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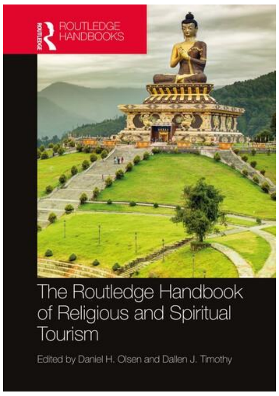

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Pilgrimages, journeys, and outings

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PILGRIMAGES, JOURNEYS, AND OUTINGS

The historical mobilities of religious praxis

Tony Seaton

Introduction

What is "Religious Tourism"? To some it may seem like a strange oxymoron—a conflation of the sacred and the profane that incongruously links spiritual travel to a more trivial, hedonistic pursuit. For historians and social scientists, religious tourism has held no such contradictions, being considered a reality of modern, industrialised societies in which commerce now provides the facilities, including inclusive, conducted tours for those wishing to make journeys to holy places (Vukonić 1996; Olsen 2016). Indeed, both historians and social scientists view religious tourism as a sacred journey, whether undertaken in pre-industrial societies or more recently as a part of commercially organised and packaged tours. As such, religious tourism represents a type of pilgrimage—an implicit, two-way relationship between reverenced, holy figures and individuals who wish to travel to places or events associated with them to worship and pay homage or for more secular reasons such as education and leisure.

However, has religious travel and tourism always been about sacred journeys, which this 'pilgrimage model' suggests? There are many types of journeys made within historical religious practice that may not necessarily fit the category of a sacred journey. Such instances include:

- Papal delegates in the Middle Ages attending "summits" in Europe with secular leaders from the Holy Roman Empire on European politics;
- Islamic religious leaders bargaining with architects and builders for new hotel developments near Mecca;
- Church officers in Victorian England making and taking commercial trips in negotiating church furnishings, electric lighting, or catering facilities; and
- Edwardian churchmen acting as tour brokers with travel agencies marketing holidays for Anglicans.

These instances suggest that there needs to be an accounting for a *variety* of different types of religious travel throughout history that extend beyond 'pilgrimage' within any sociological appraisal of religious tourism. Indeed, sacred texts say little regarding travel *per se* as a dependent or independent variable in religious behaviour, except when it comes to pilgrimage, which has long featured as an institutional practice in Buddhist, Jainist, Judaic, Islamic, and Christian discourse. Non-pilgrimage religious travel has rarely been featured in social science approaches to religion (Braun 2000; Lambek 2002; Hinnells 2010) until recently (Stausberg 2011). Yet travel, journeying, and the role of hosts and guests have played a major part in both the *narratives* and *social practices* of religion, not least in their foundation myths. Christianity began with the journey of a man and his pregnant wife to Bethlehem where all the inns were full, followed by the visitation of three wise men from the East, and later a hurried refugee escape out of town to avoid persecution. The foundation myths of Judaic mythology narrate the struggles to establish a homeland and journeys of exodus out of Egypt to a promised land. Buddhism began with a young man rejecting and abandoning his privileged home to wander the world seeking truth and spiritual enlightenment.

This chapter, therefore, seeks to rectify this situation by highlighting several less obvious kinds of journeys that constitute unmarked pragmatics and praxis in the religious life of the past as well as the social experiences of its followers. The chapter draws on three areas of Max Weber's works, including his ideas on religion (Weber 1964), bureaucratic organisations (Weber 1946: 196–266), and his methodological use of 'ideal-type' analysis (Weber 1949: 59–61), which has already been usefully adapted in segmenting religious travellers (Olsen 2010). Weber viewed religion as a corporate entity that runs on embodied and represented practices, managed and enacted by participants who serve and discharge several *functional roles* within the life of a specific religion. Unfortunately, Weber nowhere singles out travel or tourism as discrete elements for separate consideration. However, religious travel is immanently embedded in the pragmatics of establishing and promoting relationships between the different significant 'Others', whose collaborative efforts are directed to promoting religious ideas to a community of believers.

In addition, this chapter draws on perspectives from the newer field of *mobilities*, first named and theorised within sociological thought in the 1990s (Sheller and Urry 2006, Urry 2007). While still a somewhat nebulous and diffuse discursive field, mobilities is a multi-disciplinary field that brings together studies in different subjects such as geography, technology, economics, sociology, psychology, transportation history, media studies, management, and travel and tourism and examines their conjoined impact on the movement of people, goods, and ideas. Radical converts to the mobilities agenda suggest that its concerns address issues that constitute the underlying fabric of modern living and the power relations that structure them, including the impact *of deliberate* human decisions and their *unanticipated consequences*. Accordingly, this chapter approaches the study of religion historically as the movement of ideas and people and the networks of influence and power produced in the genesis, dissemination, celebration, and reproduction of religious faiths, including the production and consumption of travel and tourism among believers and secular associates. As such, this chapter attempts to identify some of the relationships of what may be called the *historical* mobilities of religious life.

For the purposes of this chapter, 'religious tourism history' is provisionally defined as

> The study of historical journeys made by religious individuals and groups in the pursuit and practice of religious goals, and those organizations and individuals that support and advance these journeys, together creating travel patterns, network connections, and configurations of power and influence that would not otherwise have existed, and which have been constantly subject to change.

In seeking to operationalise this definition, the chapter appraises different types of journeys, activities, and performances that make up the totality of religious travel. Eight ideal *role types of religious travellers* are presented, each with its own distinctive travel and tourism patterns. These functional roles are particularly well exemplified in Christianity, the main, though not exclusive, focus of this historical analysis. These eight historical roles include the Founder-Prophet; Organisational Functionaries; Spiritual Virtuosi; the local Pastoral Carer; the Reforming Revivalist; the Missionary; the Pilgrim; and the Church Member/Believer.

Travel and tourism takers and makers in religious history

The charismatic founder/prophet

For Weber, the beginning of religion starts with a charismatic prophet/leader who embodies and articulates, through the power of his personal presence and teaching, the foundation narratives of prophecy on which churches are built (Weber 1946: 245–266; 1964: 46–60). Belief systems are thus top-down articulations that then pass through lower discursive levels of interpreters, organisational functionaries, and crusading mediators, before reaching a broader public that will constitute the community of believers (Roth & Schluchter 1979: 144–165).

