

RELIGION ON THE ROAD: HIGHWAY EVANGELISM AND WORSHIP ENVIRONMENTS FOR THE TRAVELER IN AMERICA

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Contemporary travelers along America's network of open highways, rural roads and urban streets are offered, like the religious pilgrims of the Middle Ages, both spiritual guidance and devotional opportunities. Yesterday's pilgrim, under the protection of the recently demoted St. Christopher, embarked upon his journey with a clear understanding of the nature of his mission and a specific sacred shrine as his destination (Fig. 1).

Today's traveler, however, is often unaware of the religious experiences that may lie ahead, to be encountered along his route rather than at the end of his journey. With far less effort than was required of their medieval counterparts, Americans on the move, if they wish, can receive religious enlightenment and inspiration through the messages, images and sacred settings designed for their contemplation and use.

In general, such material falls into two categories, not necessarily exclusive of each other: 1) Highway Evangelism and 2) Worship Environments. The first of these groups includes message-bearing signboards, graffiti, bumper stickers, license plates and painted vehicles; the second consists of mobile chapels, wayside chapels, shrines, grottoes, gardens, drive-in and outdoor churches. Within both categories one may find religious images and symbols that function not only as wordless messages but also as aids to worship. Surely the nineteenth-century "father of modern revivalism," Charles G. Finney, would heartily endorse these modern-day "new measures" as appropriate ways in which to witness to contemporary society.¹

Highway Evangelism

The alert traveler along our country's highways and byways soon becomes aware of a variety of religious messages intended for the perceptive eye and the receptive heart. Ranging from professionally painted signboards, commercially printed bumper stickers, and officially produced license plates to hastily scrawled graffiti, hand-lettered signs and decorated vehicles, these inscriptions include familiar scriptural texts, popularized religious slogans and intensely personal interpretations of Biblical themes. Whatever the style or medium employed, all of the displayed sentiments are

addressed to the passerby, proffering religious testimony, instruction and inspiration.

Perhaps the most effective messages are those that are simple, direct and emphatic, such as the directional sign on Highway 27 north of St. Johns, Michigan, that points out the "ONE WAY, JESUS CHRIST" (Fig. 2), the two-way hand lettered sign on a front lawn near Spring Green, Wisconsin, that proclaims "JESUS SAVES" and "PRAISE THE LORD," the admonition to "GET RIGHT WITH GOD" near Indianola, Mississippi, or the startling image of a nail-pierced hand and its message in Shelby, Montana, "JESUS LOVES YOU SO MUCH IT HURTS" (Fig. 3). At this point, it may be well to remember Fred Schroeder's observation in *Outlaw Aesthetics* that "religious experience has no aesthetic restrictions."² The essential criteria, in addition to sincerity of expression, are to arrest the attention and speak to the spiritual needs of those who may catch only a brief glimpse as they speed by.

Large billboards, professionally executed, are generally sponsored by churches and religious organizations. These often display a greater degree of sophistication and reserve in their style and content. A few simply advise the traveler to "FIND THE STRENGTH OF FAMILY VALUES IN YOUR HOUSE OF WORSHIP" or to "KNOW YOUR CREATOR." Others are more specific in their information and counsel. "HE LIVES" proclaims a billboard on a major artery in Detroit while high above a busy Detroit expressway interchange another sign informs commuters that "THERE IS A GOD AND HE ANSWERS PRAYER." "DEAR DADDY, JESUS LOVES YOU" simulates a child's innocent scrawl along its slate; another child's hand appears to have printed the poignant phrase, "DADDY, JESUS CARES" (Fig. 4). In Nebraska, a two-way sign conveys stern warnings: "PREPARE TO MEET THY GOD" and "THE WAGES OF SIN IS DEATH." South of Grand Rapids, Michigan, a large billboard instructs passing motorists that Jesus is the way to salvation, while near Pontiac, Michigan, Sallman's popular depiction of Jesus asks the soul-searching question "ARE YOU ON THE RIGHT ROAD?" (Fig. 5).

Many religious signs are erected by commercial establishments and combine secular identification and advertising with sacred messages. On the roof of the Precision Assembly Company in Dearborn,



CHAUCER AS A CANTERBURY PILGRIM.
(From the Ellesmere MS.)

Fig. 1 Chaucer, the fourteenth-century English poet, shown as a religious pilgrim on the road to Canterbury. The adventures of a band of such pilgrims are recounted in his *Canterbury Tales*.

