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THE CENTER OUT THERE, IN HERE, AND EVERYWHERE ELSE: THE NATURE OF PILGRIMAGE TO THE SHRINE OF SAINT JUDE, 1929–1965

By Robert Orsi

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A peculiar anomaly has characterized the National Shrine of Saint Jude Thaddeus, patron saint of hopeless causes and lost causes, since its founding by the Claretian Fathers, a Spanish order of missionaries, in Chicago in 1929. On the one hand, Jude's shrine was seen by both the saint's devout and the clerical caretakers of the site as a specific and special place of power, desire, and hope, which is how such locations have always been imagined in the Catholic tradition;¹ on the other hand, the devout were never encouraged nor did they feel compelled to go to that place in order to secure the benefits they sought from the saint. If Jude's shrine had been like the others founded before it on the Catholic landscape, it would have become the destination of pilgrims, but it never did, not even for the devout who lived in Chicago, although the devotion was (and remains) one of the most important and widespread expressions of twentieth century American Catholic popular piety.

This paradox is evident in the way the shrine clergy have imagined, described, and administered the place. The founder of the devotion, Catalanian-born priest James Tort, described what he called the Chicago "throne of [Jude's] mercy and compassion" in the familiar tropes of the Catholic pilgrimage tradition to the devout in 1935:

The sick, the afflicted, the lame and the blind, the suffering, the erring, find solace here. An incessant stream of pilgrims has always come to visit the Shrine, proving the great and powerful influence Saint Jude has in the presence of his relatives, Jesus and Mary.²

At the same time, Tort insisted to Jude's devout around the country that they need never come to Chicago to participate fully in the cult.³ According to a former administrator of the devotion, its founders did not want to "put a lot of emphasis on visiting a place" (which clearly conflicts with the paean of place just quoted), and this priest estimated that ninety-five percent of Jude's devout, who are found throughout the United States, would never made a pilgrimage to Chicago.⁴

In the 1950s, the Claretians, thinking of the shrine more traditionally as a place to be visited, considered moving it to another location in central Illinois where they could provide better parking facilities and amenities for visitors—whom they were not encouraging to visit and who were not coming in any case. But the fact that the Claretians could even think of moving Jude out of Chicago is indicative of the anomaly of place characteristic of the cult. Writers at the shrine had been imaginatively speculating for years about Jude's choice of Chicago, of all American cities, as the site of the revival of his devotion, seeing an analogy between the long-forgotten, modest but powerful saint and Carl

Sandburg's "city of broad shoulders," the unpretentious but powerful industrial center of the heartland. But even though Chicago was, in Danny Thomas' phrase, Jude's "hometown," plans were still made to move the saint out of his city.⁵

The devout have also imagined the shrine in conflicting terms. They believed that Jude was uniquely present in Chicago and that prayers said at the shrine were especially efficacious. When they mailed in their petitions during the annual novenas in the saint's honor they requested that these be placed beside the small collection of relics of the saint in the shrine's possession.⁶ Local people still drop by to rest and pray before the soothing marble of the saint's altar. But at the same time, the devout have always understood that it is not necessary to go to Chicago to experience the saint's presence (even though he is said to be uniquely present there) and rarely expressed any interest in making the trip.⁷ Many Chicago-area devout have never been to the shrine, and some do not even know the name of the church in which it is situated.

"The point of it all," wrote Victor and Edith Turner in their study of the Roman Catholic pilgrimage tradition, "is to get out, go forth, to a far holy place approved by all."⁸ Jude's devout certainly addressed themselves to a figure of extraordinary power in a far holy place; they just saw no need to approach him there. This topographical paradox poses intriguing historical questions.⁹ What are the social origins of the spatial decentering of Jude's shrine? What does this peculiar sense of sacred geography tell us about changing perceptions and beliefs of American Catholics in this period? And what becomes of pilgrimage if there is no desire to go forth to the "center out there?"

A National Shrine

Although more than four thousand people attended daily services during the novena to Saint Jude in 1938, according to the shrine's count, still more sent in their petitions by mail from around the country. The clergy estimated that there were about ten thousand petitions on the altar during the novena services that season.¹⁰ Tort had reported in 1935 that "many letters are sent in daily requesting that their intentions and petitions be placed near the precious relics of Saint Jude," and by 1937 the shrine clergy were claiming that "thousands" of letters were arriving *daily* at the shrine from all over the United States.¹¹

As builder and first pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a Mexican national parish serving the needs of poor migrants recruited to work in the steel mills of South Chicago, Tort was faced with the familiar problem of paying for his church. Chicago's Cardinal Mundelein was both an ambitious builder and a stern financial taskmaster who expected the churches in his diocese to be self-supporting.¹² According to an historian of Chicago Catholicism, Mundelein was especially solicitous of newly-arrived Mexican Catholics, encouraged spiritual work among them, and endeavored to supply them with priests and parishes. He supported the foundation of Guadalupe in 1924, and when the Claretians broached plans for a larger church in 1927, the Cardinal encouraged them to proceed.¹³ But the completion of the church in the following year left the order with a substantial debt, and Tort knew that the resources of the Mexican community were limited. He needed a strategy for securing the contributions of Catholics outside the local neighborhood.¹⁴

Popular devotions have always been a dependable source of revenue, and in the middle years of this century when American priests and prelates dreamed great visions of brick and mortar the pecuniary benefits of devotionism became even more compelling.¹⁵ In 1922, for example, Father Francis A. Breen, S.J., director of the Jesuit Shrine of the North American Martyrs in Auriesville, New York, wrote to his Provincial to argue against the sale of shrine property to the Bishop of Albany. Once all our debts are paid, he promised, the shrine will be a "gold mine" for the order.¹⁶ Tort had a local example of the success of devotional fundraising in the Carmelite Shrine of the Little Flower, on which he initially modeled his own plans.¹⁷

The vehicle Tort used to connect the devout outside the neighborhood with the saint (and the needs of the parish) was the League of Saint Jude, founded by him in November 1929, further evidence of how soon the priest was thinking of the devotion in more than local terms. The League existed explicitly in place of pilgrimage, offering the devout a full share in the benefits of an actual visit to the place. Membership cost one dollar a year, or twenty-five dollars for an individual perpetual membership, one hundred dollars for a family. The paradox of place is evident in the early promotional material for the League: on the one hand, the association was intended to attract people who would never come to Chicago into the devotion; on the other, a two-hundred day indulgence was promised to League members who said prayers "at" the shrine, who always comprised only a fraction of the League's total membership.¹⁸

Tort's fiscal strategizing contributed to the spatial decentering of the devotion. The Claretians referred to Our Lady of Guadalupe as the "site" of the shrine, but the two have coexisted uneasily, and there has often been conflict between the shrine directors and the parish clergy who resented the extra burdens Jude's presence placed on them.¹⁹ The local Mexican population, furthermore, did not participate in the devotion until the 1970s, when the composition of the neighborhood had tilted definitively in their favor. A Mexican American woman who has lived in South Chicago and worked in the church all her life told me that Jude is the Patron Saint of "Anglos," which is how Mexicans designate the rest of Chicago's multi-ethnic Catholic population.²⁰ Chicago's Catholics still use two different names for the place: Mexicans call it "Our Lady of Guadalupe," and Jude's devout call it "Saint Jude's."²¹ The shrine was set down then in the middle of a community which had no connection to it and addressed itself to outsiders who would never come to it.