Time, place, and travel have typically played a relatively small part in studying belief systems, though a more prominent one in the organisation of rituals. Charismatic, religious leaders have often been peripatetic figures appearing during times of political and philosophical upheaval. Charles Eliot (1921/1971: xix) notes that the sixth century BC

> …was a time of intellectual ferment in many countries. In China it produced Lao-tzu and Confucius: in Greece, Parmenides, Empedocles, and the sophists were only a little later. In all these regions we have the same phenomenon of restless, *wandering teachers*, ready to give advice on politics, religion or philosophy, to any who would hear them Eliot.

Eliot might have also added to the list the life and times of Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed as religious leaders who had a great impact on Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, respectively, in the Middle East, creating sacred spaces celebrated in travelogues about all three faiths. The spatial and political context was more than just background colour or historical actualité. In Christianity, the locations of Christ's life and physical movements around the Holy Land have provided authenticating topographical details of his ministry; contributed to its symbolic resonance (e.g., the devil tempts in the desert from a high place; Christ's humility symbolised by his birth in a Bethlehem stable); provided the context for his parables (e.g., the Good Samaritan, the woman of Samaria); and underscored and the geo-religious irony of his death (a local, Jewish prophet, spared by a Roman occupier, sacrificed by the Jewish clerisy to death in Jerusalem at Passover time). This mapping of 'celestial geographies' (Aiken 2010) helped make the 'Holy Land' a must-see destination across European and later North American Christendom through package tours, as offered during medieval times up to the 1860s by Thomas Cook, the pioneering travel agent (Rae 1891; Pudney 1953; Brendon 1992) to the present.

The organisational functionary

Once a charismatic founder and his inner-circle of disciples are dead, a religion confronts the problems of perpetuation, which includes agreeing a successor and then the dissemination, maintenance, reproduction, and control of religious doctrine and practices. These steps involve the creation of institutional structures and organisational functionaries to manage them. The size and complexity of a religious organisation and the number of functionaries to maintain it will depend upon the numerical and geographical range of the membership and the communication channels necessary and available to reach all believers. This communication may vary from era to era, from oral transmission and face-to-face contact for small, sectarian, or denominational belief systems, to travel and the use of multi-media technologies when a faith community is national or international in scale. Religious organisations and their functionaries may also have the problem of identifying and adapting to social and technological changes that they do not have control over but which may have profound consequences for their religion, such as printing, TV, and the Internet (Weber 1946: 209–214).

Here Weber's work on religion and bureaucracy come together to demonstrate how charismatic leadership gives way to corporate direction. Specifically, Weber saw Latin Christendom as the classic case of a religion that began as a close-knit, informal group, which morphed into a multi-national concern with the Pope at its head in Rome, the nerve centre of a complex web of inter-communication across European borders. Though the Catholic Church was conceived as "one foundation" in spiritual terms, managerially it was a hierarchically ordered pyramid of organisational functionaries that ranged from the Pope enthroned in the Vatican, to the poorest priest in an obscure European village, each occupying different roles that came with their own jurisdictional travel and communication networks. These networks varied from great Papal 'summits' for high-ranking churchmen from across Europe, to smaller, regional meetings, such as an abbess might have with a bishop making a diocesan visitation to check out discipline among her nuns in a convent.

Organisational functionaries come and go as the roles they occupy are created, change, or disappear. Some functionaries may occupy several roles and continue to serve when one of those roles becomes redundant, while others may have to take on new roles due to social and/or organisational change. In all cases, travel and tourism demands and commitments will continue, and in the case of functionaries of high rank, may at times look less like sacred journeys and more like personal travel or even business tourism.

Spiritual virtuosi: monastic hosts and travellers

Some religions have marked out certain individuals or groups as ones embodying exemplary holiness, making them exempt from the everyday life of 'getting and spending'. They were permitted to live their lives apart within or outside the main religious community as seers, wise men/women, oracles, or monks. Their specific roles included prayer, intercession, prophecy, meditation, and advice to their religious community and on occasion to secular leaders in times of crisis.

In Western Christianity, the majority of these special individuals of groups were two different kinds of monks: 'anchorites' who were hermits living in ascetic isolation, and the religious orders, who were monks and nuns living in enclosed communal quarters, separated from the main population with their lives regulated by rules of poverty, chastity, and obedience. For both these groups, travel and tourism was nominally out of bounds since they were confined to base by their vows of 'stability'. However, they influenced tourism in several ways. First, though monks and nuns were in principle removed from contact with the outside world and unable to travel, the degree of their separation from the 'real' world varied. In Venice, for example, where there were as many prostitutes as nuns, convents were 'hotbeds' of political scheming for travellers and visiting dignitaries (Laven 2002). Moreover, although monks and nuns could not themselves travel, unless senior figures such as abbots and abbesses agreed, they welcomed travellers to their monasteries and convents, offering them food and shelter, particularly if they were pilgrims. This duty of hospitality to strangers was a religious obligation that led to the creation of specialist roles within a monastery or convent, in which the 'cellarer', 'cook,' and 'guest master' would work as a team to host visitors. The residual memory of monastic traditions of open-house hospitality survives today in the nominal missions of the corporate food and lodging industry who engage in hospitality on a strictly commercial basis.

A different monastic influence on the imaging of travel and tourism came from the one group of monks who did not take vows of stability and could officially travel. These were the friars, otherwise called the 'Mendicant Orders', licensed by the Papacy in the thirteenth century as a kind of peripatetic, monastic vigilante group who were allowed to preach, teach, study, and dispense charity in the outside world, begging or working for sustenance among the general population (Knowles 1948–1959; Rowlands 1999; Andrews 2006). Though many of these friars were devout and learned scholars, some acquired a reputation in popular culture for immorality, worldliness, and gluttony that the hospitality industry has intermittently used as branding device, such as 'The Jolly Monk' pubs and restaurants in Dublin, Swindon, UK, and New York where the caricature of a jolly, overweight monk with a love of food and drink is used to draw customers.