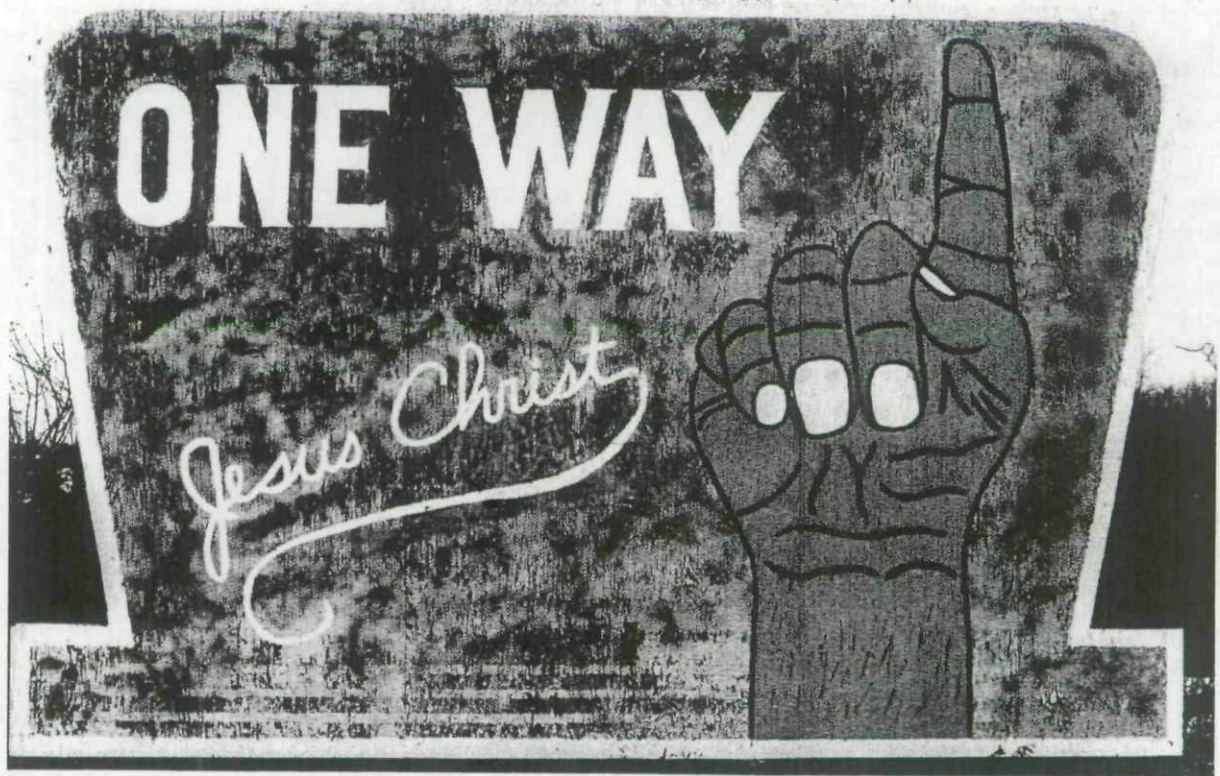


Fig. 2 This roadside sign north of St. Johns, Michigan, suggests that the best route leads upward.

