chartres!
 "My God, you will save France!" said a pilgrim priest, "O Mary, you will exalt the Church." For the shouts have rung out to the heavens—coming from the very heart of France." (1873, 6, p. 150)

Thus, the reigning concept and the rallying cry of the decade of pilgrimages, of Chartres in 1873 and of Chartres in 1876, was *patriotic reparation for the Revolution and the nineteenth-century violence which followed it, by loyalty to the "oldest" specifically-Catholic French religious symbol*. It was a particular form of the general Catholic effort—as one French historian put it—to "close the parenthesis of the Revolution" in French history. *La Voix* makes a special point of describing the delegations of the Chamber of Deputies and the army generals. The editor, Abbé Goussard, does complain that local officials, lacking piety, would not permit some exterior decorations that would have enhanced the celebration, but that was not particularly important. Rather—

Since these memorable days, there has been a steady flow of people from outside Chartres; the impetus has been given: Chartres has refound the brilliance of its past, because the way to its temple has been taken up again by the pilgrims: *Laus Deo et Mariae!* (1873, 6, p. 158)

Numbers, as is obvious, were important all along, and Goussard cannot resist making some rough estimates. Although a real statistic is impossible and the newspaper estimates vary quite a bit, the editor of *La Voix* figures the numbers of pilgrims to have easily reached fifty to sixty thousand. At the same time he delights in naming some of the notables present. (1873, 6, p. 159)

Three years later there was another giant pilgrimage. Did the emotions aroused, the sensibilities responded to, the confidence reestablished among the clergy encourage them to try to repeat the 1873 success? In any case, Chartres did have every right to celebrate; this entire festive season was to center around the great medieval treasure, the relic which built the cathedral: the veil of Notre-Dame. The announcement printed in *La Voix* remarks that this is the most precious treasure of the cathedral, a statement which is quite accurate¹. The previous emphasis on the *Sous-Terre* shrine at Chartres was not nearly as well-founded, but, still and all, it was probably the 1873 success more than historical consciousness that brought the tunic to the fore. The report in *La Voix* reads, "From then [1873] on, our Bishop

¹ For a full discussion of this relic, cf. Chapter 6, "The Palace of the Virgin," in von SIMSON, *The Gothic Cathedral*, p. 49 ff.

clung to the idea of repeating three years later the call so marvelously heeded the first time. There were, besides, pressing reasons for him to choose this date." For the glory of Chartres is not solely the splendid cathedral, but "unquestionably the most precious treasure is . . . none other than the Holy Tunic or the very veil which was wrapped about the Mother of God." (1876, 4, p. 73) Several years prior, in 1867, attention was called to this primary relic of Chartres, the veil of the Virgin, otherwise referred to as a tunic (*tunique*) or undergarment (*chemise*). The bearing of "chemisettes," small replicas of the veil or "chemise" of the virgin, had been a medieval custom which, in the anti-rationalist and pro-miraculous context of the nineteenth century, could help the Chartres devotion: "The reviving devotion to the *chemisettes* will be soon, without doubt the occasion of other stories of the protection given to the sick and to those who invoke our Mother for diverse needs." (1867, 11, p. 168) In giving a brief history of the *chemisettes*, the author says that the faithful have used these objects of devotion for more than 600 years: that a cloth replica has been a source of protection and cure for women in labor, for those in grave peril and for the sick; that various types of gold replicas have also been used with devotion. (1867, 11, p. 168-69)

This 1876 celebration, the thousandth anniversary of the presentation of the veil of the Virgin to the church of Chartres by Charles the Bald in 876, was shaped to serve a number of purposes: some of them new, some of them an extension of previous practices and celebrations. It seems that in 1873 the clergy tasted a real sense of victory over laicism, and they were determined to push it further, to the end, to the point where they could demand unconditional surrender from the laicists. Goussard's report on the upcoming pilgrimage contained an elaborate potshot at the Revolution of 1789 and the forthcoming anniversary of two key figures who inspired it: Voltaire and Rousseau. He wrote that the laicists planned "to celebrate in 1878 the hundredth anniversary of the two monsters of impiety and immorality, the two fiends whom the Revolution followed so well and whose maxims were applied, the two audacious writers whose books, condemned by the Church, still soil too many libraries. . . ." (1876, 8, p. 169)

However, those issues of *La Voix* which report on the pilgrimage ceremonies are straightforward, without political commentary. The author seems more drawn to the grandeur of the ceremonies, something which was becoming quite dear to the devotees and the clergymen of Chartres—if the 1873 comparison with Paray-le-monial and Lourdes is any criterion. There was obviously a sense of political victory linked with this rejoicing in the

power of religious symbol and ceremony; this victory of religious over secular symbolism must have pointed up even more, though, the need to show the complementarity of the Virgin-of-Chartres and the Virgin-of-Lourdes symbols:

The hymn of Mary's presentation in the temple begins with these words: *Quam pulchre graditur filia principis!* We say to ourselves after a look at how things were readied for the passing of the procession: How beautiful is the triumphal march of the daughter of the Prince! For it is before Notre-Dame that all the flags must be lowered. If she is not there in person, the way she was seen at La Salette or at Lourdes, at least the precious relic which clung to her virginal body passes through our ranks as a pledge of the blessing which Mary sends us from heaven! (1876, 10, p. 225-26)

A. *Spiritual Rivalry and Political Polemics*

From 1876 to 1883 we can see further development of those elements which came to the fore during the years of the two great pilgrimages: the problem of symbol conflict among the various shrines, and the attempt to triumph over the Revolution.

With the death of Cardinal Edouard Pie in 1880 an era had definitely come to an end. He had begun his illustrious career as Vicar General for the old Gallican Bishop of Chartres, Clausel de Montals, who had suffered through the period of the Revolution as seminarian and young priest and had spent his later years in fighting its effects. Pie had even done his early ecclesiastical schooling at Chartres, so he was, for all practical purposes, raised in an atmosphere of fighting the Revolution with Chartrian piety. It was he who returned to preach at all the revivals thus far mentioned. It was Pie's nostalgia and his expression of it that served as the rallying cries of Ychard and Goussard, as they attempted to revive *Sous-Terre* as an expression of their own nostalgia and for the satisfaction of the financial needs of their educational apostolate. As Bishop of Poitiers (1849-80), Cardinal Pie became the most renowned French ultramontanist of his time and, unlike his old mentor, Clausel de Montals, he placed the sentiments which historic-patriotic devotions could arouse behind the movement for papal centralism. This combination created a Catholic absolutism which opposed laicist forces, a struggle which was to develop into a very bitter war, with many pious memories of the good old Catholic monarchy on one hand and the glorious Revolution on the other.

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

In July, 1880, *La Voix* published the funeral oration for Cardinal Pie; the speaker celebrated Pie's alignment of Chartres and French history. This was immediately followed in the review by an article of Abbé Goussard which summed up, though at length, the history of pilgrimage from 1855, when Pie had preached at the rededication of the statue of *Notre-Dame du Pilier* and predicted that Chartres would become once again the great center of religion in France. Indeed, only two years later, in 1857, the rededication of *Sous-Terre*, the revival of pilgrimage, and the publication of *La Voix* itself took place. Abbé Goussard begins, however, with 1855:

We love to think back on this great event of contemporary religious history: the Crowning of Our Lady of Chartres (May 31, 1855). . . . This discourse [of Cardinal Pie] retraced the homage rendered by past centuries to Mary in our 1000 year-old basilica; then raising himself to prophecy, he saluted the future of this same church as resplendent in glory and fruitful in works which would develop marvelously the cult of Notre-Dame de Chartres.