There were also a small group of monks between 600 and 800 AD that adopted freelance travel as a way of life, making sea voyages to places as far away as North America and converting non-believers to Christianity. These monks were all Irish, and the voyages and travels they took were part of cultural rituals variously named *Navigatio* and/or *Peregrinatio*. Those who took such voyages were called *Peregrini*, and a few of them became saints, including St Brendan, St Columba, and St Patrick, who are regarded as early Christian world-builders. While evidence regarding their lives and work is fragmentary—part literary myth and part historic chronicle (see Wooding 2000)—their legendary travels survive in the word 'peregrination' as a synonym for travelling in a roaming manner.

The most potent legacy of monasticism in modern religious tourism was the reclamation of monasteries, particularly ruined ones, in late eighteenth-century Europe for tourism purposes in Protestant countries, especially Great Britain where the formal practice of monasticism had been abolished. This change came about due to the impact of Romanticism and the Gothic Revival in Britain, and this use of former monasteries has since been officially reinforced in 'heritage' promotion by governments and tourism authorities.

The Pastoral Carer

Religious groups have different organisational structures based on scale (e.g., international, national, regional, and local) and, using a Christian example, hierarchal administration (e.g., archbishopric, deanery, and diocese). Typically, the smallest, most basic unit is a local church community based on a parish which is managed by a local religious leader (e.g., vicar, priest, or minister) with pastoral responsibilities for the congregation of his or her church. The role of this local leader is to provide a visible church presence in the community and to support its members through providing opportunities for routine worship/observance, with cyclic celebrations of special dates in the church calendar, including seasonal festivals, holy days, and national holidays. Pastoral carers also typically officiate at special *rites of passage* in their parishioner's lives, including performing blessings and baptisms at birth, presiding over marriage ceremonies, officiating in death rituals, and offering support as counsellors in times of crisis (e.g., economic hardship, war, and epidemics).

These localised responsibilities meant that travel and tourism played a limited role in pastoral care and parish life. However, local leaders were expected to know their parish socially and geographically, even if only on a 'show-your-face' level. The relationship between church members and their appointed pastoral leader—whether rabbi, priest, or vicar—was the closest the laity came to contact with the church as organisation. This made the local leader the most knowable of church officers and one who has often featured in European literature from the Middle Ages to modern times in many different guises as absentee vicar, slum vicar, reforming vicar, drunkard priest, the priest losing his faith, the marriageable vicar, and philandering priest. Among the many writers who have made the local priest a main character include Jane Austen, Stendhal, Balzac, Graham Greene, and Evelyn Waugh.

While this travel was geographically limited in scope, the familiarity local religious leaders developed within their assigned area led them to become both social and natural historians for the region, with many of them writing natural history books. One such book, Gilbert White's (1789/1836) *History of Selborne*, became a classic work of natural history that was written in an obscure Hampshire parish in England. Elsewhere vicars wrote major county histories, sometimes at great cost. In the English county of Buckinghamshire, the two most important historians, Browne Willis and Lipscombe, were both vicars who impoverished themselves by publishing histories at their own expense. Since the nineteenth century, numerous, lesser-known clerics have published more modest histories of their church or community that have attracted visitors to their areas and/or acted as guides while they were there.

The pilgrim

Although this chapter seeks to broaden the idea of religious tourism beyond the confines of pilgrimage, it will always retain its historical importance, even in the West where pilgrimage has not been a significant feature of Protestant Christian behaviour for 500 years and where Christian beliefs are presently believed to be in decline. The enduring interest in pilgrimage can be inferred from the volume of research works on the subject since the 1970s and the varieties of approaches they represent.

One category of broad cross-cultural research related to pilgrimage has been the study of *the history of pilgrimage* in the main world religions, including Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Sikhism, and Jainism (Finucane 1977; Barber 1991; Coleman & Elsner 1995; Webb 2001; Barnes & Branfoot 2006; Ron & Timothy 2018). There has also been a rise in research related to specific religious sites by academics and guidebook publishers, including Christian sites in Ireland, Britain, Spain, and Italy (Loxton 1978; Dunne 1989; Confraternity of St. James 1992; Carroll 1999; Vatican City 1999; Gitlitz & Davidson 2000). Other research on pilgrimage has been *by time period*, such as pilgrimages to the Holy land during the first millennium (Wilkinson 1977: viii), Roman times (Hunt 1982), prior to the Crusades (Wilkinson 1977), and during the nineteenth century (Ben-Arieh Jehoshua 1979). Pilgrimage during medieval times is probably the most written-about time period (Kendall 1972; Sumption 1975; Birch 1998; Webb 2000, 2002). *Biographical studies* of individual pilgrims or groups of pilgrims have also flourished including those on Muslim travellers (Farahani, Daniel, & Farmayan 1990), the Christian nun Egeria (Wilkinson 1981), and Holy Land pilgrims (Osband 1989).

While these texts are generally descriptive studies, the first and arguably the most enduring attempt to theorise and synthesise pilgrimage traditions was Turner and Turner's (1978) introduction of 'liminality' and 'communitas' into tourism discourse (Turner & Turner 1978), which, they argued, were the quintessential characteristics found in all pilgrimage traditions. ‘Liminality’ referred to the threshold that pilgrims cross during their travels from their mundane reality into a heightened state of being as they approach their destination, while ‘communitas’ was the feeling pilgrims could develop of a shared oneness with other pilgrims, as they proceeded together along their journey.

In contrast to these studies, a revisionist notion that has periodically been debated regarding the term pilgrimage is that of ‘secular pilgrimage’—the idea that a pilgrimage could be a journey to a site other than one sacralised in an established religion. Secular pilgrimage is related to the idea of ‘civil religion’, a term introduced by Bellah (1967; see Parsons 2002), which held that certain kinds of nationalism in the United States could be considered akin to religion as expressed by visits or pilgrimages to war memorials and graves and historic battlefields. In 1997, a variant on secular pilgrimage arose in Britain where thousands of visitors came to grieve at Buckingham Palace after the death of Lady Diana (Grünhagen 2010).