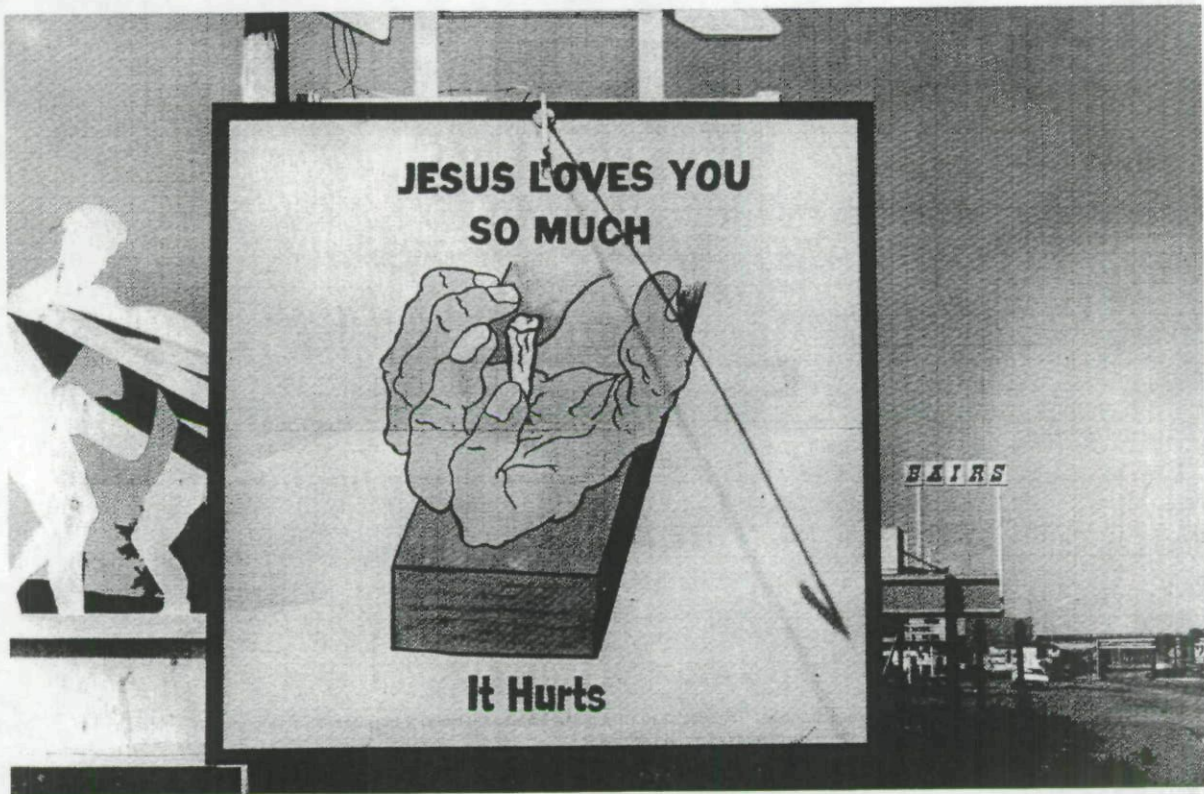


Fig. 3. A hand-painted sign in Shelby, Montana, demands attention with its vivid image of a nail-pierced hand.

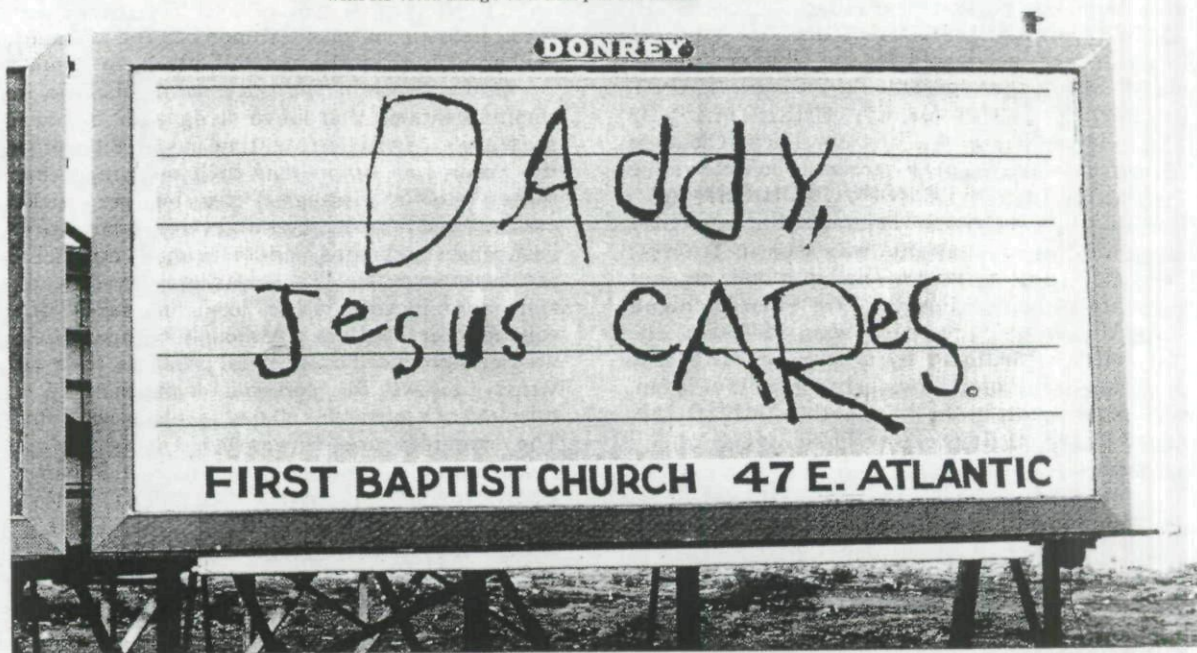


Fig. 4. This billboard in Las Vegas, Nevada, simulates a child's scrawl on lined paper.



Fig. 5 A sign on Interstate 75 west of Pontiac, Michigan, features a popular depiction of Jesus and a provocative query for the traveler.

Michigan, a portable sign sends its messages in two directions. Motorists heading east are advised to "TRY JESUS, HE'LL NEVER LET YOU DOWN" while westbound drivers learn that "JESUS IS THE ANSWER FOR ALL YOUR PROBLEMS." Another Dearborn sign, sponsored by the Olympia Health World, bears the seasonal greetings "HAPPY BIRTHDAY JESUS: MERRY CHRISTMAS TO ALL" below its name. Not far away, Lacy's Cleaners advertises "wedding gown preservation" above the wish "MAY CHRIST BE IN YOUR CHRISTMAS." Perhaps the most timely message that combined sacred and secular elements was seen in Traverse City, Michigan, at the Travelodge Motel, on that memorable day in October of 1978 when Michigan State University's football team defeated the University of Michigan by a score of 24-15. The proprietor of this motel, obviously a loyal U of M fan, took great comfort in the thought that "MICHIGAN LOST BUT JESUS IS STILL NO. ONE." (Unfortunately, there was no room at this inn.)