Tort's strategy worked. The League began to support the church, and then other building projects undertaken by the Claretians. The League of Saint Jude, concludes the order's historian, "has proved to be one of the most profitable ventures for the Province and the Congregation," so profitable, in fact, that the steady flow of donations made possible the restructuring and settlement of the parish's debt in 1944.²²

Tort and his successors were masters of devotional promotion, and over the years they evolved a full repertoire of devices to attract the loyalty and contributions of the cult's national clientele, including a "Purgatorial Society" (which had a "renewable" perpetual membership, an unusual construal of "perpetual" which may become clearer later), the Saint Jude's Burse, and a perpetual Mass League (which promised 10,000 yearly masses to its members).²³ The Claretians'

promotional creativity was not unique: the American Catholic devotional press was filled with ingenious campaigns for fundraising among widely-scattered devout. In 1946, to cite just one of many possible examples, a priest in Cincinnati began advertising "tickets to heaven" "in the form of a prayer card with the essential acts necessary for salvation" printed on it, available in "20 languages and Braille."²⁴

There is a striking convergence in these years between novel forms and methods of devotional promotion and the new American advertising industry: both were using ever more extravagant language to sell their products to a new national market they were both constituting and exploiting at the same time, and both were directed primarily at women.²⁵ Devotional pitches were as direct and outrageous as the famous ads for Listerine.

Have you any difficult cases to be solved quickly [the shrine asked in 1939], any trouble for which help is needed, or anything that seems impossible to become a reality? If you wish his visible and speedy help, join and be a fervent promoter of St. Jude's League . . .

Another notice, soliciting membership in the "Purgatorial Society," claimed:

God, in applying to the souls the fruits of the Masses, takes many things into consideration; now, all other things being equal, evidently one who is enrolled more times [in a perpetual league!] will have a larger share in the Masses and the prayers of the Pious Union.²⁶

Ann Taves has noted that American Catholic shrine clergy in the nineteenth century tended to deemphasize the miraculous when they described their devotions.²⁷ In the twentieth century, the miraculous became the central appeal, both in advertising and devotionism, to a new national constituency: through novel devices and strategies such as postal advertising and the placement of ads in newspapers around the country, devotional promoters shaped and reached a population beyond parochial borders.

Popular Piety Among the Immigrants' Children

This national focus was new in American Catholic popular religion. Popular devotions during the years of immigration were usually connected to the history and geography of southern and eastern Europe. The immigrants prayed to holy figures that were intimately associated with their cultures (such as the Polish Black Madonna of Czestochowa), with the priests and nuns who had accompanied them to the new world, or with particular features of the landscape of the old world (like the Madonna of Montevergine). These figures soon became identified with specific places in the new world as well. American Catholics have characteristically indicated where they lived by the names of the saints who presided over their national parishes, rezoning their cities into a distinctly Catholic map of sections called "Saint Brendan's" or "Saint Stanislaw's." The immigrants' saints were neighborhood spirits, as locally rooted as their bakers, funeral directors, and ward heelers, and the celebrations of the feast days of these saints were neighborhood events. In this way the sacred world reflected the social

world of the neighborhoods, which were built on family bonds, shared memories of distant places, and the common struggle to survive the harsh conditions of industrial capitalism.²⁸

Yankee Catholic and middle class Irish and German popular piety before the period of the new immigration had also been oriented to place.²⁹ American Catholic devotions had always been derived from and connected to specific European sites and practices. Father Baker, for example, modelled his enormously successful Shrine of Our Lady of Victory in Lackawanna after the Parisian shrine of the same name, which he had visited on the first American Catholic tour of European holy places in 1874.³⁰ Lifesize dioramas of the Virgin appearing to Bernadette in the grotto at Lourdes (often complete with a trickling spring) or to the children on the hillside at Fatima literally brought the topography of the European countryside to American Catholic churches in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³¹

Jude, on the other hand, whose earliest titles included “the Forgotten Saint,” the “Obscure and Unknown Saint,” was not associated with any ethnic group or religious order, had no particular connection to the neighborhood, and lacked the rich traditions that made other saints so vivid and appealing. He is said to have been an Apostle, a cousin of Jesus, the author of a canonical letter, and a missionary to Persia, where he was clubbed to death by rival pagan clergy, but the tradition offers little else about him. This may not have seemed a promising foundation for a new devotion, but as it turned out, it was precisely this obscurity that made Jude so attractive to his first devout.

The social world and the piety of American Catholics had begun to change in the years after the First World War. The disruptions of war followed by restrictive legislation and political changes in southern and eastern Europe and Ireland stopped the flow of newcomers into the ethnic enclaves just at the time that the second generation was coming of age. Jay Dolan describes the period from 1920 to 1960 as both the “heyday” of American Catholic devotionism and the era of the suburbanization of the community.³² There was a diminishing sense of the local community as the second and third generations moved out of the inner city ethnic enclaves their parents had built. Irish Americans first attained national political prominence in this period, moving beyond the parochial politics of the years of the post-famine immigration, and in New York City Fiorello LaGuardia went from being the Congressman from an Italian neighborhood to the city’s mayor.³³ Another index of this movement away from the local, finally, was the steady increase in exogamous marriages among the different Catholic ethnic groups in this period.³⁴

By 1921, “Irish Americans were dispersing throughout the industrial metropolis,” according to a recent historian, “their residential patterns determined more by economic than ethnic considerations,” and within the next decade, second generation Polish Americans in Chicago, Detroit, and Buffalo, and Italian Americans in Providence, Boston, New York, Chicago, and San Francisco would do the same. “By the late 1920s and 1930s,” Judith Smith concludes of Italian Americans in Providence, Rhode Island, “the decision to live near family was made in the context of an expanded array of alternatives facing the children’s generation” so that “networks of proximity and reciprocity could no longer be assumed.”³⁵ This constituted a revolution in the geography of American Catholicism.³⁶

The immigrants' children were confronted with the challenge of finding ways to integrate their local and ethnic identities with their emergent sense of being American. A recent historian of Polish America, for example, notes that there was a powerful yearning in that community in the 1920s for Pulaski Day parades, Polish street names and public monuments, and this impulse was reproduced in other immigrant communities as well, as ethnic pride was reconceived as access to national participation.³⁷ This transformed the meaning of ethnicity itself in these years. The designations "Polish American" or "Italian American" were losing their local geographical coordinates. Instead, to be Polish American in the community's changing social circumstances now referred to the affinities one felt with others of similar heritage living all over the United States.³⁸ The localism which had once characterized American Catholic political and religious culture was yielding under these centrifugal forces to a more diffused national perspective, and it was from the dispersing generations that Jude's first devout were drawn.