While visiting war memorials, battlefields, or Lady Diana’s grave would not meet the Turners’ criteria of ‘liminality’ and ‘communitas’ as features of pilgrimages that emerge over prolonged journeys, the fact that people seek to invest personal journeys with sacred significance says something about tourism as an important investment in self-definition and identity. Indeed, tourism as self-definition is an ideal the tourism industry and the media have heartily endorsed, with terms like ‘quest’, ‘odyssey’, and ‘pilgrimage’ becoming common descriptors for recreational journeys. The desire for pilgrimage to places that are not orthodox religious sites has generated the search for new kinds of sacred (Olsen 2016: 786–787) as well as pilgrimage manuals based on pilgrimage-as-art and autobiographical journeys of people to places they considered sacred (Cousineau 1998; Egan 2019). One effect has been the valorisation of travelling distance and remoteness in *its own right* as sacred journeys (Herrero & Roseman 2015). Another type of journey that can be considered a pilgrimage is one related to ‘metempsychosis’ or ‘metensomatosis’—forms of tourism where people retrace the steps of significant historical people or groups (Seaton 2001, 2002, 2013). For example, H.V. Morton, one of the twentieth century’s most successful travel writers made his name following in the footsteps of Jesus, St Paul, and other biblical persons (Morton 1934, 1936, 1938), and many secular figures have been successfully stalked to literary advantage since (Seaton 2013). Metempsychosis has also been a form of memorial pilgrimage by family members seeking to trace the final paths of dead soldier relatives (Seaton 2014).

The missionary

Missionary travels, along with pilgrim travels, have the most obvious claims to being forms of religious travel. They are most prevalent in the domain of Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity, the religions that most actively seek converts to their faith. In Christianity, missionary travel started shortly after Christ’s death with the evangelising of St Paul and the Apostles. Much of the text in the New Testament is comprised of epistolary exhortation for spreading Christianity through the Mediterranean world. Most Christian missionary efforts were concentrated in Europe until the seventeenth century when European exploration led to the discovery of the Americas and greater geographical knowledge of Africa and Asia. Most missions to these world regions were, under papal direction, spearheaded by the Jesuits, an order convened as evangelical expeditionaries (Chadwick & Neill 1986). Protestants’ missions to these regions began in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by missionaries from Britain, Denmark, and France. English missionary efforts were concentrated in their new American colonies, especially the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey during the eighteenth century (Stock 1933: 421).

A comparison between missionary journeys in the days of St Paul with later Protestant ones suggests functional variations in the nature of religious travel and the moral ambiguities inherent in the notion of missionaries as sacred travellers. St Paul's travels had no official sponsor or political goal. However, his itinerary was purposeful in that where he chose to travel was based on which groups of people he thought were most likely to hear, understand, and accept the gospel. As such, he travelled to places that were simultaneously 'centres of Roman administration… of Hellenic civilisation…(and) of Jewish influence, as well as being on great trading routes' where he could 'plant…churches' (Allen 2011: 6). In contrast, the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, a missionary body founded in Britain in 1701, was established by a powerful group of ecclesiastics and English gentry, one of them the great scientist Robert Boyle, to facilitate Anglican ideology and principles in America and British overseas landholdings. While a non-governmental organisation, it gained a royal charter from William III (Humphreys 1730: 1–29). To be a missionary for the Society, missionaries had to undergo a rigorous selection process, including supplying character references from church leaders and go through an intensive interview process where Society leaders vetted potential candidates to ensure strict adherence to Anglican orthodoxy. Once in tenure, these missionaries had to report on their efforts to the Society through monthly letters. Society leaders could remove missionaries at any time without appeal if they believed missionaries were not adequately overcoming the problems of having to preach to many dissenting groups, including Independents, Anabaptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers, as well as indigenous tribal groups and African slave groups that did not always take kindly to the Anglican gospel message.

The travel and touring conditions Society missionaries faced to discharge their duties were formidable. In addition to difficulties preaching to the dissenting and cultural groups noted above, the potential for shipwrecks as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean was a strong reality. Missionaries also encountered challenges related to frontier life in the semi-wilderness areas of settler America. On arrival, they frequently found small, scattered settlements that had a newly built community church, but no preacher or religious literature. Out of necessity, they were pressed into becoming vicars of embryonic parishes which they knew little about. The most common description of these settlements in their mission reports was of sparsely populated parishes that could be as much 40 × 30 miles in size, with journeys around them taking as long as 70 miles a day by horse. The constant travelling produced "frequent and severe illness" (Humphreys 1730: 141). There was also the threat of slave rebellions and Indian Wars, one of which impelled the Society to award some of its missionaries an extra half-year's pay as danger money (Humphreys 1730: 94–102, 128–143).

In contrast to Anglican missionaries in America, the Moravian Brethren, formerly known as the *Unitas Fratrum* (Latin: Unity of the Brethren), were a pietist church with no imperial or political motivations. Dating back to the fifteenth century, the religion revived at Herrnhuth in Saxony under Count Zinzendorf in the 1730s. The Brethren became famous for missionary work in remote regions of the world that were traditionally neglected by other Christian missionaries, the most famous being Greenland. Though patronising in their opinion of the indigenous population they taught, and often having their teachings rebuffed, the Moravians established two missions in Greenland over a 30-year period. The missionary work of the Brethren resulted in the publication of a book entitled *The History of Greenland* by David Crantz (1767), a Moravian missionary serving in Greenland, which, like other missionary accounts from far-flung parts, contributed to the developing discipline of anthropology (Walls 1996).

There were also to be more, widespread popular, trickle-down effects of missionary travel in late Victorian England and America. Returning missionaries often reported back to the Society and the church communities whose donations had funded their travel, not just in written reports, but by giving talks, magic lantern presentations, and stereoscopic view illustrations, narrating their virtual travels. These became popular, parish entertainment forms for churchgoers, and part of the recreational agenda increasingly mounted by churches in the nineteenth century.

Reformers/revivalists

Religious belief systems and practices are rarely immune to internal and external criticisms. Internal conflict may arise for many reasons, including choosing the successor to a charismatic leader who has died, as was the case with Islam after the Prophet Mohammed's death, which led to permanent schism between Sunnis and Shiites. More commonly, challenges arise from reformist groups believing that religious leaders have strayed from the original intent of the faith's founders—that spiritual values, doctrinal orthodoxies, or sacred rituals are not being performed or maintained in the proper or orthodox way, and thus urging changes that church leaders may regard as heresies.