One knows how this prediction has been realized. The eminent Cardinal Pie, during his last visit in our city, expressed again his happiness to see the flourishing devotion to the Virgin who watched over his education, blessed his priesthood and presided at his episcopal consecration. (1880, 7, p. 150)

There had been steady progress, then, since 1855, and the staff of *La Voix* was pleased to report on the major manifestations. And if statistics were incomplete, "they have at least focused attention on the marked movement of faith and piety toward Notre-Dame." (1880, 7, p. 151) When the editors thought about their associates all over France they were much encouraged. Everywhere membership was being recruited for the Arch-confraternity by special volunteers (*zélatrices*): Lille, Dunkerque to the North; Perpignan to the South; Finistère and Brest in Brittany; Strasbourg, Metz and Nancy to the East. Pilgrims continued to come from Le Mans, Cambrai, Arras, Versailles, Blois and Orléans. They came, too, from some of the better-known churches in France: Notre-Dame de Fouvières, Notre-Dame de la Garde. Chartres was commemorated by a window at La Salette; *La Voix* was sold at Pontmain; Chartrian banners flew at Lourdes, Paray-le-monial, Mont-Saint-Michel. Furthermore, the editors could cite instances of devotion to Notre-Dame de Chartres in Spain, England, Belgium, Germany. In the great cities of America and Africa, everywhere that the Sisters of Saint-Paul of Chartres and the Sisters of Sainte-Croix had gone, from the Gulf of Tonkin to the state of Indiana . . . Chartres was known, as Abbé Goussard's closing words testify:

We certainly have given enough indication of the fame which the cult of Notre-Dame de Chartres has attained, a fame constantly increasing since May 30 and 31, 1855, since the forever memorable days when the altar of sacrifice was placed in the holy grotto, when the statue was crowned in the upper church, where these words—which we never tire of repeating—were pronounced by the preacher [Cardinal Pie], the most illustrious of Mary's children:

"I dare to predict: Chartres will become more than ever the center of devotion in the West; they will come in great crowds, from many parts of the world as in former days." (1880, 7, p. 153)

In some ways, Chartres did become the center of devotion in the West, if one considers all the different types of people who were attracted to Chartres, as Abbé Hénault wrote of them in his first article in the opening issue of *La Voix* where he included tourists and art-lovers. But, if the norm remains strictly a matter of Hénault's third type and Pie's only type of devotee, the pious believers, then a shrine in the South of France had started which far outshone Chartres and had begun to do so shortly after Cardinal Pie's dramatic 1855 pronouncement. A problem, totally different from the aggravation caused by the continuing Revolution tradition, was what to do with Lourdes.

B. *Reconciliation of Devotional Traditions*

The existence of this problem was alluded to previously; again in 1881, *La Voix* published the reflections of a Chartres devotee on the relationship between the Lourdes and Chartres images of Mary. For this pilgrim, the disappointment on taking leave of Lourdes was compensated by the prospect of further completion: "the prospect of seeing the termination and fulfillment of our pilgrimage at the feet of *Notre-Dame of Sous-Terre*." The same pilgrim elaborates:

At Lourdes, the MIRACLE surrounds you and seizes complete hold of you, it appears to you in sensible and moving ways; but the miracle—that divine exception to the natural order—produces its full effect on the soul only in quiet contemplation. And this is precisely what happens in the old grotto of the Druids.

Lourdes and Chartres make a wonderful combination: two sisters, the elder of whom seems to cede to the younger that power which through the centuries attracted princes and kings, in the blessed sanctuary, all the time preserving her mysterious charms and her marvelous fruitfulness.

Farewell then, O Notre-Dame de Lourdes! But greetings to you, O Virgin of Chartres; you will be forever united in my heart, and nothing can erase your dear names from my grateful memory. (1881, 10, p. 226)

In fact, the pilgrimages to Lourdes had been a source of concern for a decade or so. Though the success of the Lourdes shrine was always a consolation, the staff of *La Voix* must have seen the problems which could arise from a conflict of or ambiguity about devotions. In 1872, they had published the report of a pilgrim:

I will tell you first of all that I brought to Lourdes, with all the pilgrims of *Notre-Dame de Chartres*, a feeling of the incomparable dignity with which we were invested in representing the most ancient sanctuary of the VIRGIN MARY, at the later shrine which so soon after its beginning attracted to it great crowds of worshippers. The metal image of the *holy tunic* or the *chemisette* of Mary, hung from our necks on a blue ribbon, was our rallying sign, and we marched behind a magnificent banner, with a lively joy and a noble pride. This banner, white and bordered with gold, bore on top the design of the holy tunic or veil of Mary:

On the left, the image of *NOTRE-DAME DE SOUS-TERRE* with the inscription *Virgini pariturae*;

On the right, the *Black Virgin*, with the inscription *NOTRE-DAME DU PILIER*.

A large inscription underneath:

To Notre-Dame de Lourdes, from the Children of Notre-Dame de Chartres.

On the bottom, the arms of the Holy Father and the arms of the Bishop of Chartres. (1872, 11, p. 247-48)

.....
Pilgrims of Notre-Dame de Chartres, let us return to the mysterious crypt many times profaned to continue the sacred hymn begun at the feet of Notre-Dame de Lourdes, and may these cherished titles [as they are being sung], which recall so many marvels to us, be forever engraved in our memories and in our hearts. (1872, 11, p. 249-50)

Here all the images associated with Chartres are brought to Lourdes: the banner bearing images of the two ancient statues of Mary in the Cathedral; little replicas of the Virgin's veil—historically the prime relic at Chartres; and that somewhat mysterious inscription, "To Notre-Dame de Lourdes, from the children of Notre-Dame de Chartres." The writer indicates that the Chartrians wished to show fidelity to the Lourdes image by their loyalty to the Chartres traditions, but he or she also indicates that the Lourdes situation gave new strength to the Chartres devotion.

The following year, *La Voix* was still attempting to avoid confusion about the centers of devotion; Paray-le-monial, the center of the Sacred Heart devotion, was politically important, and Lourdes was the Mary-pilgrimage center of the century:

At Lourdes there were more banners, at Chartres more grandiose ceremonies; but, if at Lourdes the Immaculate Virgin, after having appeared

to a poor little peasant, manifested her miraculous presence; if at Chartres the Virgin about to bring forth, venerated even before the existence of Christianity, has so many times protected the city [of Chartres] and France; at Paray, the Sacred Heart of the adorable victim of Calvary was shown to mortal eyes. For He has shown the depths of his love for mankind; and now after 200 years France begins to turn toward this heart, to understand his desires and to respond to his tender invitations. (1873, 7, p. 196)

So, there is no real competition manifested, but rather, as always, the united front. Though in the paragraph preceding the above quote it was explained how processions at Paray were not as well organized as at Chartres, the writer noted that there was a unique sense of "presence" there. At the beginning of 1874, *La Voix* reported on the success of pilgrimage centers during the previous year, saying that the most frequented were Chartres, Paray-le-monial, La Salette and Lourdes. Then, in 1881, we find that strange attempt of symbol reconciliation which refers to Chartres and Lourdes as older and younger sisters.

C. *Religious Patriotism and Defense*

Beginning in 1890, *La Voix* published a local weekly supplement in which new attention was given to pilgrimages on the diocesan level. The pilgrim business had calmed down to a steady stream of people, including one dramatically-large pilgrimage in 1891 (6,000 came by train). The intensity of the Catholic-Conservative/laicist-Republican fight in the government was reflected on the pages of other Catholic publications such as *Le Pèlerin* and the daily, *La Croix* (1883-). There was an attempt, at one and the same time, to build up diocesan pilgrimage and to promote notable connections from outside. *La Voix* was happy to report on the especially enthusiastic words of the Prime Minister of Canada, whose speech was published in a separate pamphlet. Noting that the lines of union are national as well as religious,

He [M. Honoré Mercier] pointed out the value which the Canadians, French by origin and sentiment, placed upon the unity of national and religious sentiment; as proof he referred to the granite monument set upon the banks of the Saint-Charles river at Quebec where the names of Jacques Cartier and the holy missionary Father De Brebœuf were inscribed side by side. (1891, 7, p. 145)

But if *La Voix* could rejoice in the continued, perhaps even increased, success of diocesan and outside pilgrimage, if the staff could look with national and religious pride at the effect Chartres was having, still and all, there was strong opposition to the desire and tendencies of French Catholicism to "take over" the country, even though there was a movement initiated by Pope Leo XIII to reconcile the Church with the Republic and to discard the old monarchist ideology (the *ralliement*). Publications such as *La Voix* carried on the fight through the last decade of the nineteenth century and into the first decade of the twentieth. The Freemasons had long been a specific target, but Jews and Protestants, particularly the Jews, were also castigated from time to time. On the pages of *La Voix*, one finds comments such as the following:

Jews in France—an anomaly—In France, the position of the Jews, who are only 60 thousand out of 38 million inhabitants, is, no less than in Italy, a prodigious insult to the vast majority of the nation.