Warren Susman has argued that Americans in general in these years had become newly aware of themselves as a national community and were searching for the appropriate myths and models to experience, confirm, and express this.³⁹ National radio networks first appeared in 1927 and played an important role in shaping heightened national self-consciousness, as did the many crazes that swept the country, the movies that everyone was seeing, and the products they were either buying or desiring. All of this, says Susman, "created a new special community of all Americans . . . previously unthinkable."

A similar impulse was evident across American Catholic culture. National societies of American Catholic poets, librarians, philosophers, and anthropologists, among others, proliferated in the second and third decades of this century. Jay Dolan has interpreted these developments as evidence of the church's efforts in the period after immigration to shape "something approaching an American Catholicism" and "to make Catholicism recognized in America."⁴⁰ This was a strong but ambivalent impulse in the community, a very tentative rapprochement of an emerging middle class with American culture, which at the same time retained much of the unease and defensiveness more characteristic of American Catholicism.

Historians of American Catholicism have not included popular piety in this nationalizing impulse, however. Instead, devotionism is read as an unambivalent ghettoizing force in the community, counterbalancing and even, finally, overwhelming, the hesitant and cautiously confident gestures of Catholic intellectuals. Popular piety in these accounts is the unassimilable core of preconciliar American Catholicism, regressive and isolating: if the National Catholic Welfare Conference (organized in 1917) was the most hopeful sign of a new American Catholic confidence, self-respect, and sense of place, devotionism, as one historian has characterized it, was "popular, ethnically narrow" and preoccupied with saints.⁴¹ The persistent and pervasive popularity of devotionism in this period, according to these scholars, helped seal the gates of the Catholic ghetto from the rest of the culture.

But American Catholic popular devotions were as inflected by this desire for a new national presence as the organizations of Catholic university professors

were: devotionism was not walled off either from American Catholic culture or from larger trends in American popular culture. A new devotional culture, of which Jude's cult is one of the most important (and lasting) expressions, was taking shape alongside the immigrants' piety. This modern, indigenous post-immigration piety reflected the different experience of space and time among the immigrants' children; it did not simply replace the older devotional forms, but extended, supplemented, and (in some cases) reimagined them, as the immigrants' children struggled to make sense of the changed circumstances of their lives in the familiar idioms of devotionism.

Modern American Catholic devotional culture took as easily to the airwaves (and, as we shall see, highways) as it did to the ways of Madison Avenue: American Catholics huddled and knelt around their shrine-like receivers to recite rosaries led by someone half a continent away and to participate in novenas in other cities.⁴² The shrine's claim to be the *National Shrine of Saint Jude* was especially important to the devout. Jude's clients came from all ethnic groups and from all parts of the country, and they were well aware and proud of the fact that they constituted a nationally dispersed association. Tort emphasized that the cult existed "to make Jude Thaddeus . . . better known in every city, town, and hamlet of this country."⁴³ His successors have consistently repeated this commitment, and the devout have shared it. "I am sending you a small offering," a client wrote from Buffalo, New York, in 1949, "to be used in helping you spread more and more literature about dear Saint Jude all over the country."⁴⁴ Jude's devout took special pleasure in knowing that some Protestants prayed to him too, confirming his status as a uniquely American intercessor. To borrow a term from William Christian, Jude's "territory of grace," that area over which a saint extends his or her "benevolent power," was not Chicago, but the entire nation.⁴⁵

By way of contrast, such claims were not made by the promoters of two other very popular shrines that were founded earlier than Jude's, during the years of immigration (although not linked to any specific ethnic community). The Shrine of Saint Anthony of Padua in Mt. Airy, Cincinnati, dates to the end of the nineteenth century. The Franciscan clergy there published a periodical, *St. Anthony's Messenger*, which, like *The Voice of Saint Jude*, printed thanksgivings and petitions from around the country (although these do not take on the same quality of self-revelation that the letters to Chicago have until the late 1930s), and in the past made the same array of devotional media and material available. But this shrine is never referred to as "national," even though, of course, it had as much claim to such a designation as any other shrine would.⁴⁶ Instead, it designates its uniqueness with the assertion that it is "Saint Anthony's favorite shrine."⁴⁷ The furthest that the Carmelite Fathers who founded the Little Flower Shrine in Oklahoma would go was to proclaim that theirs was "the first shrine in the world dedicated to Saint Thérèse," even though this site also attracted a national clientele.⁴⁸

We need to make our understanding of space at the National Shrine of Saint Jude more precise then: although local space was not considered important, national space was. The space that mattered was the space out there, extended space: the shrine was more important as a point of reference on the new—

national—mental map of American Catholicism than as a place to visit. The devout called attention to this space, entering and connecting themselves to a point out in it by their prayers and letters, but they did not seek to close it in pilgrimage. Instead, the shrine might best be thought of as a kind of radio transmitter: just as the new national radio networks shaped constituencies of the dispersed through signals sent and received, so the shrine constituted its clientele across great distances through prayers and letters sent and received.

This reorientation is evident in two other devotions founded in this extraordinarily creative period in American Catholic popular piety as well. In 1956, teenagers in the Diocese of Worcester, Massachusetts, undertook a project that illustrates the relation between devotional practice and the understanding of space that evolved in American Catholicism in the middle years of this century.⁴⁹ The young people committed themselves to building and erecting European-style roadside shrines on private property throughout the 1,532 square miles of the diocese. They labored for weeks assembling the small shrines and then, after a public benediction ceremony in Rochdale, Massachusetts, began installing them. "Shrine after shrine appeared on the landscape," a local writer observed, changing the face of the diocese even more than "the new buildings or sprawling housing developments." There is no indication that anyone imagined people actually praying at these shrines; rather, what was important was that they were out there, across the landscape, in the same extended space as the suburban sprawl into which Catholics were moving in this period.

Another new devotional practice was the "block rosary," which seems to have originated in Washington, D.C., immediately after the Second World War. Block rosaries drew neighbors together to pray, nightly during October and May (the Marian months), Advent and Lent, weekly at other times.⁵⁰ This may look like an experience of local religion, a celebration of the kind of neighborhood bond so important in immigrant enclaves, but there are key differences between the block rosary and the immigrant cults. The new practice was not focused on a single special place in the neighborhood; the groups met in different homes each night. The neighborhood itself as a social unit was not important to advocates of the custom, who took greater pride in the fact that people from outside the community (and Protestants within) would come into it to say the rosary than they did in the fact that their neighborhood was hosting it. Finally, the block rosary was international in its focus. The young woman who is said to have originated the practice was worried about world peace, and the explicit function of the groups was to pray for the conversion of Russia.