These conflicts emerge in particular places and always have geographical consequences that affect religious travel patterns and reconfigure the mobilities of the religion. This is acutely observed in Christianity, where, for example, in the sixth century a schism led to the separation of Eastern and Western Christendom. In addition, the Reformation in sixteenth-century Europe redrew the map of Western Europe as nationalistic states based on religion (i.e., Catholic or Protestant).

The first Christian reformists to make travel an evangelical tool of protest and then pioneer new religious tourism and leisure initiatives were the Quakers and the Methodists in Britain and America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The rise of the Quakers and Methodists developed out of religious controversies triggered by the Reformation in England in the 1530s and 1540s, which led in the 1640s to a Civil War. This war, in which Protestant Parliamentary forces defeated Pro-Catholic Royalists, ended in the execution of King Charles and was followed by years of struggles for power between different reformist Protestant groups and sects. The struggles were followed by a 20-year republic under the "Protectorate" of Oliver Cromwell. After Cromwell's death, the English monarchy was restored in 1665 under the rule of Charles II, along with the precarious re-establishment of a Protestant Anglican Church that was only partially supported by Charles II. Long conflicts regarding what post-Reformation Church of England would look like was settled in favour of Protestantism with the accession to the English throne in 1689 of William III and Mary II, the former being a Protestant from Holland.

The Anglican Church then entered a period of peace, during which there were negligence and inertia among sections of the clergy tasked with pastoral care for their parishes. Some clergymen were 'pluralists', holding several 'livings', and thus were incapable of giving full attention to any one parish. Socially, clergymen tended to be the sons of gentry and aristocracy and therefore more closely linked with the local squire than their parishioners were. They enjoyed the hunting, shooting, and fishing recreations of the upper classes and vacation time away at Bath and other fashionable spa towns. As such, these clergymen would pay poor curates to perform their religious duties for them. The social divide between Anglican clergy and their congregations was memorably drawn in Hogarth's caricature *The Sleeping Congregation*, in which parishioners are depicted ignoring a parson droning on at the pulpit, leading to an upper-class woman falling asleep. This divide and the lack of religious attention given to parishioners by the clergy led to a situation that invited reform.

The Quakers had been an early thorn in the side of established religion since its inception in the 1640s. This group was led by the charismatic preacher-traveller George Fox, the son of a weaver, who left home at the age of 19 and began preaching a stripped-down version of Christianity without hierarchy, appointed ministers, or structured church services. Taking the view that God was in everyone, he taught pacifism and that church meetings should be silent to encourage prayerful reflection that could be broken only when an individual felt moved to declare his/her thoughts to the community. Fox was an eccentric mystic who regularly kept journals about his revelations and encounters he had with witches (Fox 1911, Vol 1: 104–105, 110; Vol 2: 26–27, 387), and miraculous deliverances he experienced from dangers, including one where an owl hooted a warning that warned him of men lying in wait to do him harm (Fox 1911, Vol 1: 168). Fox was a fearless preacher who denounced corruption and backsliding in the English church, a critique that provoked violent persecution, with Fox being assaulted, and imprisoned by local justices in appalling gaol conditions that caused the death of 400 of his followers. Addressing audiences of thousands of people in urban spaces or in farmer's fields, Fox revived a tradition of itinerant, open-air preaching that had not been seen since the days of Catholic Friars and Protestant martyrs like Hugh Latimer, a famous Protestant martyr, a century before. This open-air preaching would later be reconfigured and greatly extended by the Methodists in the century following Fox's death.

Methodism was provoked through dissatisfactions with the Anglican Church as voiced by three young men in their 20s: John Wesley, his brother Charles, and George Whitehead, who were students together at Oxford in the early 1730s. Their intention was not to replace, but rather reform, Anglicanism, which they felt had become lethargic and corrupt. While they made little headway convincing people at Oxford regarding their reforms, they took their reforming ideas directly to the people, preaching throughout Britain, America, and other British colonies and recording their teachings and speeches in personal journals. Their voluminous memoirs, which date between 1735 and 1790, became the foundation of Methodism and were referred to by one commentator as the 'incurable scriptomania' of Methodists (Johann Wilhem; quoted in Piette 1937: 210). John Wesley's travel journals ran to seven volumes (Wesley, ed. Ward and Heitzenrater 1988–2003) and have a unique place as travel literature, being full of descriptions of hair-raising incidents in England and America, including a near shipwreck, encounters with violent mobs, being threatened by highwaymen, and the daily uncertainty of where to find food and shelter.

As a lover of travel stories himself, Wesley periodically issued his stories in cheap, serial instalments to expose his experiences to a wider audience. Wesley's book editors wrote regarding the importance of Wesley's travels: 'To accompany Wesley on his pilgrimage through two-thirds of the eighteenth century on journeys which extended from Georgia to Upper Lusatia, from Derry to Deal, and from Aberdeen to Land's End, is taxing for an editor who cannot count on the life-span of his subject; for the reader it should be a liberal education' (Wesley, ed. Ward and Heitzenrater 1988 Vol 1: 105). The picaresque appeal of Wesley's narratives and the emotional resonance of his preaching were at least as important as theological arguments. The message to his listeners was less about 'scrupulosity of doctrine' and more about 'right dispositions': '…all that was required of members of the Methodist Society was a real desire to flee from the wrath to come; their *opinions doctrinal…or liturgical…ecclesiastical might be what they would*' (Ward and Heitzenrater, in Wesley 1988, Vol 3: 54, italics added).

Whitefield was the equal of John Wesley as a charismatic preacher in England and America. He described how, after finishing an address at Blackheath near London, he retired to an inn where many came 'drowned in tears to take a last farewell' (Whitefield 1965: 285). At Gloucester he wrote that he was received with 'inexpressible joy', adding that 'late report of my being dead…only served to make my present visits more welcome' (Whitefield 1965: 295). In 1740, Whitefield preached to 6,000 people in a friend's house in Boston with great numbers standing at the doors, and afterwards on a public common to another 8,000 persons (pp. 459–460). The next day he went back to the common and addressed another 15,000 persons before becoming hoarse and retiring to his lodgings. At another meetinghouse, the crush of people led to disaster, as the overcrowded conditions caused panic, leading to people jumping from the gallery, throwing themselves out of windows, and trampling each other, leading to the death of five people with many others being injured (Whitefield 1965: 461).