In evaluating the total capital of France at 200 billion, one finds that the Jews alone possess 80 billion. Each Jew on an average possesses a capital of somewhere between 800 thousand and a million francs. In the Senate and the Chamber the Jews are more than 21. If the Christians were represented in the same proportion, the Parliament would contain 40 thousand deputies. Among the prefects, sub-prefects and the general collectors (*receveurs généraux*) there are 200 Jews. (1891, 1, p. 22)

In 1892, the staff was yet more explicit:

To the Jew, Naguet, we owe the law of divorce; to the Jew, Saloman, the cremation of the dead; to the Jew, Camille Sééz, the girls' lycees; . . . Such are the gifts bestowed upon us by the Jews. But the Jew, as is just, does not give anything for nothing. As payment for his good services, he rolls around in billions of our francs. (1892, 11, p. 167)

This type of cynical attack against the Jews was common in the Catholic press of the day, preceding the Dreyfus Affair by several years; they were simply considered anti-religious along with the Freemasons. But positive attempts of Protestants to do something religious were also excoriated:

A big fuss is being made about the restoration of religious orders in the Anglican church. The Protestant Bishop of Marlborough has placed himself at the head of the movement and has collected the necessary amount of money (Protestants always start that way). The future community will be called the Congregation of Saint Paul. But we have found the core of the problem; the new monks are *one* in number. We might ask how the vow of obedience will be expressed. (1891, 6, p. 144)

In 1892, the potpourri of reports on life in general included the following: Readers were told that Louis XVI was, unhappily, the victim of the Masons; they were also told that the basilica of Sacré-Cœur, after being given official support by the National Assembly, was dedicated in triumph; however, there was a major problem in keeping the cathedral heated. Nor was cathedral heating or shrine upkeep unimportant! . . . if *La Voix's* statistics about the number of pilgrims in circulation are correct. In 1896, the staff reported the results of calculations of an indeterminate nature: Twenty-eight million Frenchmen visit the 1,200 shrines of Mary each year. This, of course, would have been the entire population of France visiting shrines, were it not for the fact that some individuals set out on the road eleven or twelve times and, thereby, somewhat ruined the effect of these remarkable figures. (1896, 11, p. 263)

On the artistic level, the staff was disturbed by a seeming affront made, in all innocence, by a man who was a convert, but who, at least in the eyes of the staff of *La Voix*, was not converted enough. Joris-Karl Huysmans (1848-1907) was a novelist, essayist and art critic. In a review of his book, *La Cathédrale*, the following was written:

The general impression, already publicized in several newsletters, is that this book fools those who eagerly bought it because of the author's fame and all the conversation about it.

More specifically, the reviewer states:

. . . *La Cathédrale* [has the tendency] to accuse the Church of prudery in its painting and in its asceticism. Huysmans consecrates several pages to taking her to task on this subject; he would like her to have less fear of the proper word, that is to say, the dirty word; less fear of nude pictures and raw details, and, instead of recommending innocence and flight when it comes to delicate temptations, that she accustom souls to meet the flesh and its appetites head-on; in a word, for her own good he would have her less prim and proper. (1898, 3, p. 59-60)

The reviewer goes on to say that this could be enough to get the work on the index of forbidden books, which would be a pity because Huysmans meant well and produced "good insights" now and then . . .

But on the whole, the book lacks taste; to speak severely but justly, it is boring. For its first novelist, Chartres cathedral has run up against a man whose faith is too new, whose moral judgment is too liberal, whose knowledge is too undigested and erroneous, whose tact is dubious. It deserves better. (1898, 3, p. 63)

III. LA VOIX AT ITS BEST: THE BLUE PAMPHLET

Thus, at the end of the last decade of the nineteenth century, *La Voix* denounced a book about Chartres which was to become renowned, reaching an audience far beyond the circle of pious devotees. In 1891, however, there had appeared a small booklet which represented well all that *La Voix* was, had been, and would be through 1918. This small blue pamphlet, printed up in numerous thousands for the use of Chartres pilgrims, could be described, in slightly fanciful terms, as the culmination of nineteenth-century Chartrian piety. Its cover read simply *Notre-Dame de Chartres*; the staff of *La Voix* said of it after the first printing:

This little brochure is an illustrated popular history of Notre-Dame de Chartres. We announced its publication two weeks ago and now it is ready. Around 6,000 have been printed so far, and we can see that a few days now an equal number will be needed by the public.

And it really has a fine appearance. Printed on the dark blue cover there is a clear and harmonious picture of the entire history of Chartres, that is, the cathedral, the two madonnas, the veil. Open and turn the pages: each page spreads before the eye a new engraving, picturing some aspect of our church. There are 32 in all and they are first-class. Though it is hard to add to the praise of the Paillart printing house [reference to the Abbeville firm which papered France with its pious publications]: . . . witness the *Lourdes* and *Notre-Dame de Boulogne* pamphlets already published.

We must say, however, that for Notre-Dame de Chartres, Paillart has outdone itself. All the illustrations are quite successful and do honor to the artist who executed them; and this judgment is borne out by all the competent men who have taken a look at it. (1891, 9, p. 197)

A. Chartrian Nostalgia

The emphasis was on family and school—the plain Catholic home, the simple school child—and the faith of the fathers. The following quote is rather long, but so typical that it is worth citing here:

We dare to believe that it [the pamphlet] will contribute to the glory of Notre-Dame de Chartres. Make no mistake; many in our diocese do not have recourse to her because they do not know her, and among those who do know her, how many are there who know her glorious history full of grace and mercy? This history will henceforth be accessible to everyone: the brochure will gain entrance to all the homes and families of the diocese and, with the love of Notre-Dame de Chartres, patron of this land, will draw down the greatest blessings. It will go even to the most

distant lands, everywhere that one finds a subscriber of *La Voix*. The cost is nominal, even less than a holy picture, though in itself it has 33 fine illustrations. (1891, 9, p. 198)

This blurb is followed by a description of the contents, but the brochure is so representative of the attitudes and emphases of the staff of *La Voix* that it merits examination in its own right, as a distillation of that use of religious history which *La Voix* represents. The pamphlet, written by Father Emile Legué (1848-1910), of the staff of the *Maîtrise*, probably with the helping hand of Alexander Clerval, devotes equal time to explanations of *Notre-Dame de Sous-Terre*, the veil of the Virgin, and *Notre-Dame du Pilier*. From there it moves on to the interior and exterior of the cathedral, a fundamentalist presentation of miracles, and a history of pilgrimage with special attention to the nineteenth century. The illustrations are small but dramatic pen and ink sketches.

On page one, there is a sketch of the cathedral of Chartres towering dramatically above the town; one reads the words of Cardinal Pie:

From whatever distance you see [the cathedral], imitate the piety of your fathers and fall to your knees to greet Notre-Dame. This name is the name of the edifice, as it is the name of her to whom the edifice belongs. (*The Blue Pamphlet*, p. 1)¹

Unsurprisingly, this pamphlet begins with the historical pious sentiment of Edouard Pie and moves on to present his understanding, the traditional understanding, of *Sous-Terre*. This tradition, the booklet says, goes as far back as the Kings of France; this, presumably, refers to Clovis, et al. As Cardinal Pie put it:

La Notre-Dame de Soubst-Terre, from the first days of Christianity, has been the celebrated European sanctuary of Mary: miracles without number have been seen there; a long line of kings, popes, saints, bishops, Christians of every age, sex and condition. An ancient author has given the reason for it: the principal devotion of all the churches built here has been to this altar. (*Blue*, p. 5)

B. Clerical Tradition

The author then brings in another powerful clerical witness, Father Jean Jacques Olier (1608-57), founder of the Sulpicians and a great devotee of Chartres. His priests trained generations of French priests (and American

¹ Hereafter cited as *Blue*, with references similar to those given for *La Voix* indicated in the text.

priests also), and the parish of St-Sulpice in Paris sent a sizeable pilgrimage to Chartres every year following the renewal of pilgrimage begun in 1857. Olier is quoted as saying, "Chartres, holy and revered church, the world's first center of devotion in its antiquity, erected by prophetic insight." (*Blue*, p. 3) So, the author does not marshal historical evidence behind the tradition of *Sous-Terre*, but recounts traditions about the *Sous-Terre* tradition—i.e., the Pie tradition and the Olier tradition—in short, the clerical tradition.