As far as Jude was concerned, the one exception to the Claretians' policy of not encouraging visits to the shrine was their invitation to people who were planning to make that most American pilgrimage, the summer automobile trip, to drop by. "The latchstring is out at the Shrine of Saint Jude," vacation planners were told in the Spring of 1939, and "we will be lookin' for you." A guide was on duty during the summers to show visitors around. The shrine may not have been visited as a place of power, but it was a stop on summertime tours, like a national monument or a state park.⁵¹

But apart from these vacation jaunts how did one approach the saint in this place that was also not a place? What would take the place of pilgrimage in this new kind of placeless popular piety?

Space Becomes Time

In the same article in which he assured the devout that they need not come to Chicago to participate fully in the novena to Saint Jude, Father Tort emphasized that they must be sure to send in their petitions "on time" to be placed on the altar during the celebrations.⁵² Tort and his successors were very careful to keep the distant devout informed about the precise times of ritual and prayer at the shrine, and they encouraged Jude's clients to coordinate their own devotions with Chicago's. The April 1943 issues of the *Voice* printed very detailed instructions on how this coordination should proceed: the devout were to send in their petitions, requesting vigil lights if they wanted, and then, during the novena, they were to pray at the same times at home, attending Mass and receiving communion at their local churches. The shrine annually mailed out a devotional calendar with all this information printed on it for the convenience and information of the devout.

As the local waned in importance across the American Catholic landscape from the 1920s on, time replaced space as the central devotional category in popular Catholicism. American Catholics experimented with time when they searched for more meaningful or effective devotional forms in these years. They extended novena time, for example, in "protracted" devotions that went on for many more days than the traditional nine.⁵³ The very popular (and financially remunerative) "perpetual novena" first appeared in the mid 1920s.⁵⁴ Now when the devout wanted to intensify their piety or demonstrate its fervor, they did so by setting out on arduous journeys not in space, but in time. "I prayed until my throat ached," one of Jude's clients told the shrine, "and two days later my sister-in-law passed her crisis and was an entirely different person."⁵⁵

Jude's devout were acutely sensitive to the significance of time in their relationship with the saint: they practiced a kind of chronomancy, carefully counting, marking, assessing, the succession of moments in a crisis for indications of Jude's presence. Synchronicity, the unexpected coincidence of events, was thought to disclose Jude's actions or intentions, and so the devout carefully marked the moment when they first encountered the saint and noted the timing of his response. "About a week ago," a woman in Chicago wrote to the shrine April 1935, "my physical condition worried me and I asked Saint Jude to help me . . . My prayers were answered in 24 hours."⁵⁶ They also referred self-consciously to the timing of their own expressions of gratitude: what was important to them was not that they went someplace in return for the saint's intervention but that they did something within a certain amount of time. "I must write these few lines to you," a woman from Brooklyn, New York, began her story in 1953, "to let you know that Jude has come to my aid again . . . this morning."⁵⁷

The following healing narrative, published in 1935, exemplifies the many meanings of time in popular devotional culture in this period:

My mother has been suffering for four years with cancer and the doctor who has been treating her said there was nothing more that he could do. Mother has been praying to Saint Jude for 13 months and during the last three weeks of that time she asked him to show her in some way if she was going to get better or not. All of a sudden she became violently ill and I called in a new doctor. He suggested an operation but did not give us much hope in her weakened condition. The operation

was performed, proved very successful, and the doctor said it was extraordinary that the cancer had not developed further than it had and was very hopeful that it would not return. We claim it as a miracle of Saint Jude.⁵⁸

Time is evidence and augury, and the special medium of exchange between the human and the holy. The ability to interpret time correctly becomes a form of authority: this is what grounds the claim of miracle at the end of the account. Jude, finally, is seen as powerful over time as well as in time: he stops the cancer from taking its course. The devout believed that they were aligning themselves with this power of the saint's during novenas, which they understood as special units of time within which good things might happen for them.

The shrine offered and the devout made use of an array of devotional objects to mark the times of their encounters with the saint. Jude's clients requested vigil lights be lit for them at the shrine at the beginning and end of crises: at the beginning, the candles served as signs of hope, a special way of connecting the present and the future; at the end, they were signs that there had been some sort of conclusion, a special way of connecting the past and the present. Medals and statues of Jude were also used to seal the end of a period of crisis.

The clergy emphasized time in their promotions of the different kinds of vigil lights available at the shrine, stressing in particular time as the way the devout could be present at the novena. For one dollar there was an "eight-hour" candle, lit every morning during the novena; or an eight hour candle daily for a full month.⁵⁹ Vigil lights were in this way temporalized spatial symbols, signifying presence by the duration of the flame.

The reference here to eight-hour days points to the broader historical setting of this shift in emphasis from space to time in popular piety. Time is the central category in the construction and experience of work in the capitalist economy. It was enforced as discipline in factory and office, and American Catholic workers, like their Protestant and Jewish counterparts, were trained to be precise and careful in measuring and accounting for it.⁶⁰

Devotional culture did not simply reproduce this way of experiencing time. Popular Catholic religious celebrations in premodern Europe, which were closely associated with the rhythms of the agricultural year, provided occasions for the suspension of the usual experience of time. During religious festivals, time became unbounded and undefined. The immigrants who recreated these festivals in the United States were able at least once or twice a year to experience time in another way than that mandated by industrial capitalism.⁶¹ The second and third generations inherited something of this alternative experience of time from the immigrants: the perpetual novena (and extensions of perpetuity such as Tort's "renewable perpetual membership") were more modern ways of dissolving the borders of time. Millions of American Catholics participated in perpetual novenas in these years, either in their parishes or through the mail, and by means of this devotional form, a time-bound population could experience the meaning of time that popular piety had sustained for their parents and grandparents.

But a new emphasis on precision had entered American Catholic popular piety among the immigrants' children. In 1953, Don Sharkey, a well-known promoter of Marian devotions, wrote an article in defense of radio rosaries for

Ave Maria. The good thing about these broadcast devotions, Sharkey argued, was the time-discipline they imposed on piety. "The radio won't wait," Sharkey wrote. "The recitation starts every night at 6:45 sharp," and now "that we have decided to join in the radio recitation, I have a feeling that we will manage to be present." The radio rosary, Sharkey adds, takes about "thirteen or fourteen minutes," about three or four minutes longer than the family rosary (which he has apparently timed), but he concludes that the disciplinary benefits of its regularity outweigh the burden of these extra minutes.⁶²

Jude's devout often turned to him in circumstances of grave physical distress, and the shift to time in their devotional lives also reflects the changing experience of sickness in twentieth century America.⁶³ Diagnostic skills and technologies had improved, requiring sick people to embark on long journeys of tests and physical examinations and enabling modern doctors to make more accurate prognoses of their patients' conditions. Once the test results were in, sick people had a clearer sense of their destinies than ever before; the beginnings and ends of sick times were more starkly marked, and prognoses became a kind of popular obsession.