A more personal form of evangelistic witness and communication is found in religious graffiti which, because of their impromptu, ephemeral character, remind one of that "handwriting on the wall" seen by the ill-fated King Belshazzar.³ Some of these hastily scrawled messages give greater hope than that seen in Babylon. "JESUS LOVES YOU" reads the painted inscription on the wall of a rock adjoining a western road. In a far different setting, within a decayed urban area of abandoned buildings and accumulated debris, an anonymous Detroit

evangelist has used brightly-colored spray paint to write words of hope: "GOD CARES," "JESUS IS COMING," "JESUS SAVES" and "JESUS ACTION" (Fig. 6). The power of messages such as these stems from their testimony to the presence of exuberant faith in the midst of bleak environment.

Other types of highway evangelism include communications that move along with, or toward, the traveler, giving greater time in which to perceive the words and comprehend their meaning. Among these "mobile messages" are bumper stickers, personalized license plates and vehicles emblazoned with religious slogans, scriptures and symbols. Each of these evangelistic "new measures" gives an added spiritual dimension to the "icons on wheels" of our contemporary culture.⁴ Although bumper stickers are mass-produced commercial products, their great variety allows for personal expression in the selection of a particular sticker for one's own vehicle. The examples are endless but among the most prevalent are such sentiments as the following: "I FOUND IT," "TO GOD BE THE GLORY," "IF YOU LOVE JESUS HONK TWICE," "TRY GOD," "A DAY WITHOUT JESUS IS LIKE A DAY WITHOUT SUNSHINE," "JESUS LOVES ME," "CHRISTIANS AREN'T PERFECT, JUST FORGIVEN," "JESUS IS THE BEST THING THAT EVER HAPPENED TO ME," "GOD IS IN CONTROL," "CHRIST—A CLOSE ENCOUNTER OF THE BEST KIND," "WISEMEN STILL SEEK HIM," "JESUS EQUALS PEACE" and "OPEN 24 HOURS DAILY TO SERVE YOU—JESUS



Fig. 6 In a blighted urban area, an anonymous evangelist has left words of hope.



Fig. 7 Example of bumper sticker with religious message.

CHRIST" (Fig. 7).

Closely related to bumper stickers, but permitting greater individuality, are the personalized license plates that owners of vehicles can custom-order from state agencies. Through this means, a legally required mark of identification may be transformed into an evangelistic medium of communication. Devising a religious message in six letters or fewer demands considerable ingenuity. Some have met this challenge admirably with "JESUS," "GOD IS," "GLORYB," "PRAY," "AMEN" and "ASKGOD" (Fig. 8).

Unlike bumper stickers, each plate is one of a kind. Personalized plates afford their owners additional opportunities to witness to their faith. Mr. Robert Beaumont of Lansing, Michigan, whose car bears the plate "GOD IS," relates his experience of filling his tank with gasoline and being asked for his license number as he charges his purchase. His reply, "God is," invariably puzzles the gas station attendant, who will often respond, "Okay, but what's the number?" When Beaumont repeats the answer, the incredulous attendant usually goes out to see for himself. After he returns convinced, there is sometimes further opportunity for Beaumont to

witness. Robert Beaumont states that he likes to consider himself "a billboard for God."⁵

Ernie Katai of Taylor, Michigan, drives a Lincoln Continental with the single word "JESUS" on his license plate. Mr. Katai believes that "most people don't realize the power in Jesus' name," both to protect one from life's many dangers and to reach others who travel by.⁶ Painted vehicles offer yet another means of conveying religious messages. Ernie Katai is a truck driver who uses his semi-truck to give witness to his Christian convictions. Painted on the back of his truck's cab is the word "GLORYBOUND," a term that is also his CB radio "handle." At the back of the truck's trailer are the statements "JESUS IS COMING SOON. PRAISE GOD." Katai's deep faith is based upon personal experience of healing through power. His truck with its evangelistic inscriptions aids him in testifying to his beliefs as he travels along the highway and during his rest breaks at truck stops.

Worship Environments

Complementing the evangelistic messages expressed through the media of "outdoor



Fig. 8 This personalized license plate enables Robert Beaumont of Lansing, Michigan, to be a "billboard for God."

advertising" are the sites prepared for the traveler's acts of devotion and meditation. These environments consist of wayside chapels, shrines, grottoes and gardens for private prayer as well as in arrangements for corporate worship, such as mobile chapels, drive-in and outdoor churches. In such settings, the wayfarer in need of spiritual regeneration will often find religious images, signs, symbols, literature, taped sermons and hymns, all creating an atmosphere conducive to a reflective mood.