The story of the veil of the Virgin, the holy tunic, is as much military history as anything else. First of all, the veil put Rollo and the Normans to flight, then it attracted them back to baptism, and "they became at the same time Christians and French." (*Blue*, p. 7) Indeed, it had such power that, in those chivalrous days, the knights who wore reproductions of it were obliged by a sense of justice to warn those they were dueling against that they were protected by supernatural power. (*Blue*, p. 7) The basic facts regarding the gift of the relic to Chartres by Charles the Bald are given. A kind of sober history of *Notre-Dame du Pilier* is then narrated. It was a favorite with the Chartrians themselves:

On the great feasts of Mary, the Nativity for example, the inhabitants of the countryside, mothers above all, hasten to *Notre-Dame du Pilier* bearing their children in their arms. In ordinary times, the press of the crowd is considerable, and every day from 7:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. the priests of the Œuvre take their turn by the miraculous statue to receive the intentions of the faithful. (*Blue*, p. 11)

Finally, a more general spiritual history of Chartres is given, by means of a simple recollection of legends. Once again, a rather lengthy quotation may serve to give the best sense of this kind of literature:

[Notre Dame] chose this sanctuary, said the ancients, for her chamber and special dwelling place on earth; there she worked wonders unceasing. When the great fever raged, she appeared to Bishop Fulbert who was consumed by the disease and, according to a charming tradition, relieved his burning lips with a few drops of her maternal milk. The sick came and gathered at the foot of her statue in the crypt, under the direction of the Sisterhood *des Saints Lieux-Forts*, and were cured in nine days. Children are the special object of her favors. She gives to their mothers, above all if they are vested with an image of the holy tunic, a successful delivery. She brought to life four whom disconsolate parents had brought, dead, to her feet; an eye witness of the 12th century has written all this in a work which has come down to us entitled *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*. She restored the tongue of a pious child when it was torn out by a libertine knight who feared that the child might reveal the pro-

fligacy to which he had been witness; she restored to health a face eaten away by cancer; she assuaged the thirst of those who came to work on her church; she restored the use of limbs to a crippled woman.

Notre-Dame de Chartres is the Palladium of all of France. She saved it in 911 from a barbarous paganism by the upset and the conversion of Rollo: the *Place des Épars* and the little chapel of *Vau-Raoul* are, without doubt, memorials to this glorious event. She preserved it from English rule and consequently from the Anglican heresy, when in 1363, by a frightful storm, she obliged the proud Edward III, encamped two leagues from Chartres, to sign the treaty of Bretigny and to pass devoutly beneath the sacred reliquary. Finally, she snatched it from Protestantism in 1568 when, at the *Porte Drouaise*, she stopped the cannonade of the Duc de Condé, who intended to feed his horse at the main altar, and forced him to make a treaty. A chapel commemorating this great event still exists and each year a thanksgiving procession goes there on March 15. The *Prés des Reculés* commemorate the defeat of the Huguenots.

Notre-Dame de Chartres loved our kings and princes in a special way. She gave the victory of Mons-en-ruelle to Philip the Fair and the victory of Cassel to Philip of Valois, and the two of them came to offer their battle horses and hang their armor on the pillars of the basilica; she brought out of captivity Prince Louis de Bourbon, Count of Vendôme, ancestor of the present day Bourbons, who then established the Vendôme chapel; at the seige of Milan she saved the Baron de Beuil who escaped death only because of his *chemisette*; finally, she heard the plea of Louis XIII, who, through the intercession of Frère Fiacre, asked for a royal posterity, and she gave him Louis XIV, the Great. (*Blue*, p. 19-21)

The sentence which introduces the next section of the brochure, on the pilgrims of the past, is somewhat puzzling at first glance. It says that all the Kings of France were devotees of *Notre-Dame de Chartres* except for Louis XVI. The first temptation is to interpret this to mean that the only non-devotee was beheaded and the monarchy interrupted at the end of his reign, for reasons having something to do with his lack of devotion. But Louis XVI was commonly looked upon as a martyr in clerical circles; so the comment could not have had a derogatory meaning, but is just an interesting example of bad writing. The tone is at all times totally monarchist.

The final portions of the pamphlet return to the sentiments of Cardinal Pie and Father Olier—“. . . all the great lines of the history of France end at *Notre-Dame de Chartres*; it is the historical and national pilgrimage par excellence.” (*Blue*, p. 23) The story of the great pilgrimages of the nineteenth century is told, stories quite familiar to those who have examined the pages of *La Voix*. Information is given on the bishops of Chartres,

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

La Voix itself, the number of children consecrated to *Notre-Dame de Chartres*, the Confraternity of *Notre-Dame du Pilier*, the Archconfraternity of *Notre-Dame de Sous-Terre*.

At the end, the *Œuvre des Clercs de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, that is, the *Maîtrise* which Cyril Ychard founded, is described and promoted. One might well wonder if, in the minds of the staff, all the great lines of history led to *Notre-Dame de Chartres* or to the *Maîtrise*. Which was the stronger motivation to success through the years: Ychard's *Maîtrise* or Pie's nostalgia? Who can say? Certainly, on these pages they are intertwined. The booklet, which began with the words of Cardinal Pie, ends with a description of the *Œuvre des Clercs*:

The *Œuvre des Clercs* has no other resource than Providence itself which by a daily miracle has sustained it for more than 30 years and has through it given more than 150 priests to the Church. It is fitting to terminate this brochure by recommending to the sympathy of pilgrims this interesting *Œuvre*, so dear to the heart of *Notre-Dame*. May *Notre-Dame* bless also its author and all the devout pilgrims. (*Blue*, p. 32)

IV. CHARTRES—"CATHOLIQUE ET FRANÇAIS TOUJOURS"

There is not much to say of Chartres in the first years of the twentieth century. There were no outstanding historical developments; religious symbolism and Chartrian piety were not changed or added to, and the French political scene was not reflected in any particularly clear or interesting way. *La Voix* was fifty years old in 1906; the majority of the issues during those fifty years had provided scant intellectual and aesthetic nourishment indeed. Whether the review catered in any real way to spiritual needs or not, one can only guess; but one can look, as we have done, at what the staff thought those spiritual needs were. Unfortunately, no records exist regarding the number of subscribers or where the subscriptions were sent or the levels of society in which they were to be found. For general information, one can look to records on the average French Catholic reading audience of the period and the records of the Archconfraternity at Chartres.

In 1912, a certain Comte de Souancé compiled a *Table alphabétique des noms de personnes et de lieux contenus dans les cinquante premières années de "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres" (1857-1906)*; he acknowledged his own emphasis on clerical history:

I have followed the following plan: to introduce in this table

- 1) scrupulously, the names of all ecclesiastics, parishes, works, communities of the diocese.
- 2) faithfully . . . the names of ecclesiastics, religious, persons of every walk of life, who were involved in the religious history of the diocese.
- 3) fully, the names of those useful to know for a general history of the Church.

La Voix, then, was a chronicle of what was going on around the ecclesiastical structure. Undoubtedly, this index was worked out with the approval of Abbé Goussard and, therefore, reflects his outlook—pilgrimage as public, French, Catholic function. I have tried not to emphasize the personality of Goussard, because *La Voix* does not bear any particular personal stamp; every indication is that it was shaped by local nostalgia and ecclesiastical attitude and, ultimately, part of that united front which I have mentioned.