In these ways time became a central component of modern illness: sick people waited (and waited) for better information about their futures, and their central question to their doctors (who were thought to be able to predict the future now) became "when": when will I get better? when will the pain go away? when can I leave the hospital? This anxious and protracted encounter with a certain kind of sick time became one of Jude's special domains.

The Center Out There: Writing as Going

Earlier pilgrims had availed themselves of the powers they believed to reside in a place by going there; Jude's devout did this by writing to it. The main connection between the dispersed devout and the National Shrine of Saint Jude was the mail: Jude's was a postal devotion and writing replaced going as the primary devotional act. This act of inscription had many of the features of ritual. The devout had to gather the writing materials (not an insignificant undertaking for people who do not live with pens in their hands), plan the letter, and sit down and write. When the writing was finished, they had to bring the letter to the mailbox (or ask someone else to do it for them), and then they waited for a reply from the shrine, which would begin the process all over again.⁶⁴

Religious ritual represents a reconfiguration of ordinary space and time. Through this process of writing, mailing and waiting, the devout opened up the closed experience of crisis with reference to another place—the Chicago shrine—and another time—when Jude intervened (or when they anticipated Jude's intervention). Victor Turner wrote that pilgrimages offer the sick or harassed or frightened person a "center out there," and Jude's devout managed to find such a displaced center for themselves, not by going anywhere but by writing and waiting.⁶⁵

This was true of many other devotions founded in this period. The devout linked themselves to the center out there by coordinating their times of prayer with the times of prayer at the shrine, as we have seen, by the shrine-directed

ritual of writing, and by the work of organizing their experiences into stories. Their letters reshaped the terrible, chaotic, and disorienting experiences which had prompted them to call on Saint Jude, the patron saint of hopeless causes, into structured narrative sequences with beginnings, middles, and—most importantly—ends, when Jude intervened and converted chaos into meaning.

The devout were obviously relieved to think that out there was a place where the prayers of many people from all over the nation converged—the prayers of people, furthermore, who knew what the writers were going through, as the latter could tell by reading the letters in the *Voice* every month. Susman suggests that in the 1930s, as the social order was “rapidly disintegrating under social and economic pressures” (and when, we might add more specifically, the ethnic enclaves in which Jude’s devout had been raised were beginning to break up), the various national popular media created the possibility for “the sharing of common experience.” “Even the lowly soap opera,” Susman writes, “the most frequently mocked of radio’s innovations, played a role in reinforcing fundamental values and in providing the intimate experience of other people’s lives so that millions of housewives knew they were neither alone nor unique in their problems.”⁶⁶

So too Jude’s devout gratefully acknowledged the support and prayers of others in their letters. “I wish to thank the patrons of Saint Jude’s shrine,” wrote one of the saint’s clients from New Orleans in 1935, “for their prayer [for me] during the novena.”⁶⁷ The devout thought of themselves as praying along with a national community of Jude’s faithful. “I believe,” a man who had had a “nervous breakdown” wrote to the shrine in April 1953, “through my private prayers but more through yours at the shrine . . . there has been a major improvement.”⁶⁸ During the four annual novenas at the shrine the written petitions which had been sent in from around the country were heaped in great piles in a glass case under Jude’s statue in place of the absent devout.

Conclusions

I have wanted to call attention here to two important and related reorientations in American Catholic popular mentality in the years after the end of immigration, as the children of the immigrants moved from one way of life (and of thinking about the world) to another: first, from the local to the national and then, as the result of this, from space as the primary focus of devotional life to time. These new orientations required new forms of religious expression, like block rosaries, radio devotions, protracted novenas, and “national” shrines like Jude’s, and through these practices millions of American Catholics began to reimagine and recreate their relations with the sacred, with each other, and with the national community.

In this way I have also wanted to bring popular piety in from the margins of American Catholic historiography. This revisionist impulse must be qualified, of course: Catholic popular piety did seem strange to some Americans in these years (although this period also witnessed the proliferation of Protestant popular devotional forms), as Paul Blanshard’s use of it to embarrass the church clearly indicates.⁶⁹ But for American Catholics themselves, popular piety was the central idiom in which they imagined the world.

The shifts in American Catholic devotional culture I have described here also provide another perspective on the rapid ascent of Father Coughlin. The radio priest used the techniques and idioms of the new devotionalism to build his movement: he broadcast his radio messages from a shrine; experimented with unusual fundraising devices to support his work; and founded a pious "league" to appeal to a national constituency outside his parochial borders.⁷⁰ In these ways he resembled other ambitious American Catholic priests of the period. Alan Brinkley points to Coughlin's compelling physical presence and powerful speaking voice as the engines of his success; but at least in the early days of the movement, Coughlin succeeded because his style and language were so familiar to his audience. (Coughlin attracted people outside the Catholic church as well, of course, and any account of the specifically religious context of his success must include the changing idioms of American Protestant devotionalism in these years. Protestants, for example, were also mailing narratives of pain and distress to cleverly promoted, nationally oriented healing centers such as Aimee Semple McPherson's temple in Los Angeles. The convergence of Protestant and Catholic devotional cultures in these years and its political consequences need further study.⁷¹)

Jude's devotion, finally, requires us to add a new and distinctly contemporary category to the list of Catholic devotional practices. Scholars of Catholic popular piety tend to divide devotional practice into two broad categories, "located" and "generalized." Located devotions are connected to particular places and derive at least some of their power from their rootedness in local landscapes and experience; generalized devotions belong to the universal church, are propagated by religious professionals, and have no particular ethnic or regional association. Although this distinction is heuristically valuable in general, it does not seem to apply to a devotion like Jude's, which had characteristics of both. The reason for this, as I have suggested, is that Jude's cult emerged at a transitional time in American Catholic history. His devout connected themselves through the medium of time to a saint in a place that was also not a place to which they oriented themselves by writing a story about themselves and mailing it off, and then waiting in the place where they were.

The history of American Catholic popular piety does not end in the early 1960s.⁷² Instead, just as space yielded to time in the earlier period, so time will now yield to the inner self as the primary medium of the divine-human encounter, as indicated both by the popularity of the Catholic charismatic movement in the 1960s and by the increasing adoption, by spiritual writers, teachers, and pastors, of the language of popular psychology to frame their message. This second reorientation of Catholic devotional mentality in this century, however, cannot be understood apart from the earlier one discussed here. The way to the charismatic experience of the holy inside was prepared by the earlier generation's dismantling of the older ways that had led to special places out there.