Mobile chapels are the most recent addition to the category of worship environments. Ministering especially to the spiritual needs of truck drivers, these are large truck trailers that travel to truck stops where the driver-evangelist conducts worship services for the benefit of weary, perhaps lonely, drivers who have paused to rest. The trailers are equipped with organs, hymnals, Bibles and other furnishings usually found in a church, in order to create a spiritual milieu. Some of these mobile chapels are sponsored by an international organization called Transport for Christ Incorporated, which has offices in both Michigan and Ontario. Transport for Christ publishes its own newspaper, "The Highway Evangelist," which

features news, photographs and articles of interest to truckers, with a special emphasis upon the chapel ministry.⁷

Wayside chapels are like miniature churches and are only occasionally encountered (Fig. 9). During the 1960s, under the sponsorship of the Christian Reformed Laymen's League of Grand Rapids, a number of chapels were constructed by Christian Reformed churches at various locations throughout the United States and Canada.⁸ These small houses of worship, sometimes referred to as Tom Thumb churches, are about ten feet by fourteen feet in size, with a seating capacity of "10,000 people, six at a time."⁹ They were designed to "minister to the spiritual needs of mobile men."¹⁰ According to one explanation, "the wayside chapel invites those who pass by to stop, pause and worship God. It provides a place for private power. It provides a sanctuary for the soul."¹¹ Outside of the Back to God Chapel in the Pacific Northwest, signs welcome the wayfarer and advise him to "drive with God."

Inside most chapels, pulpit and pews create a church-like environment while the push of a button delivers taped sermons and hymns. Free religious literature, including Bibles and tracts, is also available. Guest registers within these tiny



Fig. 9. A Wayside Chapel near Atwood, Michigan, erected by the Atwood Christian Reformed Church.

structures attest to their effectiveness and popularity. Hundreds of visitors have left not only their names but also such comments as "This is like an oasis on the highway" and "Thank God for this place of prayer."¹² Wayside chapels have been the scene of small weddings as well as the site of repentance and restitution.¹³ Near the altar of a chapel at Corsica, South Dakota, a remorseful thief left a cardboard box on which was written, "Stolen from Rapid City." Inside was a blue mink cape valued at \$1500.¹⁴ Most of the wayside chapels were financed and built through the cooperative efforts of lay people in local congregations. "I can't sing or speak but I can drive a few nails for the Lord," observed one member.¹⁵ Although most chapels are fixed in place, at least two have been built on wheels so that they can be placed at the county fair and other places where people gather.

The construction of wayside chapels along interstate highways has sometimes been controversial. In 1969 the Federal Bureau of Public Roads ordered the removal of two chapels built on Interstate 90 near Corsica, South Dakota, claiming that their presence breached the separation of church and state.¹⁶ Columnist Russell Kirk points out that this particular logic has never been applied to other places of worship that front upon public thoroughfares.¹⁷ Apparently the issue was resolved in favor of the chapels, since a recent letter from the pastor of the Christian Reformed Church at Corsica confirms that the chapels are still situated on the interstate highway.¹⁸ Wayside chapels are also falling victim to urban expansion. Constructed in relatively open areas that are now undergoing commercial, residential and highway development, some chapels, such as the one at Grand Rapids, have been removed or relocated. The wayside chapel construction program is no longer actively promoted among Christian Reformed churches. However, other similar projects are underway in some southern states.

Closely related to the wayside chapels are wayside shrines that also serve as places where the traveler might pause for spiritual refreshment. The shrine is often dedicated to a saint or to the memory of a particular individual. On Highway 23 near Harrisville, Michigan, Our Lady of the Block Rosary Wayside Shrine commemorates Walburga V. Schorn. At Mio, Michigan, Our Lady of the Woods Shrine contains replicas of many famous Catholic shrines located throughout the world. The terms "chapel," "shrine" and "grotto" tend to have denominational implications in that "chapels" are generally sponsored by Protestant groups while "shrines" and "grottoes" usually denote Catholic support.

Grottoes are still another form of worship environment designed to provide spiritual nourishment for those on the road. Whereas wayside chapels and shrines are often unexpectedly

encountered, grottoes are frequently the intended destinations of the religious pilgrim. As the name itself implies, the grotto incorporates cave-like settings composed of various rock and mineral materials. Such settings serve as backgrounds for Biblical figures and scenes, before which the visitor may pause in private prayer and meditation.

Grottoes also often include an area for corporate worship. A grotto-type worship experience may be found at St. Joseph's Wayside Shrine near Brooklyn, Michigan, in the Irish Hills region. The original chapel was built by Irish immigrants in the 1850s but has been enlarged to accommodate the many visitors who come from great distances to worship and to visit the nearby Outdoor Way of the Cross (Fig. 10). The latter was built by Msgr. Joseph Pfeffer who served the parish from 1924 to 1938.¹⁹ The fourteen stations of the Cross lead the pilgrim from the crest of a hill to the shore of a pleasant lake and back again to the hill's summit. At every station, a different geological environment, containing a scene from Christ's journey to Calvary, confronts the viewer. The natural beauty of the landscape, coupled with the colorful stones and tiles of the stations, provides an experience both spiritually rewarding and visually satisfying.