The aged Abbé Goussard, after editing *La Voix* practically from its beginning, finally died in 1913. Following his death, a Father Ernest Métra (1872-1949), professor at the *Maitrise*, took over, but only briefly; he was soon followed, in 1914, by Father Henri Planchette (1869-1927) superior of the *Maitrise*. Planchette edited *La Voix* during the World War I years.

The First World War marked the end of the Catholic-laicist combat. Even that powerful Catholic family magazine, *Le Pèlerin*, ceased its harassment of the government the minute war broke out¹. *La Voix* noted that Frenchmen had at last put aside their differences and, in many cases, had gone back to church.

Yesterday France was sadly divided, the poor hated the rich, the worker threatened his employer; today all fraternize with one another under the same flag.

As for the people in general, the same thing is seen. The crowds of faithful are constantly being renewed at our beloved shrines, Montmartre and Notre-Dame des Victoires; there are not enough priests for the task, while thousands of candles bear the burning witness of heartfelt prayer to heaven.

What you see at Paris, you see also at Chartres. (1914, 9, p. 199)

What is striking here is that, however much the war became a scene of interminable horror, relentlessly destroying French manhood, *La Voix* preserved its characteristics as a conserver of nostalgia and an organ of the clergy. The slender issue of October, 1915 consecrated several pages to the centenary of Cardinal Pie, one of the leaders of Chartrian nostalgia during the previous century; the May, 1916 issue reproduced one of his

¹ Cf. J. and P. GODFRIN, *Presse Catholique*, p. 49.

speeches. Elsewhere, the staff insists that German barbarism is caused by anti-clericalism: "It is barbarism, always, but this barbarism, does it not have an undeniable quality? Is it not completely impregnated with anti-Catholic hate?" (1915, 11, p. 166)

The hierarchy of France planned a national pilgrimage to Lourdes as soon as hostilities ceased; the November, 1916 issue promoted a national pilgrimage to Saint-Martin de Tours. The letter of the French hierarchy cites the unity between Catholicism and French nationalism:

At the beginning of our history, it was by his promise to embrace the faith in the God of Clothilde that Clovis obtained victory over the ancestors of the same enemies with whom we are at war today. In 1871, France, following the will of pious Christians, promised to erect in the capital a shrine to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and the Basilica of Montmartre is the fulfillment of that National Vow, ratified in parliament by a vote of law authorizing the construction of this building, acknowledging it to be of public value.

Pressed on all sides by numerous demands which, although varied in their form or particular viewpoint, all have the same goal: to motivate a demonstration of national faith, to obtain the help of heaven in favor of our arms and to hasten the final victory and the establishment of peace, we have undertaken the solemn pledge of a national pilgrimage to the shrine of Lourdes. (1916, 10, p. 147)

This episcopal letter goes on to cite the apparitions and other manifestations of Our Lady in France: the Miraculous Medal apparition to Catherine Labouré—1830, Notre-Dame des Victoires—1836, La Salette—1846, Pontmain—1871. Reading through the letter, one finds the same point repeated constantly: if France is to conquer Germany, it will have to be a victory of French Catholicism over German barbarism.

Throughout 1917, *La Voix* continued to reinforce the image of a patriotic Catholic France by means of remarks and articles dealing with Notre-Dame, with Jeanne d'Arc, even Louis XVI. There was, in fact, a movement abroad to procure Rome's beatification of Louis XVI:

When one speaks of the victims of the great Revolution, the mind turns infallibly toward the most illustrious of all, toward the victim of January 21, 1793, the pious King Louis XVI. Almost from the day after his execution, he was called the king-martyr and, in the Consistory which followed soon after the fatal event, the Pope, Pius VI, eulogized the noble victim in a way which could be interpreted as the preface of a future canonization. Throughout the course of the nineteenth century, the question of the canonization of Louis XVI was taken up from time to time; it even motivated, toward 1892, a petition to the Pope in which it was presented as a means of ending the curse which hung over France. (1917, 12, p. 175-76)

No doubt! Victory over Germany and the canonization of Louis XVI would not only make French Catholicism the strongest power in Europe, but also, since Germany had defeated France in 1871 because of the mortal wounds already inflicted by the Revolution, so the defeat of Germany would definitely reverse the Revolution and would re-establish France, *Catholique et Français toujours!* . . . as an old French Catholic school children's song expressed it.

A. *LA VOIX: Chartrian Piety and Tradition*

There are hints that the staff of *La Voix* was concerned with some species of accuracy in theology and purity in spirituality during the War years. When Father Planchette took over in 1914, he echoed the perennial complaint about exaggerated devotionism, but seemed afraid to go against the popular current. For the staff, an exaggerated devotion was little to complain about in the face of both anticlericalism and laicism. One might well be tempted to search through other sources to see if, perhaps, the sentimental piety of the clergy was actually only an attempt to meet the people's needs. But the overwhelming evidence is that such piety, and definitely the Chartrian piety of the staff of *La Voix*, expressed clerical sentiments quite accurately—though these clerics may have sorted out their various personal religious sentiments with more theological background than most of their readers. However, just before the war started, Planchette wrote:

From a distance it is an elite which knows and prays to *Notre-Dame de Chartres*; right here it is the multitude. Devotion to the Holy Virgin remained popular at the height of the religious crisis and it appeared as solid as the foundations of the cathedral. It is true that this popular *dévotion* was not sufficiently clarified, but one must recognize that it is singularly confident. We know this better than anyone, we who during our hours on duty constantly see faithful of every condition fervently kiss the Pilier and pray with fervor before the statue. One could groan about the inconsistency of a piety which forgets God and only invokes the saints; but one should rejoice above all that the deluge of indifference has not swallowed up everyone, and that the ark of salvation still floats above the abyss. When people remain attached to the Mother, they certainly have not broken off relations with the Son. (1914, 5, p. 50)

Planchette goes on to say that all the old works are continuing, including the confraternity and the "correspondence," a sort of letters-to-the-editor page with extracts from letters describing petitions granted; these continued to express the concerns and gratitude of the correspondents:

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

In order to be convinced, it is sufficient to scan the selections from the correspondence which we publish every month in *La Voix*. There you find the testimony of a great number of people from every country, having obtained every sort of spiritual or temporal favor. How many children preserved by the concern of their mothers, how many sick healed, how many sinners converted, how many projects blessed! (1914, 5, p. 50)¹

But if the staff put up with the indiscretions of pious believers who were not theologically sophisticated, there was less tolerance for divergence from the Chartrian tradition on the part of historians and theologians. In February, 1918, the staff took to task the Benedictine scholar, Dom Henri Leclercq (1869-1945), and those working on the mighty *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*². Quoting from a letter sent by a priest-historian of Sens who complained about the doubts DACL cast upon the preaching of the early Chartrian saints, Potentian and Savinian, the staff said that the article in DACL reduced the liturgical books to works "of imagination, anecdote and jest." (1918, 2, p. 29) As the Sens letter specifically says, DACL had ignored the works of Abbé Hénault as well as the works of Alexander Clerval. *La Voix* reports that the Bishop of Chartres, Henri-Louis Bouquet (1829-1926), denounced this work to the Holy See, and the Holy Father requested the Congregation of Religious to

... inflict both on Dom Leclercq, author of the article thus accused, and Dom Cabrol, who tolerated the publication of it, a serious warning because of that unfortunate work's destruction and terrible contempt toward such venerable tradition, a work to which they applied themselves, much to the scandal of the faithful and to the detriment of peace within dioceses and in the Church itself. (1918, 2, p. 29)

¹ If one tries to compare the correspondence across the years, one does notice a trend away from the miraculous, even though the "miraculous" at Chartres was never terribly sensational in comparison with the apparition shrines. It should be noted, however, that all one can tell from this is how the clergy evaluated these letters. Each issue of 1873, for example, contained a list of nine or ten favors granted, including some striking recoveries; next to each short paragraph there were the initials of the correspondant and the diocese where he or she lived. By 1906, the lines were shorter; there were references only to "favors" and "benefits," statements about enclosed money offerings. The original letters were not preserved, so one has no other details—one knows only that this level of pious expression was catered to by *La Voix*.