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ENDNOTES

1. Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan, for example, write that a "considerable majority" of the 1,614 active saint shrines in contemporary Europe are dedicated to holy persons of "vicinity or regional fame." In Nolan and Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* (Chapel Hill and London, 1989), p. 128. See also William Christian, *Person and God in a Spanish Valley* (Princeton, 1989), pp. xv, 44–101.
2. James Tort, C.M.F., "Dedication Anniversary of the National Shrine of Saint Jude," *Voice of Saint Jude* (February, 1935): 12–13. (The *Voice* was the shrine's main devotional periodical until 1960 when it was transformed into the monthly family magazine, *U.S. Catholic*, and replaced at the shrine by a much smaller newsletter, *St. Jude's Journal*.)
3. For the earliest expression of the counsel that the devout need not come to Chicago see Tort, "Dedication Anniversary," pp. 12–13. This was repeated regularly over the years in the shrine's publications. See for example the announcements of upcoming novenas in *Voice* (April, 1943) and *St. Jude's Journal* (January, 1961).
4. Interview with James Maloney, C.M.F., Chicago, January, 1987. Father Maloney has generously given me permission to cite this conversation.
5. Information about the Claretians' plans is from Maloney interview; Danny Thomas, who was probably Jude's most visible American devotee, is quoted in Donald J. Thorman, "Extraordinary is the Word," *Voice* (October, 1954): 55–57.
6. See for example, Mrs. E.O., Chicago, *Voice* (May, 1935): 16. The arrival of the relics is described in George Hull, "Life Begins at Forty," *Voice* (June, 1935): 7–10. Stephen Wilson discusses this feature of shrine culture in his "Introduction" to the collection of essays he edited, *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 11. See also Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford, 1978), p. 206.
7. Personal communication: EA-F-59-Chicago. The citation "personal communication" in the notes refers to the written accounts of the history of their connection to the saint which eighty of Jude's devout (seventy of them women) prepared at my request during a novena in Chicago in the summer of 1987; "shrine interview" refers to extended conversations I had with other devout usually at the shrine itself. I will identify my sources by a consistent formula in the notes, beginning with fictitious initials, followed by gender, age, and place of residence.
8. Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, p. 7.
9. Other scholars have also noted this delocalization of Catholic popular piety in the industrial age, see for example Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, pp. 206–207, and Christian, *Person and God*, pp. 181–182.
10. Anthony Catalina, "The Saint Jude Novena," *Voice* (March, 1938): 10. This was a combined novena to Jude and Our Lady of Sorrows, an enormously popular devotion also based in Chicago. On this devotion see John M. Huels, O.S.M., "The Friday Night Novena: The Growth and Decline of the Sorrowful Mother Novena," privately printed by the Eastern Province of Servites, Berwyn, Illinois, 1977.
11. Tort, "Dedication Anniversary," p. 12; James Schons, C.M.P., "St. Jude's Feast Celebrated at National Shrine," *Voice* (October, 1937): 5–6. Letters printed in the *Voice of Saint Jude* during its first year of publication, 1935, came from Maryland, Wisconsin, New York, New Jersey, California, Louisiana, Washington, D.C., Illinois, North Carolina, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Michigan, Ohio, Connecticut, and Nebraska, and the

devotion would quickly grow to include all of the United States (and many nations around the world). The shrine still receives several thousand pieces of correspondence a day.

12. Edward R. Kantowicz, *Corporation Sole: Cardinal Mundelein and Chicago Catholicism* (Notre Dame, 1983). Kantowicz describes the Cardinal's architectural philosophy as "giantism," p. 3. Charles Shanabruch discusses the Cardinal's financial disciplines in *Chicago's Catholics: The Evolution of An American Identity* (Notre Dame, 1981), p. 162.

13. Shanabruch, *Chicago's Catholics*, pp. 210–211. The financial history of the parish is presented with great detail and documentation in a ms. history of the Claretians' work in Chicago prepared by Rev. Joseph Berengueras in the mid-1940s. The history is preserved in the Claretian archives in Rome. I have been given an English translation of Berengueras' account, which was written in Spanish, by the Provincial Archivist in Chicago.

14. The Chicago Claretians reported to the Provincial Chapter in 1929 that the debt on Guadalupe was \$80,000, of which Mundelein had agreed to pay \$5,000 annually, asking them to cover the rest. The resources of the community in South Chicago at this point, on the eve of the Depression, were \$10,000. Berengueras continues, "The Cardinal's commitment had been verbal, and perhaps some of our people had misunderstood it." Mundelein paid the interest on the loan for two years, and after that the Claretians were on their own. By 1935, despite the substantial contributions of Saint Jude's League, the debt was \$70,000. As it appears in this history, the League is the church's main life-support system. Father Maloney told me that Tort was intent on building a base of support outside of the church's Mexican congregation.

15. On prelatial support for popular devotions see Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience* (Garden City, Long Island, 1985), pp. 390–391, 401–402. James S. Olson has helpful information on modern American devotions in *Catholic Immigrants in America* (Chicago, 1987).

16. Fr. Breen to Father Provincial, September 6, 1922, Jesuit Archives, file on the Shrine of the North American Martyrs, Fordham University, Bronx, New York. American clergy sometimes expressed discomfort at using devotionism to get money from women for their buildings. "Many a chary churchman," observed Rev. Joseph P. Donovan, C.M., a well-known commentator on clerical matters at this time, "suspects that novenas have their appeal to pastors, because a novena is an easy way of getting necessary or useful parish support." Some priests can only think of devotions, says Donovan, as either "rackets" or "sentimentality." Joseph P. Donovan, "Is the Perpetual Novena a Parish Need?" *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* 46 (January, 1946): 252, 255. But even though devotionism was sometimes derided by priests in the fastness of their rectories as the practice of "pious women and nuns," in the words of another writer, they also knew that it was paying for the bricks they loved so much. See for example, John J. McCarthy, "The Rosary is Power," *Ave Maria* 76 (October 25, 1952): 529.

17. Interview with Father James Maloney. There is a brief historical sketch of the origins of the devotion to Saint Thérèse in Chicago in *The Sword* (May, 1948): 106–116.

18. The founding of the League is described in "Jude, The Forgotten Saint," in the ms. history by Father Berengueras, p. 11, and in "Necrology: Father James Tort, C.M.F.," p. 12. Copies of both are in the Claretian Provincial Archives, Chicago. The information about indulgences comes from Geoffrey Casey, Assistant Chancellor, Archdiocese of Chicago, to James Tort, C.M.F., October 28, 1929. Letter in possession of the Shrine of Saint Jude.

19. On the tensions caused by the presence of the shine see, "Revision [of the] norms

that determine the limits between the League of Saint Jude (and its National Shrine) and the Parochial Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe," undated, typescript ms. in possession of the Shrine of Saint Jude.