The Grotto of the Redemption at West Bend, Iowa, is a much larger, more ambitious undertaking. Like that at St. Joseph's Shrine, the West Bend Grotto was primarily the work of a single individual, Father Paul Dobberstein, who labored on his project for forty-two years, from 1912 until his death in 1954.²⁰ It too consists of countless rocks, minerals, shells and semi-precious stones that have been assembled into nine separate grottoes which tell the story of the Fall and Redemption of humanity. The Grotto continues to grow through the efforts of Father Dobberstein's successor, Father Louis Greving, and today attracts more than 100,000 visitors annually, some of whom may simply be passing through the area while others have traveled intentionally to this unusual religious site. Other grottoes of a similar nature may be found across America, among them the Ave Maria Grotto at St. Bernard's College, Cullman, Alabama; the Dickeyville Grotto at Dickeyville, Wisconsin; the World Shrine at Duryea, Pennsylvania; and even an underwater grotto, Christ of the Deep, at Key Largo, Florida.

Another type of worship environment that places sacred scenes within natural settings is the religious garden. Lund's Scenic Garden, near Maple City, Michigan, was opened in 1948 by two United Brethren of Christ ministers, E.K. and Orpha Lund. Mr. and Mrs. Lund were inspired to create their garden while painting scenery for a church play. It occurred to them that their Biblical scenes might be placed in an outdoor setting where visitors could enjoy both the art and nature (Fig. 11). Their thirty-six scenes depict the life of Christ from the

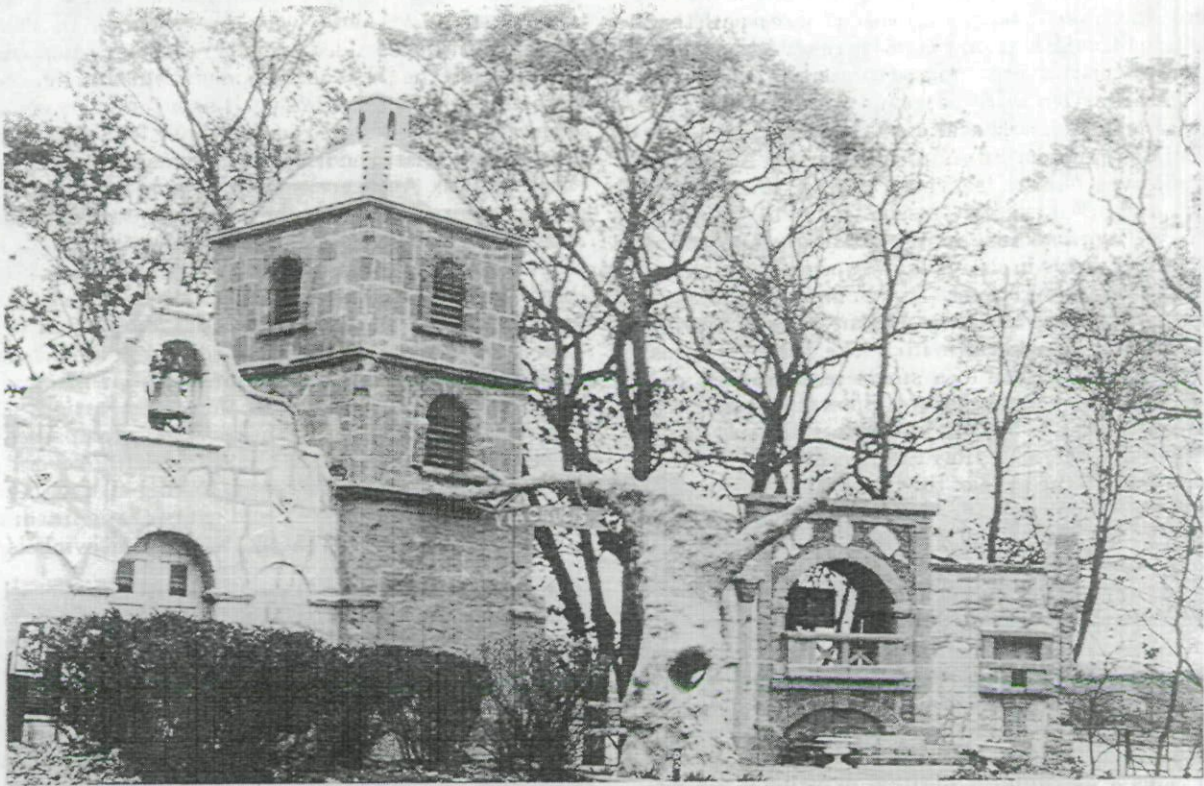


Fig. 10 The entrance to the Outdoor Way of the Cross at St. Joseph's Shrine near Brooklyn, Michigan. A grotto-like worship environment awaits the contemporary pilgrim.



Fig. 11 The "Crucifixion," one of thirty-six tableau scenes placed within Lund's Scenic Garden near Maple City, Michigan.

Annunciation to the Ascension. The tableaux, which are illuminated at night, are placed along a path that winds through sixteen wooded acres.²¹ Although the garden was not meant to be a commercial enterprise, it has attracted many visitors.