² The *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* was edited by Dom Cabrol, Henri Leclercq and H. I. Marrou, 15 vols. (DACL: 1907-53). Although criticized for its archeological inaccuracies and certain prejudices, this monumental work is still highly regarded as an invaluable source for the study of Christian antiquity.

Certainly *La Voix* favored the "local populace" over "the elite from afar," as Planchette designated them. But the same issue of *La Voix* does contain report of a kind of reconciliation: "elite from afar," that is, young intellectuals from Paris under the leadership of the intellectual Father Antonin Sertillanges (1863-1948) and inspired by the poetry of Charles Péguy (1873-1914), were renewing the concept of Chartres pilgrimage. In general, their action could be described as an intellectual application of what was assumed to be popular faith.

B. *LA VOIX: Influence of "the Elite" and Christian Humanism*

This movement was composed of Catholic intellectuals, most of them quite young. For example, René Salomé was a young Catholic writer and critic, and the Dominican Father Sertillanges was a young professor at the Institut Catholique. After the 1918 pilgrimage, their magazine, the *Revue des Jeunes*, ran a full series of articles about Chartres which included some history, some experiences and a homily preached on the occasion of the pilgrimage. *La Voix* simply reproduced several of those *Revue des Jeunes* articles, which really formed something of a foreign body in that Chartrian review.

For the first time on the pages of *La Voix*, there appears a vision that is not clerical; one might describe it as some sort of intellectual but highly romantic interpretation of French Catholic history: orthodoxy united with poetic vision. Was this something that the spirit of *La Voix* had lacked all these years? Would it succeed? Was the staff happy to note that the vision of the late and lamented poet Charles Péguy was the force which gave thrust to this movement? Was this direction more like what Planchette, then editor for four years, had in mind when he complained about the coarseness of local Catholicism? One doubts the possibility of uncovering satisfactory answers to such questions, even from those who were themselves on the scene in 1918. In any case, the staff of *La Voix* had accepted onto its pages a new expression of believing orthodoxy, one not motivated and designed to fight off laicism by militant devotion, but motivated instead by the vision of a poet and designed by young intellectuals.

Actually, one can trace the evolution from this original tiny group of students to the huge groups of students who even now continue to come to Chartres from Paris once a year. For many years, one could count them by tens; more recently one has to count beyond ten to fifteen and twenty thousand each June 3rd. The following words of Mr. René Salomé, reprinted

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

on the pages of *La Voix*, describe the laying of plans for the first such pilgrimage.

The three of us, the chaplain, the traveler and I, we laid our plans while examining the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Martyrs and the Virgins, the array of Kings. . . . For we knew quite well that the great pilgrimages of former days have begun again with Charles Péguy, who without doubt has come to you, O Notre-Dame, by himself but bearing the souls of old France—all her good will, all her honest and hard-working joy. We knew that we were arriving behind Péguy our leader, and before youth who repudiate the chaos of ideologies and willfulness, who are entering once again into the reality of France, who know how to build up this reality and live within it. We will return in great numbers when your windows flourish in the spring. More numerous still the time after that. And always more numerous, O Notre-Dame, Queen of Heaven, Queen of France. (1918, 7, p. 35)

There is orthodoxy here; indeed, there is patriotism. But it is new and different, following after World War I and influenced by Charles Péguy. To distinguish more clearly between this view and the earlier patriotic reparation view, one has only to read the sermon of Father Sertillanges, preached at the Vespers service for the Feast of the Ascension, on the occasion of the *Revue des Jeunes* pilgrimage:

MONSEIGNEUR

MES FRÈRES

You see before you a delegation which represents young writers, the teachers who guide them, promoters of Christian thought and action, readers whose numbers increase daily and who are friends, associates, brothers and sisters in Jesus Christ, Notre-Dame and France. (1918, 7, p. 75)

The faith is patriotic, but in the sense of its being deeply entrenched in the French personality. It is part of the collective memory of a people:

Chartres especially attracts the faithful of the tradition, because its origins make of it one of the roots of French culture. We have other memories, but those of Chartres run across all the centuries of our history, and are buried in the pre-history of France, the ways of the Druids being an anticipation of our worship and our glory. We have other edifices, but how many are there which rest on the successive foundations of five churches. . . . We have numerous madonnas, Notre-Dames from all regions; but if our records are exact, Chartres would be called not only the elder sister or even the mother, but the "ancestor" of all the madonnas of France. (1918, 7, p. 77)

Chartres does not function solely as a cause of interior faith; the historical existence of the cathedral and its schools signifies an active faith, a manifested faith:

Chartres signifies faith, work, probity, integrity, discipline, rich social life, wise institutions, profound and respectful knowledge, well-placed progress, an ardor which speaks far and wide. Chartres is the daughter of the Church and the liturgy, daughter of the guilds which organized work and engendered true fraternity. It sheltered a theological and philosophical tradition, whose brilliance extended all over Europe throughout the Middle Ages; it was the contemporary of the healthy freedom and competition which inspired our efforts. (1918, 7, p. 79)

Faith and the artistic manifestation of it make a unity at Chartres, then, even though art must be considered the servant of faith:

We come to Chartres concerned about a tradition; but another influence attracts us. The beauty of your cathedral draws us to itself, and not uniquely by its art, as if we bring only the souls of aesthetes here to this sanctuary on Ascension day. To our way of thinking, art is here a servant, but a servant of God, our God, a servant who has the power to bring us close to God; and it is this role we expect the cathedral to play as we admire it. (1918, 7, p. 80)

We of the *Revue des Jeunes* want nothing of this dualism. We refuse to see nature on one hand, supernature on the other; humanity left to itself, organizing itself in pagan fashion, and religion living apart, solemn and empty; science, art, scattered truths, beauty abandoned to capricious or perverse influences; faith and mysticism taking refuge in the secrecy of our hearts. We want to unite all of these elements in order that they might penetrate and vivify one another in that Spirit which must renew the face of the earth. . . . that God might be completely with us and that we might be wholly with God, and that the beauty of this world might no longer be pagan, and that the beauty of heaven might no longer be isolated, but might descend and transfigure the face of creation. (1918, 7, p. 83)

The activities of these pilgrims—artists and intellectuals as they are—comprise a renewal of the great spiritual synthesis of the Middle Ages. The Spirit which gave life to medieval religion is alive today:

We have artists among us: painters, architects, decorators, poets, dramatic authors, even—do not be offended—actors; yes, actors of the Christian theater, equal to that which flourished here on the cathedral square and in the Church itself during its best periods. We have connections with art publishers that you know very well; we strongly rely on their initiatives to draw them close to one another, and to draw to Christ all the elements of beauty and truth dispersed in this world like those shepherdless sheep about which Jesus spoke.

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

Such is the spirit which animates us. See in it the spirit of the Middle Ages of catholicity and art, the spirit of the Summa Theologica and the school of Chartres, the spirit of the Gothic cathedral, notably this very one. (1918, 7, p. 83-84)

The focal point of this believing Christian humanism which manifests itself now at Chartres is Our Lady. To draw strength from the Spirit, to be apostles and renew the face of the earth in beauty, one journeys to the land where she herself is manifested:

Finally, we come to Chartres—is there any need to say it, for who would have supposed it to be non-essential?—in the thought of beauty and of Marian piety. We are not simply writers, I tell you, nor simply aesthetes, still less pagan traditionalists: we are apostles. For remembering that the Queen of Apostles loved the land here, that she chose it, and made this edifice open up with her smile, we come here full of tender veneration, full of desires, and we say: Queen of Apostles, O Notre-Dame de Chartres, pray for us. (1918, 7, p. 84)

This was indeed a spirited beginning. Not much came of it, however, though a similar effort in 1935, by a different groups of students, developed into the gigantic pilgrimages of the 1960s.

V. LA VOIX: THE FINAL DECADES

After World War I, *La Voix* slowly returned to its former character, combining reports on archeology, art, pilgrimage and Christian life. In 1919, Abbé Boucher, of the *Maitrise*, naturally became the director of *La Voix*, remaining for a term about as remarkably long as that of his predecessor, Abbé Goussard: fifty years—right up to the day in 1969, when *La Voix* ceased publication.