20. Shrine Int.: MF-F-58-Chicago.

21. This confusion of place is evident in "Activities at the National Shrine of Saint Jude," *Voice* (May, 1935): 11; Bernard Daniel Keenan, "Victory Banquet Held for Youth Clubs," *Voice* (November, 1939): 6–7; in "Silver Anniversary for Pastor of Our Shrine Church," *St. Jude's Journal* (June, 1969): 3, Our Lady of Guadalupe is referred to as the "site" of the shrine. In May 1968, the Director of the shrine suggested, rather tentatively, that "those of you who have visited the National Shrine of Saint Jude are no doubt aware that it is located in the Claretian parish of Our Lady of Guadalupe," as if this could be overlooked, *St. Jude's Journal* (May, 1968): 2. One of my informants, whom I spoke to in the church itself, believed that the name of the church was changed from "Saint Jude's" to Our Lady of Guadalupe when the ethnic composition of the neighborhood changed. Shrine Int.: JF-F-45-Chicago.

22. Berengueras, ms. history, p. 11; also "Copy of the Report on the Residence . . . 1947," unpaginated. Mundelein's successor, Cardinal Stritch, subsequently approved plans for the construction of a parochial school at Guadalupe, also to be paid for by the League. Documents in possession of the shrine.

23. "Purgatorial Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary," *Voice* (November, 1947): 13; on the introduction of the Burse see *Voice* (April, 1935); the Mass League is mentioned in *St. Jude's Journal* (October–November, 1962): 2. There was a Purgatorial Society at the shrine which promised its members 14,000 masses each year for the souls of their dead, James Tort, C.M.F., "November-Month of the Holy Souls," *Voice* (November, 1935): 5. The status of Saint Jude's Burse was regularly reported in the pages of the *Voice*, and benefactors were mentioned by name. The whole strategy of the Burse, incidentally, was to attract small donations.

24. "Tickets to Heaven for persons of all creeds," *Voice* (July, 1946): 20.

25. On American advertising in this period see Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920s* (New York, 1957), pp. 170–172, and especially Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity* (Berkeley, 1985). Like the priests who sponsored perpetual novenas to raise money and then felt guilty about it, Lewis notes that advertising men by the end of the decade were wondering whether their trade was a "racket."

26. "Burn a Vigil Light," *Voice* (January, 1939); "Purgatorial Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary," *Voice* (November, 1947): 14.

27. Ann Taves, *The Household of Faith: Roman Catholic Devotions in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (Notre Dame and London, 1986), p. 66.

28. On ethnic enclaves see John Bodnar, *Workers' World: Kinship, Community, and Protest in an Industrial Society, 1900–1940* (Baltimore and London, 1982), pp. 63, 166–167; and Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, 1985), *passim*.

29. See Taves, *Household of Faith*, pp. 57–61.

30. Floyd Anderson, *The Incredible Story of Father Baker* (Hamburg, NY, 1974), pp. 43–51.

31. On the popularity of Lourdes grottoes, see Thomas A. Kselman, "Our Lady of

Necedah: Marian Piety and the Cold War," *Working Paper Series* 12 (Fall, 1982), Charles and Margaret Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana. For a vivid description of the process of reconstructing Lourdes on these shores see R. DeWitt Miller, "Lourdes of the West," *St. Anthony's Messenger* 48 (June, 1940): 14–16.

32. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, pp. 358, 384. The first movement into suburbs came in the areas of densest Catholic settlement, in the Northeast and Midwest, beginning in the 1930s, according to Douglas T. Miller and Marion Nowack, *The Fifties: The Way We Really Were* (Garden City, Long Island, 1977), p. 133. On this subject see also Andrew Greeley, *The Church and the Suburbs* (New York, 1959).

33. On the transformation of Irish American politics see Lawrence J. McCaffrey, *The Irish Diaspora in America* (Bloomington, IN, 1976), pp. 152–160, and Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Exodus to North America* (New York, 1985), pp. 535–555.

34. Olson, *Catholic Immigrants*, p. 251; see also John L. Thomas, S.J., *The American Catholic Family* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1956), pp. 99–169.

35. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, p. 522; Judith Smith, *Family Connections: A History of Italian and Jewish Immigrant Lives in Providence, Rhode Island, 1900–1940* (Albany, NY, 1985), pp. 109–110.

36. The picture I have drawn here of the changing nature of the organization of American Catholic family life in the years after World War I is based on, Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, pp. 349–417; Shanabruch, *Chicago's Catholics*, pp. 155–187; Thomas, *American Catholic Family*, pp. 127–147; Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York, 1982), pp. 82–106; Linda Gordon, *Heroes of their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence* (New York, 1988), pp. 168–203; James Terrence Fisher, *The Catholic Counter-Culture in America, 1933–1962* (Chapel Hill and London, 1989), pp. 71–99; and the following studies of particular communities: Smith, *Family Connections*, pp. 109–121, 169; Humbert Nelli, *Italians in Chicago, 1880–1930: A Study in Ethnic Mobility* (Oxford, 1970); Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880–1930* (Ithaca, 1971); Dino Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco: The Immigrant Experience* (Stanford, 1982); Samuel L. Bailly, "The Adjustment of Italian Immigrants in Buenos Aires and New York, 1870–1917," *American Historical Review* 88 (April, 1983): 281–305; John J. Bukowczyk, *And My Children Did Not Know Me: A History of the Polish Americans* (Bloomington, IN, 1987); Eugene Edward Obidinski, "Ethnic to Status Group: A Study of Polish Americans in Buffalo," (Ph.D. diss., SUNY Buffalo, 1968); Peter A. Ostafin, "The Polish Peasant in Transition: A Study of Group Integration as a Function of Symbiosis and Common Definition," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1948); Theresita Polzin, *The Polish Americans: Whence and Whither* (Pulaski, WI, 1973); Paul Wrobel, *Our Way: Family, Parish and Neighborhood in a Polish American Community* (South Bend, IN, 1979); John Joseph Parot, *Polish Catholics in Chicago, 1850–1920: A Religious History* (DeKalb, IL, 1981); Dennis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia: Ten Generations of Urban Experience* (Philadelphia, 1973); Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*; McCaffrey, *The Irish Diaspora*; Lawrence McCaffrey, Ellen Skerret, Michael Function, and Charles Fanning, *The Irish in Chicago* (Urbana and Chicago, 1987); Audrey Olson, *The Germans in St. Louis: The Nature of an Immigrant Community and Its Relation to the Assimilation Process* (New York, 1980); Randall M. Miller and Thomas D. Marzik, eds., *Immigrants and Religion in Urban America* (Philadelphia, 1977); Peter d'A. Jones and Melvin Holli, *Ethnic Chicago* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1981).