Drive-in churches and outdoor churches also serve the religious needs of travelers on American highways. These informal places of worship encourage the casually dressed tourist to "come as you are," with no misgivings about the proper attire for prayer. Drive-in churches are especially prevalent in the south and west. In Michigan, a popular outdoor church is located at Indian River in front of the "World's Largest Crucifix." The latter is a cross made from the wood of a single redwood tree and stands fifty-five feet in height. Upon this great cross hangs a seven-ton bronze Christ executed by sculptor Marshall Fredericks. Holy Stairs containing sacred relics lead to the base of the Cross. Pilgrims to this Catholic shrine visit the stations of the Cross that encircle the Outdoor Church and then mount the Holy Stairs to kneel below the crucifix. Other sacred figures on the grounds include a statue of the Virgin, designated "The Lady of the Highway," patron of travellers. Visitors may burn candles before this figure as they recite a special prayer that begins, "Our Lady of the Highway, be with us on our journey."²² The enactment of ritual acts of devotion before a beautiful natural backdrop undoubtedly provides a meaningful spiritual experience for the faithful.

Perhaps the Protestant equivalent of the "World's Largest Crucifix" are the three empty crosses that stand silhouetted against the sky atop a small hill near Lansing, Michigan. Erected by a local Lutheran church, these symbols of the Crucifixion and Resurrection remind viewers of basic Christian beliefs. Another cross at Reed City, Michigan, memorializes the popular hymn "The Old Rugged Cross," written in 1913 by a local resident, the Reverend George Bennard.²³ Images such as these function as wordless messages to passersby.

A short-lived religious symbol, erected with evangelistic intention, was seen a recent winter at Grand Ledge, Michigan, where two young Mormon missionaries sculpted a replica of the Salt Lake City Mormon Temple out of snow and ice. Their glistening edifice, twelve feet high, stood near a busy intersection and attracted numerous visitors who drove by to take pictures and talk to the shivering artisans. One of the missionaries commented, "Since we built the temple, we've saved a lot of steps. Now the people are coming to us."²⁴ Although this "wayside temple" soon melted, it served as an effective evangelistic measure to draw potential converts to Mormonism.

Still another notable religious image in Michigan, located at a most unlikely site, is the 17-foot concrete Christ that stands at the side of Highway 23 near Ossineke on Lake Huron's

shoreline (Fig. 12). This figure, holding the world in his outstretched hand, was the creation of Paul Domke, who also made the many concrete dinosaurs that inhabit the Dinosaur Gardens Prehistorical Zoo directly behind the Christ. His experience as a church decorator in Detroit may have led Domke to sculpt the Christ in addition to his dinosaurs when he built his zoo. An experience even more unexpected than seeing Christ with the dinosaur awaits those who mount the steps that lead into the rib cage of a life-size brontosaurus. Within this huge reptile is a pink and white shrine dedicated to "Jesus Christ, the greatest heart."²⁵ Surely this spot, reminiscent of Melville's *Moby Dick*, must be among the most unusual worship environments in Christian history.

The material covered in this examination of spiritual opportunities for the traveler encompasses a wide range of objects that normally fall into several different categories. The threads linking all together are their religious content and evangelistic intent. The creation and use of the signs, sites and symbols



Fig. 12. This 17-foot high concrete Christ, holding the world in his outstretched hand, stands in front of the "Dinosaur Gardens Prehistorical Zoo" near Ossineke, Michigan. Both the Christ and the dinosaurs were created by Paul Domke.

in this survey have been motivated by a two-fold purpose: to visibly express the deep faith of the creators and/or users and to reach others through that expression. Sometimes, the expression has been of a corporate nature, reflecting the convictions of a community of believers (the wayside chapels, for example); in other cases, individuals have witnessed to their private religious beliefs through various means. Although much of the material was found in Michigan, similar signs and environments are to be seen in every state.

The personal evangelism of individual followers of Jesus was a critical factor in the spread of early Christianity. One Biblical instance where personal witness occurred along the road can be found in the story of Philip's encounter with the Ethiopian eunuch, as it is related in the Book of Acts. The meeting took place as Philip, one of Jesus's disciples, was on his way from Jerusalem to the Gaza desert. As he traveled he met the Ethiopian who journeyed toward Jerusalem in his chariot, reading the prophecies of Isaiah and puzzling over their meaning. Guided by the Holy Spirit, Philip joined the eunuch and interpreted Isaiah's writings as predicting the coming of Christ, interpretations that led to the immediate conversion and baptism of the Ethiopian.²⁶

The story of Philip and the Ethiopian is just one example of the evangelizing done by early Christians. According to Michael Green, such personal evangelism on the part of many individuals was a decisive element in Christianity's rapid growth:

Christianity is enshrined in the life; but is proclaimed by the lips. . . . If public proclamation of various types and the private use of the home were crucial factors in the spread of the gospel, no less important was personal evangelism, as one individual shared his faith with another. . . . From the moment each man finds the truth about Jesus he is constrained to pass it on. . . . It was in this way that many of the most impressive converts were made. . . . Hand-picked fruit was the best.²⁷

Some contemporary evangelical Christians, like Robert Beaumont and Ernie Katai, continue the tradition of witnessing on the road established by Philip and other early followers of Christ. Even those who witness only through bumper stickers, roadside signs or graffiti are contributing to contemporary evangelism through these silent media.