During the Twenties, the weekly edition, which had appeared as a supplement to the monthly *La Voix* since 1890, was really the more ample and attractive publication. The monthly edition was skimpy, with propaganda for priestly vocations as the principal feature. Fortunately, the writings of Yves Delaporte, canon of the cathedral and a historian of quality, appeared with growing frequency. Though a scholar of honesty and rigor, he had the traditional intolerance for any historical hypotheses detrimental to an assumed pure and perfect religious history of the cathedral. In fact, an author could make extremely inane errors, provided he was complimentary to Chartres. The errors of an English author who wrote a meditation on the cathedral were pointed out, but Delaporte commented that such things were understandable in a foreigner. The major event of

the decade was the *Fêtes Mariales* of 1927, a celebration hearkening back to the great pilgrimages of the 1870's and marking the ninth centenary of the inauguration of the crypt in Fulbert's Romanesque cathedral, rebuilt after the 1020 fire. The dimensions and procedures were roughly the same as those of fifty years before, but there was not the controversy nor, perhaps, the intensity of that earlier decade.

Beginning in 1930, there was further and considerable improvement in the content and format of *La Voix*; the contents were arranged in the following order: doctrine and piety, art and history, Marian apostolate, vocation apostolate, calendar of regular parish services and special events for the month. The earlier formation of a group of devotees of the cathedral, the *Société des amis de la cathédrale de Chartres* was bearing fruit. The studies which treated religious themes in the cathedral's art and architecture would have been appropriate to any learned journal. Marian piety was presented with subtlety, unction and perhaps a touch of controversy. A Montfortian and a Marianist presented the Marian piety of their founders with dignity and reverence, but the distinction between being a slave of Mary and a servant of Mary probably concerned only those pious readers who had some hint of experience of the difference. The efforts of art historians such as Émile Mâle (1862-1954) and Marcel Aubert (1884-1962) were presented in quotations and reports. The indefatigable Delaporte wrote on. Pilgrims came from home situations similar to and from places the same as those of the previous century. Virtually no mention was made, however, of the beginnings of the most famous contemporary Chartres pilgrimage, because the small group of 35 Paris students who gathered in the cathedral on Pentecost Monday, 1935, was by no means a preview of the present-day student pilgrimages of 20,000. Nor was much attention devoted to the book of Henry Adams (1838-1918), *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1904), for a long time so famous in the English-speaking world. Noting that Henri Daniel-Rops had written a few pages about Adams and his study of medieval Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, *La Voix* laconically mentions that Adam's work appeared a few years ago, although the first public English edition had really appeared twenty years previous.

Then, the tragedy of World War II interrupted these reasonably sophisticated efforts of historians, theologians and knowledgeable priests. *La Voix* dwindled away and declined, becoming worse in content and appearance than ever before in its history. Eventually, each issue was only a few pages in length, badly printed, and with completely different content. The intelligence and elegance of the Thirties was replaced by a sentimental

Perspectives of "La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres"

piety which could be stereotypically attributed to an uneducated, older-female leadership. Its message was simply this: "Notre-Dame de Chartres will take care of you, so be good, pray and support the Church." Obviously, the content of piety was a measure of strength of character, and the major problem was the continuation of the cathedral services. As during World War I, the editors believed that the only way to help the devotees of Notre-Dame persevere in the face of the incomprehensible horrors of war was to suggest retreat to an inner world of warm devotion and merit. There was little point to reveling in the glories of the cathedral, so intelligently and brilliantly crafted, or the historical traditions of a people who were—both cathedral and people—in danger of destruction. In fact, the cathedral did escape destruction, though the town suffered some serious damage and priceless manuscripts were lost when the library was destroyed. René Gobillot, then head of the *Société des amis de la Cathédrale*, described the wartime experience of the cathedral: "Veritable walls of sandbags were put in front of the three portals to protect the sculpture. Then the bays were filled in with *vitres* (glazed window-coverings) which resulted in a crude luminosity and affected the mystical atmosphere of the building in a singular way." (1944, 10, p. 4) The stained glass, of course, had been removed a while before. In spite of bombardments of the town, by the Germans in 1940 and by Americans in 1944, the cathedral suffered only minimal damage—the main problem was that a third of the iron window supports in the bays had to be refashioned. Finally, at 2:30 in the afternoon of August 23, 1944, General Charles de Gaulle entered the cathedral and, after a brief visit in the sanctuary, he went to the chapel of *Notre-Dame-du-Pilier* for the singing of the *Magnificat*.

During and after the Second World War, groups of student-pilgrims from Paris were growing in size, becoming the best-known yearly manifestation of faith at Chartres. The emphasis on the role of the Blessed Virgin in the Christian life, given great impetus by the 1950 Marian Year, was clearly expressed in *La Voix* during the Fifties. Titles of articles often contained the name of a Marian feastday with the addition of the words "at Chartres." In the Sixties, the ecumenical spirit of Vatican II was emphasized, with news of ecumenical encounters and selections from the writings of the Taizé monk, Max Thurian. Almost every year there was a specific reference to the student pilgrimage.

In 1968, the year before the termination of *La Voix*, a lengthy serial article on Charles Péguy contained a long description of these student pilgrimages. Statistics were given for each year from 1935 through 1963.

The most significant increases in numbers began in 1942, when the tally reached 650 while that of the previous year had been only 100; in 1943, the figure rose from 650 to 1,250; in 1945, following a year of no pilgrimage, from 1,250 to 3,000; in 1947, from 3,700 to 5,200; in 1953, from 7,800 to 10,000; in 1957, from 13,000 to 17,000. Finally, in 1963 and the years following, 20,000 students came. Jean Aubonnet, the scholar who as a young man had started this series of pilgrimages, said in 1955, "We dreamed of these crowds. . . . In any case, we prayed much for this intention." (1968, 4, p. 42) A student chaplain observed in 1956: a "taste for authenticity attracted the young people to such an enterprise." (1968, 4, p. 44)

And it was a taste for authenticity which brought *La Voix* to an end in 1969, after 113 years in print. Two publications took its place: a diocesan news bulletin and a review, religious in character and handsomely illustrated, which presented art and pilgrimage history. The latter review, entitled simply *Notre-Dame de Chartres*, is of more general interest, an obvious descendent of *La Voix* in purpose and presentation. Although the greater portion of the pages published in its first five years were given over to descriptions of the art and architecture of the cathedral, Charles Péguy's personality again predominated. His pilgrimage to Chartres in 1912 and his poetry about the Virgin had served as the primary inspiration of the famous students' pilgrimage, so it was natural to present studies and appreciations of him. Péguy was a poet, sensitive to history, art and social reform—sensitivities which have obviously influenced authors of the present-day journal to show how Chartres cathedral was conceived in a medieval political and theological milieu, brought forth with artistic originality, and cultivated as both support and pleasure for people from all levels of society and from all regions of the world. And so, the current review is much more appropriate to the Chartres of today where you see handsome young people enjoying a romantic stroll around the cathedral, perhaps slightly self-conscious about what they take to be their irreverence. You see the middle-aged and older women hurrying to Mass at the fascinatingly-ugly chapel of *Notre-Dame du Pilier*, to pray for family members lost in one or both of the great wars. You see the general tourist who follows his guide book to the art and history of the cathedral. You see others who move at their own speed without aid of any written or spoken guidance—historians or art students familiar with the details of the subject matter and its expression. The cathedral itself just continues to stand there, as it has since the Middle Ages, to be made use of according to the needs and interests of the pilgrims—religious and non-religious, simple and complex.

VI. ENVOI

We have looked at the pilgrim's Chartres through the eyes of the original staff of *La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, whose orthodox Catholic devotion to Notre-Dame combined 1) a specific nostalgia for the historic manifestations of that devotion at Chartres itself and 2) a practical desire to build a choir school/seminary for boys. Accordingly, we saw two early members of the staff writing about the historic, aesthetic, spiritual values of Chartres cathedral, and at the same time campaigning for the building of the *Maîtrise*. Abbé Hénault wrote of the veneration of the Virgin which should be inspired by respect for forefathers, and Abbé Ychard wrote of the *Maîtrise*. At first we discovered very little information about the pilgrims, but, as the years went on, *La Voix* reported more on their regional origins, their numbers and the particular cities from which they came. From sources other than *La Voix*, we learned the percentage of persons who went to church in those days among the urban bourgeois and among the rural people—and we gathered fragments of local religious folklore.