Fox, Wesley, and Whitehead made travel and touring part of the mythology of dissenting religion, with Wesley and Whitehead in particular having something of rock star glamour in their power to draw crowds during their preaching tours of one-night stands in what modern hospitality observers would consider bed and breakfast stops. They spoke from any public platform they could find, including inns, private houses, in fields, at village crossroads, and outside churches. They also slept in inns, hay lofts, or spare rooms shared with charitable strangers. Their meetings were theatrical occasions in places where public performances were rare. They brought not only spiritual inspiration but also tales of adventure in places at home and abroad that most of their audiences hardly knew. This charismatic preaching stood in stark contrast to the audiences nodding off in the pews of Anglicanism, and in the last decade of Wesley's life Methodist membership grew from 43,380 to 71,568 (Dimond 1926: 48).

Members of religious communities

The types of travel considered so far have been associated with either individuals or small groups of people—the 'makers' and 'movers' of religion. But what of the rank and file believers for whom most of this travel was directed? What are the forms of religious travel and tourism in which religious adherents have engaged? In historical and sociological terms, the answer is that outside of upper-class travellers, religious travel has been limited to the groups and individuals mentioned above. While some intrepid lay believers did participate in pilgrimage travel in the Middle Ages, pilgrimage was abolished among English Protestants by the end of the 1530s. This limited the religious mobility of lay Christian believers in England, causing them to stay put within their own parishes and conform to the norms of the state religion, whether Anglicanism or, briefly under Queen Mary, Catholicism. This conformity included church attendance by law and for many the obligation not to move outside their own parish to another. Up until the late eighteenth century, the only religious travel most of the population engaged in was journeying to and from church.

By the last decade of the eighteenth century, both Quakers and Methodists were facing difficulties. With their original founders long dead, the novelty of Quaker and Methodist preaching tours was wearing off. In addition, major social and political developments in Europe, such as the French Revolution in the early 1790s which Methodists were believed to support (even though Wesleyans repeatedly declared their loyalty to the Crown (Wearmouth 1937)), cast a shadow over dissenting religious groups. As well, once laws discriminating against Quakers and Methodists were abolished in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, they ceased to be persecuted minorities, thus losing something of their marginalised 'otherness'. As well, the change in laws regarding religious freedom also led to the rise of other religious groups, including the Moravian Brethren, Swedenborgians, Unitarians, Baptists, and Plymouth Brethren (Bogue & Bennett 1810), all of whom competed with the Quakers and Methodists for congregants. The most important development, however, was the advent of the Industrial Revolution which both increased the population and changed the social geography of England. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the population only increased from five to six million; the population increased by three million people during the second half of the century. The Methodist response to this population growth was to focus its proselytising efforts on the big, new industrialising cities, paying less attention to former rural areas, where pockets of industrial development in coal and iron mining were also springing up (e.g., in parts of Staffordshire and Shropshire where a proletariat of iron workers, coal miners, and pottery workers was increasing). Working for these resource extractive industries, however, was punishing work, and workers found relief in 'binge' recreational activities such as drinking, brutal spectator sports (among them bear baiting and cock fighting), as well as opportunistic sexual encounters, particularly, when seasonal fairs, local 'wakes' and festivals came around.

Within this context arose a variant of Methodism that would have a profound and unanticipated influence on the relationship between travel, tourism, and religion for more than a century. Primitive Methodism was established between 1800 and 1807 by Hugh Bourne and his associate William Clowes in Tunstall, England (Kendall n.d.: 7–86 1919: 560–586; Kendall n.d. for a full account of their work and association). Bourne, who was brought up on a remote farm near the Staffordshire moors showed a precocious interest in faith matters at an early age. In 1788, his family moved to Bemersley near the growing pottery town of Burslem which had a Methodist community, which Bourne subsequently joined, learning about the life and travels of Fox, the itineraries of John Wesley, and the evangelical work of John Fletcher, the Minister of the town of Madeley where miners and labourers from the ironworks at Coalbrookdale came to worship. In 1799 Bourne set up as a carpenter and timber merchant, occupations which involved travelling to the surrounding communities. During his travels, Bourne was shocked to find that many of the people had little or no religion as evidenced in 'the pagan plight' of the neighbouring mining villages of Harrishead and Mow Cop (PMMCCP 1957: 21–35). Bourne concluded that this 'pagan flight' was due to Methodism's remoteness from the lives of workers, its top-down evangelical reliance on preachers arriving and sermonising at length in places they hardly knew before moving on, and the lack of religious participation for people in places where there were few churches.

Bourne's initial solution was to spend two years (1801–1803) building a church in Harrishead, one of the offending 'pagan' villages. He also came up with a novel idea from America, that of the 'Camp Meeting'—an open-air gathering for prayer, communal worship, hymn singing, and public faith declarations that harked back to the field preaching of Fox and the Wesleyans (Graham 1936: 6–8). The camp meeting also drew on the 'Love Feast'—a Methodist ritual where church members came together in Christian fellowship and worship over a meal (Farndale 1950: 24–33). For Bourne, the Camp Meeting model could bring widely scattered communities together in great, open-air conventions that lasted several days. Borne had read about Camp Meetings in a Methodist magazine by American promoter Lorenzo Dow. In May 1807, Dow came to England where he met Bourne, and the two collaborated to stage the first English Camp Meeting on 31 May 1807 on Mow Hill, a spectacular peak 1,100 ft above sea level, that was located near the other 'pagan' settlement at Mow Cop (Kendall n.d., Vol 1: 561–571). It lasted from 6 am to 8 pm and was a great success, with people streaming up the hill all day to the tented show ground and stands where invited and impromptu speakers stepped up to tell their stories of faith and conversion. At intervals, additional preachers on wagons came and formed 'prayer rings' into which sinners were invited (Graham 1936: 5). A few months later, Bourne organised a second, improved version at Mow Cop with 'shorter speechifying' to counter the 'longwinded system' of preaching that he had always opposed. It was an even greater success than the first and led Bourne to stage a total of 17 camp meetings during his lifetime.