The many forms of highway evangelism and worship environments provided for the modern traveler are all evidence of the deep desire of many Christians to share their faith with others, an impulse as persistent and powerful today as it was almost two thousand years ago. Considering the survival of this evangelical spirit throughout Christian history, it seems reasonable to assume that as space travel develops there will also be "new measures" devised to provide ways in which to

witness to those bound for Mars or Jupiter. Then "religion on the road" may well become "saving souls in space."

This review of the variety and vast extent of religious material that may be seen across America has omitted all messages that may only be heard, such as radio programs, tape decks and citizen band radio communication. These media add another dimension to the traveler's spiritual pilgrimage. There may be still other forms of "religion on the road." However, enough examples have been cited to convince even the most cynical observer that, to paraphrase John Wiley Nelson, "Christianity is indeed alive and well and appearing on American highways."²⁸

Notes

¹Charles Grandison Finney, "What a Revival of Religion is" (1834), included in *The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900: An Anthology*, William G. McLoughlin, ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 86-100. Finney was responsible for the introduction of special evangelistic techniques at his revivals, which he called "new measures."

²Fred E.H. Schroeder, *Outlaw Aesthetics: Art and the Public Mind* (Bowling Green, Oh.: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1977), p. 125.

³*The Holy Bible*, Book of Daniel, 5:1-30.

⁴B.A. Botkin, "Icon on Wheels: Supericon of Popular Culture," in *Icons of Popular Culture*, edited by Marshall Fishwick and Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green, Oh.: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1970), pp. 47-62. Botkin says: "In the sense of working quasi-magic and performing miracles I conceive of the automobile by analogy as a potent icon or supericon." (p. 47)

⁵Personal interview with Mr. Robert Beaumont on February 10, 1979.

⁶Personal interview with Mr. Ernie Katai on February 15, 1979.

⁷I am indebted to Ernie Katai for information about Transport for Christ and its publication, "The Highway Evangelist." Mr. Katai's own story of his miraculous escape from carbon monoxide poisoning and his subsequent commitment to Christ appears in the October 1974 issue.

⁸Most of my information on wayside chapels comes from the files maintained by Mr. E.R. Post of Grand Rapids, Michigan. Mr. Post was the Director of the Christian Reformed Laymen's League during the years that this organization encouraged the building of the chapels. He was kind enough to send all of his records to me for use in this survey.

⁹"Wayside Chapel Offers Peaceful Haven for Weary," *The Journal and Courier* (Lafayette, Indiana), September 10, 1966, p. 4.

¹⁰"Ministering to Mobile Men," *The Banner* (a publication of the Christian Reformed Church), January 22, 1966, p. 15.

¹¹"The Wayside Chapel," single page published by Christian Reformed Laymen's League, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

¹²*Ministering to Mobile Men*.

¹³Bob Lane, "Chapel (Capacity 6) Solves Wedding Worry," *Seattle Times*, November 24, 1966, p. 1.

¹⁴"Stolen Mink Left at Wayside Chapel," *Daily Republic* (Mitchell, South Dakota), n.d.

¹⁵"Dispatch, Cawker City, Kansas," *The Banner*, August 25, 1967.

¹⁶Roger Leavenworth, "Wayside Chapels in Dispute," unidentified newspaper clipping, Wayside Chapel Files of Mr. E.R. Post.

¹⁷Russell Kirk, "Is a Church Unlawful If It's On a Highway?" *The Phoenix Gazette*, March, 1969.

¹⁸Letter to the author from the Reverend Leonard Stockmeier, pastor of the Christian Reformed Church of Corsica, S.D., dated February 16, 1979.

¹⁹*A Brief History*, leaflet published by St. Joseph's Shrine, Brooklyn, Michigan.

²⁰*The Grotto of the Redemption*, leaflet published by Rev. L.H. Greving, Grotto of the Redemption, West Bend, Iowa.

²¹C. Kurt Dewhurst and Marsha MacDowell, *Rainbows in the Sky: The Folk Art of Michigan in the Twentieth Century* (East Lansing, Mi.: Michigan State University, 1978), pp. 115-118.

²²"Prayer to Our Lady of the Highway," *Catholic Shrine, Indian River, Michigan*, p. 16.

²³Jane and Michael Stern, *Amazing America*, (New York: Random House, Inc., 1977), p. 290.

²⁴Karen Douglas, "Californians Learn What to Do with Snow: Ice 'Temple' Draws Many," *The State Journal* (Lansing, MI), February 10, 1979, p. 1.

²⁵*Amazing America*, p. 290.

²⁶*The Holy Bible*, Acts 8:26-40.

²⁷Michael Green, *Evangelism in the Early Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970), pp. 194, 223, 229.

²⁸John Wiley Nelson, *Your God is Alive and Well and Appearing in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976). Nelson's book examines various American cultural values and their implications for the Christian church, rather than explicitly Christian material.

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