When it came to the pilgrims themselves, we learned about the pilgrimage attitudes of the *organized*, the lay people from diverse areas, but we learned more from the pilgrimage attitudes of the *organizers*, the priests at Chartres, than from any other source. We recognized that the priests of Chartres were disturbed by the low level of practice and by the crudity of local folk religion, but that these same priests contributed to a coarse type of religious nostalgia by emphasizing the story of the druidic worship of the *Virgo Paritura*. We saw a group of priests praying and preaching, somewhere between a misty dream-world of worshipping Druids and a practical world of rebuilding schools for the young, in order to rebuild a faith damaged by the Revolution. By constructing these elements into a world of Chartrian pilgrimage, both priests and people seemed to escape from the world of a devastated Catholic society into a world of former days where, supposedly, basic Catholic religion permeated every level of monarchist French society. In addition, they supported a new generation of priests who carried the pilgrims' faith to other parts of the world.

In the decades that followed the founding of *La Voix*, an obviously missionary interest for returning to the deepest origins of Catholic France in order to witness to the ends of the earth seemed, in actual fact, more and more designed to promote a very specific political Catholicism in France. The particular roles of Chartrian nostalgia and practicality, as defined by the staff, were geared more and more toward assisting the Catholic side of the

Catholic-conservative/laicist-Republican dispute. To be sure, the specific quality of Chartres was elaborated in the process of comparing it with a new center of Catholic devotion to Mary at Lourdes and with the revival of the center of devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus at Paray-le-monial, both scenes of famous apparitions and, therefore, distinct from Chartres which relied more on history. Chartres' role was that of serving as a rallying point for French Catholic Patriotism, because there, more than at any other shrine in France, the pilgrim could enter into the world of French Catholic history under its specific forms: the prophetic worship of Notre-Dame in ancient Gaul, the medieval Chartrian faithfulness to the presence of Notre-Dame in the treasured veil relic, and the popular attraction of *Notre-Dame du Pilier* which, in surviving the Revolution, had become a favorite devotion of the local people who prayed at Chartres before the pilgrimages were revived. Thus, the restored statue of *Notre-Dame de Sous-Terre* in the crypt, the black Virgin of the Pillar, and above all, the 876 relic of the veil of the Virgin were made the foci of grandiose ceremonies during the high years of pilgrimage, 1873-1876.

The complications of religious imagery, the complications of political expediency, and the combination of the two were of concern to the staff of *La Voix*. There is no way of quantifying what was common to the varieties of attitudes expressed by those 60,000 some-odd pilgrims who came to Chartres in 1873 and again in great numbers in 1876. Did they come to Chartres to contact a female power that reached back into the mists of French history or because they wanted God to cure something? Did they come to Chartres as over against Lourdes and Paray-le-monial, or would any pilgrimage do, perhaps the closest? Were a good number of them "organized" or "dragged along" or did most of them come out of pious enthusiasm? No doubt they came for a variety of reasons, implicit and explicit. We know only that the ceremonies were grandiose, that the crowds were enthusiastic—and that the popular shouts heard in the cathedral, by the redaction of *La Voix*, had much more to do with the salvation of France than with personal cares.

But the shouts died down at Chartres, more than they did at Lourdes. Chartres was the older shrine and, apparently, at Chartres one would contemplate Notre-Dame acting in history more than actively affecting one's own life. Reports from Chartrians who visited Lourdes were printed in *La Voix* and the attitude is the same each time: we return to the age-old crypt grateful for the activity at Lourdes and the contemplation at Chartres. One has the impression that the ambiguity of symbols was resolved at a

rather specialized level of pious devotion. At the more basic level of human need, Chartres provided an unsensational center of devotion. In each issue of *La Voix* there were several pages of "favours received," non-sensational cures and prayers answered which, had something to do with Notre-Dame. One suspects that the historically-conditioned nostalgia found so often on the pages of *La Voix* was a function of the amount of pious history a person learned as he or she read about or lived at Chartres. Probably, the specialized nostalgia of Cardinal Edouard Pie and the staff of *La Voix* through the years had a much more diffuse quality in the spiritual lives of those who wanted favours from Notre-Dame. The blending of Notre-Dame, French politics and personal needs varied with each individual pilgrim. The *Blue Pamphlet* was the culmination of the redaction's views on what would be good for the average pilgrim. Filled with clerical nostalgia and with myth and miracle, this pamphlet was in reality not the best form but the lowest common denominator of the historical and pious concerns expressed on the pages of *La Voix*. Mingling childish piety, unabashed monarchism and tales of miraculous need-satisfaction, this pamphlet was for many years, the publication most readily available to the pilgrim.

The years just before and after the publication of the *Blue Pamphlet* were years of Catholic-laicist strife. Naturally, this was reflected on the pages of *La Voix*, but the criticism of Jews and Freemasons was more temperate there than in some other Catholic publications of the period. It was only the coming of World War I that brought the polemics within French society to a halt. Surprisingly enough, the fight against the Germans, promoted by *La Voix*, became a war of religion also. The suggestion was made that if France were to become fully Catholic again, perhaps even to promoting the canonization of Louis XVI, then there would be victory over the barbarous, anti-clerical Germans. France's great weakness had been the irreligiousness produced by the Revolution. By reversing this, France would enjoy the ultimate result, a people who were *Catholique et Français toujours*. During this period there were no pilgrimages to speak of. *La Voix* limped along as the journal of narrow clerical thought that it really always was when it was not wholeheartedly promoting the pilgrimage process. It becomes painfully obvious that when the nostalgia and practicality and patriotism were not nourishing or being nourished by the lively movement and faith of pilgrims, they were reduced to a composite of defensive clerical sentiments and no more.

At the end of World War I, a totally new thing appeared on the pages of *La Voix*: the pilgrimage sentiments of a select, intellectual and artistic

group of students from Paris. Following in the spirit of the French poet and Chartres' devotee, Charles Péguy, they saw Chartres as an embodiment of the artistic, the historical and the spiritual. Though these first students were few, though their writings appear on the pages of *La Voix* as foreign elements, their attitudes and interests manifested a spirit which was in many ways a development of the attitudes and interests which *La Voix* had manifested through the years. If the words of their chaplain, Father Ser-tillanges, are truly representative, then we can say that, in varying degrees, they saw faith as the collective memory of a people—theirs was not clerical nostalgia. They saw the art and architecture as inspired by religion—rather than as a separate, inferior tool of religion; and they saw the conversion of France as part of the renewal of the face of the earth, rather than as a revival of a specific type of monarchist-clericalist government. A different and later group of students, similar in spirit, initiated the huge student pilgrimages which became so famous after World War II.

While not finding satisfactory evidence in *La Voix* for a comprehensive group "profile," we can describe a clerical united front. We can note the values which the *La Voix* staff tried to promote and the needs to which they tried to respond. We can see their own interests and needs. The attitudes expressed by the clergy, as well as some expressed in the correspondence they received, do give us a view of the simple human desires for health and happiness felt by the pilgrims who read *La Voix* and by those who could afford the time and the trains to come to Chartres. Finally, we cannot overlook the power of the poet's vision of Chartres. No doubt, the young intellectuals who came to Chartres in 1918 moved unnoticed into the grand space of the cathedral, but by the power of their art and sentiment they transmitted this vision to many. Their successors continue to come once a year in groups that have reached as high as fifteen and twenty thousand students.

Chartres is something different to each person. The researcher can only rummage through a historical record that has no essential unity, psychologically- or sociologically-speaking. But by examining the recorded thoughts and sentiments of individuals and the common activity of groups, the historian is able to formulate a unified processive description of how certain individuals and groups moved through this world. He can present these people and these events at Chartres, these groups and these psyches, and say: "This is how I see the organizing and organized faithful reflected in the mirror of *La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres*. Chartres, between 1857 and 1969, was at least this."