For the next 150 years, Camp Meetings became identifying features of the Primitive Methodists. They were typically staged in locations with elevated positions metaphorically symbolising spiritual spaces above the dark lowlands of manufacture and mining. The lure of the outdoors at Camp Meetings was not tranquil nature worship, but rather wind-in-your-face release from the spatial confinement of crowded workplaces and cramped homes. Bailey (1978), in a study of working-class pleasures among urban populations in the 1860s, observed that 'Recreation out of doors was generally brisker than the domesticities of domestic leisure' (p. 60). Camp Meetings combined religion, travel, and leisure that were carnivalesque occasions for factory hands working long hours and miners in dark jeopardy underground, where all could come together freely with neighbours and fellow believers.

Primitive Methodists staged Camp Meetings at every opportunity. They were the mainstay of Annual General Meetings that always took place in late May or early June to maximise the likelihood of good weather. Anniversaries were fervently recorded and celebrated with events that lasted days. For example, the 100th Anniversary of Mow Cop Camp Meeting took place in 1907, beginning with a great mass meeting on the first night. Next day there were processions to Mow Cop at 7.00 am, followed by two Camp Meetings lasting two hours each and then a Love Feast at Mow Cop Chapel. On the following day, two more Camp Meetings dominated the morning and afternoon events (PMMPCP 1907). In 1929, the 110th anniversary of Tunstall, the town where Primitive Methodism began, staged a ten-day event with three Camp Meetings at different local venues, and two large open-air services (PMMPCP 1929). Twenty-eight years later, the 150th Anniversary of the First Camp Meeting at Mow Cop was celebrated, including a love feast, processions, youth rallies, and services in nine different churches around the Tunstall region ((PMMPCP 1957).

The importance of these Camp Meetings was highlighted by one lifelong member of the Primitive Methodists who described them as 'the occasions of the year' (Patterson 1909: 104–105). Another commentator suggested that Mow Cop, as the site of the first Camp Meeting, was 'sacred ground, the foundation myth of Primitive Methodism' (PMMCCP 1907: 96). Like Quakers and Wesleyans before them, Primitive Methodists encountered violent opposition on occasion from those who objected to their beliefs and their intrusive expression of them. Spoiling tactics used against them included being pelted with mud, stones, and rotten eggs at Camp Meetings, and having Anglican vicars ringing their church bells to drown or disrupt their noisy assemblies (Kendall 1919: 43; Graham 1936: 12). However, Primitive Methodism continued to grow into the early twentieth century, particularly in the Midlands and the North of England among working and lower middle-class populations (see Wickham 1957: 131–134). In its first seven years of existence there were approximately 8,000 believers. By 1850, there were 104,762, by 1880 182,681, and by 1900 196,408 (PMMCCP 1907: 54). The Camp Meetings have also been characterised by historians as templates for other social movements, including socialist and trade union crusades, whose leadership comprised many Primitive Methodists (Wearmouth 1937; Farndale 1950: 62–64; Wickham 1957: 131–134). Conversely, other historians have seen Primitive Methodism with its demonstrative populism as a conservative force that diverted working people from political activism (Thompson 1963; Cunningham 1980).

Camp Meetings, however, were not to only leisure innovation by the Primitive Methodists. Another was the 'Outing'—a day trip to the countryside, seaside, or to a special event, mentored by a religious leader. The Outing was first recorded in Quaker history, when in 1801 at Coalbrookdale Richard Reynolds, a Quaker philanthropist who made his fortune off the iron works founded by his father-in-law, Abraham Darby, organised a picnic for his family and workers to the Wrekin, a prominent hill and local landmark (Rathbone 1852: 38–41). However, the Outing only took off as a national institution with the advent of the railway age. The pioneering first religious event was in 1843, when Thomas Cook, a pious Unitarian, organised his first excursion by negotiating a cheap, day-return, party rate for a trip from Leicester to Loughborough. His purpose was not profit but to distract working class people from drinking to excess and causing public disorder at local wakes and fairs in his hometown of Leicester (Rae 1891; Pudney 1953; Brendon 1992). These types of excursions were initially frowned upon by Lord's Day observers, who thought trips on Sunday profaned the Sabbath, and by rail companies who were reluctant to lower their prices for groups. However, this changed during the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, the biggest tourism event of its age. Demand for group excursions became so great that the railways had to run additional trains. Thereafter, railway outings grew in popularity, and religious organisations fully embraced them. For example, one Methodist excursion from Diss to Great Yarmouth, started in 1853, ran annually for 59 years, and in 1912 attracted 1,500 passengers (Jordan & Jordan 1991: 147). In 1863, Primitive Methodists held a great temperance event at Cleethorpes that attracted 12,000 (Ibid: 47). In the North of England, rail excursionists from Newcastle to Carlisle, some travelling with church groups and others independently, visited famous religious sites, including Lanercost Priory, Finchale Priory, and the hermitage at Warkworth, each fully described in cheap guide pamphlets (Robson 1852). Outings were also staged by Primitive Methodist as part of their anniversary programmes. In the twentieth century, these Outings included 'motor omnibus' excursions to Mow Cop, to Bourne's home at Bemersley, and to Bourne's gravesite (PMMPCP 1929).

The success of the Methodists' open-air forms of leisure and tourism acted as a wake-up call to the Church of England. Though Anglicans often looked down on non-conformists, they were forced to take notice of their combination of religious and leisure practices in planning their own parish efforts. Tourism and leisure thus became a battle front for souls, with Anglicans developing their own outdoor outings and events. Vicars in industrial cities became active in their parishes and increasingly appeared in family photograph albums as expedition leaders, seated among parties of parishioners in their Sunday best (Wickham 1957). The Anglican Church became so complicit with tourism that it set up as a tour operator by launching the *Free Church Touring Guild* in 1906 (F.C.T.G. 1928), formed in partnership with the Lunn travel agency. The Guild offered holidays, vetted by a committee of 15 vicars, at reduced terms for clerics. Its annual catalogue ran to 160 pages of cruises, and holidays in destinations that included the Riviera, Palestine and Egypt with tour guides from Mansfield College, Oxford. It also brokered holidays at home using accommodation with University Halls of Residence and approved hotels in England and Scotland. Profits were paid to the National Free Church Council for funded 'summer chaplaincies', and contributions to various religious and philanthropic groups (F.C.T.G. 1928: 169).