37. Bukowczyk, *And My Children*, p. 70.

38. See Bukowczyk, *And My Children Did Not Know Me*, p. 83. Bukowczyk notes that

by the 1930s, the Polish American working class had come to realize that it had more in common with its Italian or Irish or Hungarian counterparts than it did with the local neighborhood Polish entrepreneurs and professionals. Judith Smith's observation about second generation Italian Americans in this period is relevant for Catholic ethnics generally: ethnicity, Smith writes, had become "an identity that was symbolic and broadly inclusive, capable of crossing wide economic and geographic distances." Smith, *Family Connections*, p. 169.

39. Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1984), pp. 159–161.

40. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, pp. 353–354. Dolan says this new nationalizing impulse is first evident in the formation of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in 1917. See also William Halsey, *The Survival of American Catholic Innocence* (Notre Dame, 1980), pp. 37–60.

41. Olson, *Catholic Immigrants*, pp. 224–225; see also Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, pp. 402–406.

42. Paul Fussell notes that radio technology and style—the shape of the radio, the listener's physical proximity to the set, the spontaneous quality of broadcasts in the days before tape—all contributed to make listening to the radio a uniquely intimate experience, which Fussell considers the source of the medium's cultural authority. The viewer sits back, a little apprehensively, from the television set; the listener—all the listeners together—gathered closely around the radio. See Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 159–160. This helps us understand radio piety, which became an important feature of Catholic popular culture in these years: kneeling around the radio-shrine, American Catholics could participate in devotions originating far away from their homes, changing the scope and ecology of popular piety. At the same time, the new technology posed troubling religious problems. People wondered, for example, if they received the same spiritual benefits and indulgences from a radio rosary as from a live recitation. The Sacred Apostolic Penitentiary in Rome, which had jurisdiction over such matters, finally decided in 1952 that indulgences could be obtained from radio devotions, as long as the broadcast was live. See Don Sharkey, "This is Your Mother," *Ave Maria* (October 24, 1953): 16, and "The Rosary Over the Radio," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 129 (October, 1957): 275–276. A similar issue troubled a Catholic hospital chaplain who led daily prayers over a loud-speaker system, sometimes taping his prayers in advance so he could get on with other chores. See Rev. John L. May, "Page Ye the Lord?" *Hospital Progress* 38 (October, 1975): 58.

43. George Hull, "Life Begins at Forty," p. 9.

44. D.S., Buffalo, New York, *Voice* (March, 1949): 6. This desire and commitment to making Jude known around the country is also the motive for the ubiquitous notices thanking the saint that appear in the classified sections of newspapers.

45. Christian, *Person and God*, p. 44. The Turners would call this the saint's "catchment area."

46. Such titles are very vulnerable self-ascriptions. The Claretians moved to copyright the shrine's full name in the early 1960s when competing shrines of Saint Jude appeared, one in San Diego (which took not only the name of the League but the format of the membership card used in Chicago) and another in Baltimore (called the "National Center of Devotion to Saint Jude"). See Robert J. Leuver, C.M.F., to Mr. Charles Cannon, May 5, 1961, and Leuver to John M. Kiely, April 26, 1961. Documents in possession of the shrine.

47. Alfred Hermann, O.F.M., "If Miracles Thou Fain Would'st See," *St. Anthony's Messenger* 40 (September, 1942): 171–172.
48. "Shower of Roses," *Little Flower Magazine* 14 (January, 1934): 3, 30.
49. John Deedy, Jr., "Operation Crossroads," *Ave Maria* 84 (July 28, 1956): 11–13.
50. Mary Finley Daly, "Block Rosary," *Catholic Digest* 13 (January, 1949): 36–38; see also Basil M. Price, S.J., "The Mile Rosary," *America* 88 (October 25, 1952): 98–99.
51. *Voice* (May, 1939): 7; and *St. Jude's Journal* (June–July, 1961): 1.
52. Tort, "Dedication," p. 12.
53. A.C. McDonough, "24-Day 'Novena,'" *Sign* 30 (January, 1951): 38.
54. J.P. Donovan, "Is the Perpetual Novena a Parish Need?" *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* 46 (January, 1946): 252–257; see also Frances M. Delaney, "Tuesday Night Novena," *Ave Maria* 52 (November 23, 1940): 727–728.
55. M.C., Chicago, *Voice* (April, 1950): 5.
56. Mrs. T.J.K., Chicago, *Voice* (April, 1935): 17.
57. Mrs. J.C., Brooklyn, New York, *Voice* (December, 1953): 33.
58. M.O., Chicago, *Voice* (December, 1937): 17.
59. "My Thanksgivings and Petitions," *Voice* (May, 1948): 7.
60. The studies that have shaped my thinking on this have been E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (1967): 56–97; David Montgomery, *Workers' Control in America: Studies in the History of Work, Technology, and Labor Struggles* (Cambridge, 1979); Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870–1920* (Cambridge, 1983); Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850–1920* (Chicago, 1978); and Herbert Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America* (New York, 1976).
61. See, for example, Robert Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950* (New Haven, 1985), pp. 197–202.
62. Sharkey, "This is Your Mother," p. 16.
63. My discussion of sick time here relies on Edward Shorter, *Bedside Manners: The Troubled History of Doctors and Patients* (New York, 1985), pp. 75–139.
64. On this process see Robert Orsi, "The Cult of the Saints and the Reimagination of the Space and Time of Sickness in Twentieth Century American Catholicism," *Literature and Medicine* 8 (1989): 75.
65. This is how I understand the dynamic between structure and antistructure, or structure and communitas, discussed in reference to pilgrimage by Victor Turner in "Pilgrimages as Social Processes," *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, 1974), pp. 166–230.
66. Susman, *Culture as History*, p. 160.
67. J.H.C., New Orleans, La., *Voice* (April, 1935): 16.

68. Mr. W.C.O., McKees Rocks, Pa., *Voice* (April, 1953): 33.
69. Paul Blanshard, *American Freedom and Catholic Power* (Boston, 1949), pp. 219–228; and Blanshard, *Communism, Democracy, and Catholic Power* (Boston, 1951), pp. 76, 83, 233–234. Blanshard writes in *American Freedom* (p. 223) that, despite the “enthusiastic admiration for science” proclaimed by Catholic leaders in the United States, “the exploitation of scapulars, ancient knucklebones, rusty nails from the ‘true cross,’ and pictures engraved on grave clothes by urea goes on continuously.”
70. Brinkley, *Voice of Protest*, pp. 82–92.
71. An overview of Protestant piety in these years can be found in David Edwin Harrell, Jr., *All Things Are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in Modern America* (Bloomington, IN, 1975).
72. For a sketch of the new devotionalism of the post-conciliar years, see Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, pp. 431–432. Edward D. O'Connor, C.S.C., provides an insider's view of the early history of the charismatic movement in *The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church* (Notre Dame, IN, 1971).