Despite the popularity of Camp Meetings and Outings, the middle classes were not as interested in participating in these activities, taking fewer Sunday and Bank Holiday excursions because they had the money and vacation time to take longer holidays. Indeed, it was the middle classes who made up the prime market for costly, packaged tours in Europe with Thomas Cook and other travel companies during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, middle-class tourists were actually more directed to religious sites than travellers from other socio-economic classes in the nineteenth century. This was not because of greater religious belief (although church going was more common among the upper than the lower classes), but due more to aesthetic tastes promulgated during the Gothic Revival movement by cultural critics like Gilbert Scott, Augustus Pugin, and John Ruskin, the movement focused on all things medieval and ecclesiastical in art, design, architecture, and furnishings. Medievalism ruled as a tourism attraction in pocket guidebooks and in expensive, coffee-table volumes of engraved plates with descriptions of cathedrals, churches or monasteries in Britain and Europe. John Britton, a talented engraver and a specialist in gothic illustrations, published a four-volume work on *Cathedral Antiquities*, another four-volume set on *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, and many similar works that reached upper- and middle-class audiences (Britton 1850).

The first four decades of the twentieth century saw a great expansion of religious tourism and outdoor recreation, particularly for children that were legacies of Camp Meetings and Outings. One major outdoor institution was the Boy Scouts Movement (and later, the Girl Guides) in England, which was founded by Sir Robert Baden-Powell, a distinguished soldier who had fought in the Boer War and was a hero at the siege of Mafeking. In 1908 he published *Scouting for Boys*, a book that went through 31 editions in 30 years and was said to rival Sherlock Holmes' stories in popularity (Baden-Powell 1908). A year later, Baden-Powell retired from the army to lead the scouting movement, which focused on teaching young men the imperial values of honour and patriotism, along with survivalist skills in woodcraft, field crafts and cookery, military drilling, marching, and parading in uniform, and Christian values. One of the adverts for the scouting program read: 'If you believe in Christianity you should support scouting'. Within two decades of its inception the scouting program had a world-wide membership of 2,000,000 boys and a presence in 20 European countries including Latvia, Lithuania, Iceland, and Liechtenstein (Groom 1938). The movement also coined the term *the Jamboree* to describe their yearly Camp Meetings.

The United States had its own scout movement, including camps where boys engaged in horseback riding, swimming, learning rope tricks, and dressing like cowboys and Indians. Summer camps and year-long scout trooping led to summer camps more generally to become a part of the American way of life. For example, Frank Higgins, who was born on Toronto, Canada, began preaching to lumberjacks, and by 1912 had established logging missions in Washington, Oregon, Arkansas, and the Adirondacks. Part of his success was to combine religion and recreation in the form of what he called *Trailblazer* camps. One admirer wrote of Higgins: 'In work and play, in camp and city, in palace and shack, Higgins was always the same – natural, interesting, zealous for his "boys", a man among men, were they hoboes or millionaires'.

Through the twentieth century, the United States saw an expansion in many forms of camps in tents, cabins, and hostels for children, adults, and families. These staycations included those with religious affiliations among them: Namaschaug (1920), a Catholic Boys Camp for summer activities; Camp Lenape Pennsylvania (1927) on the banks of the Fairview Lake which was home to a number of YMCAs; the Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Camp in 1923; and Camp Carolina in Brevard, North Carolina which started in 1924 (see Messenger 1999). These camps are part of the history of religious travel and tourism and yet do not attract systematic study within the sociology religion.

Conclusion

This chapter has adopted a role-based, sociological appraisal of religious tourism history that, while recognising the central role of pilgrimage, has been an attempt to incorporate the variety of other travel and tourism functionally undertaken and generated within the domain of religion with a focus on Christian journeys. These journeys have been differentiated in relation to eight historical 'ideal types' of role occupancy within religious behaviour, each type generating its own distinctive mobilities as illustrated by select historical case histories. This chapter is a tentative first attempt to deconstruct religious travel and tourism into differentiated categories. The number of ideal travel types and the differentiations between them must be refined and extended. There may also be overlap between the different types as well as differences in the travel and tourism repertoires within these types. Moreover, not all the types discussed here will exist in every religion, and the relative importance of each type may vary between different religions. These types, however, constitute a start in the sociological exploration of aspects of religious tourism that are difficult to place as pilgrimages or sacred journeys.

As suggested in this chapter, there are many aspects of religious tourism that have been marginalised by historians and sociologists. One is the relatively minor part pilgrimage has played historically in the life of most Western, religious believers, as 'rank and file' church members have had little access to travel, let alone religious travel, until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as compared to those in elite socio-economic classes. Another less obvious aspect is how regularly the lives of charismatic founders, reformers, and revivalists in religious history have been shaped and affected by travel (e.g., Christ, St Paul, the Buddha, Wesley, and others), and thereafter integrated into popular pilgrimage and tourism itineraries in the modern era. A final aspect is that travel by lay communities in the past was confined to *leisure time* which, in Christian Europe during the Industrial Revolution, meant Sundays, half-holidays, and Bank Holidays for the working classes. It was the Methodists who first recognised that combining religion and leisure was an opportunity to embed church life into the new industrial urban calendars of work and leisure (Bailey 1978; Cunningham 1980). Outings, excursions, camp meetings and lesser outdoor and indoor church events such as bazaars, fetes and Christmas Fairs replaced older, rural cultures with their customary practices of Saints days, feasts and fasts, wakes, and fairs. In mining villages, iron towns, textile valleys, and mid-West settlements, churches or chapels became community hubs that for many were the centre of organised leisure and tourism, as well as spiritual life. The gradual progression from rural/traditional, to urban/modern, patterns of leisure was a key leitmotif in the evolution of religious travel and tourism in Britain into the mid-twentieth century, when church attendance and membership began to decrease, and with them the community recreational life religion had helped to shape.

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