

**MOTHER KNOWS BEST: METHODISM, SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM, AND
DIETARY MORALITY IN VICTORIAN AMERICA**

by

Emily Jean Bailey

Bachelor of Arts, Smith College, 2006

Master of Arts, University of Pittsburgh, 2010

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Kenneth P. Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2015

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
KENNETH P. DIETRICH SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This dissertation was presented

by

Emily Jean Bailey

It was defended on

May 28, 2015

and approved by

Dr. Adam Shear, Associate Professor, Department of Religious Studies

Dr. Rachel Kranson, Assistant Professor, Department of Religious Studies

Dr. Jean Ferguson Carr, Associate Professor, Department of English

Dissertation Advisor: Dr. Paula Kane, Professor and John and Lucine O'Brien Marous Chair
of Contemporary Catholic Studies, Department of Religious Studies

Copyright © by Emily Jean Bailey

2015

MOTHER KNOWS BEST: METHODISM, SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM, AND DIETARY MORALITY IN VICTORIAN AMERICA

Emily Jean Bailey, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2015

This dissertation is a denominational historical study of nineteenth- and early twentieth- century Methodist and Seventh-day Adventist dietary reforms and contributions to American food culture. It first considers the eighteenth-century health reforms of John Wesley as anticipations of nineteenth-century developments. It then asserts, through the lens of a “long” Victorian period, that Methodist and Adventist women, as wives, mothers, and nurturers, were the most influential among all denominations in shaping food culture through actual and perceived moral, religious, and domestic authority. It also brings to light the ways in which Methodist women contributed to the formation of American middle-class morality through their unique Protestant domesticity and striving for moral perfectionism, while Adventist dietary reformers culturally and spiritually set themselves apart from the Protestant mainline through their dietary reforms in preparation for what they believed was an imminent Second Coming of Christ.

The overall purpose of this project is to offer a more nuanced study of culture and meaning when looking at food as a “signifier” of things like gender, race, ethnic identity, the exchange of religious and cultural ideas, and the transmission of those ideas between generations. From the perspective of Victorian American Methodism and Seventh-day Adventism, it shows the ways in which women from both denominations used food for good health, in the construction of religious identity, to mediate shifting American gendered labor patterns, and to alleviate and navigate moral tensions between abundance and frugality with the rise of increasingly industrialized American food production, and in a competitive Victorian American religious marketplace.

As a study of material Christianity, this dissertation reveals how middle-class American Protestant women participated in the formation and maintenance of normative gendered labor and women's power. It explores how food was used by sectarian and mainline traditions to create a sacred order and pervasive sense of Christian morality that influenced American life well into the Progressive Era in the opening decades of the twentieth century.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	XV
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 WESLEY, DIET, AND WELLNESS.....	9
1.1.1 Wesley and Health Reform.....	13
1.1.2 Influences on Wesleyan Approaches to Diet	16
1.1.3 Methodism, Adventism, and Material Christianity	21
1.2 MORAL PHYSIOLOGY	24
1.2.1 Moral Perfectionism	24
1.2.2 Health Reforms and Modern Medicine	26
1.2.3 Water Cures and Vegetarianism.....	28
1.2.3.1 Water Cures.....	29
1.2.3.2 Vegetarianism.....	31
1.3 VICTORIAN AMERICAN METHODISM.....	36
1.3.1 19th c. American Evangelicalism	37
1.3.2 Revivals and “Popular” Religious Practice.....	40
1.3.3 Gender and Camp Meetings.....	42
1.4 CONCLUSIONS.....	45
2.0 DIET AND DOMESTICITY	48
2.1 EATING LIKE A CHRISTIAN SHOULD	50
2.1.1 Making Moral Food Choices	51
2.1.2 19 th c. Food Innovations	58

2.2	CLASS, RACE, AND THE CHRISTIAN HOME.....	59
2.2.1	The 19th c. Protestant Home	60
2.2.2	Domestic Service, Race, and the Middle Class	65
2.3	GENDER AND POWER	75
2.3.1	Defining “Gender”.....	76
2.3.2	Protestant Victorian Gender Norms.....	77
2.3.2.1	Victorian Womanhood	81
2.3.2.2	Methodist Women	83
2.3.2.3	Protestant Masculinity.....	90
2.3.3	Gender and Power	93
2.4	CONCLUSIONS	99
3.0	ELLEN WHITE: MATRIARCH AND VISIONARY	101
3.1	ORIGINS OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM AND DIET REFORMS ..	104
3.1.1	White’s Early Years	107
3.1.2	A New Religion.....	111
3.1.3	Diet in the “Burned-Over” District.....	113
3.2	WHITE’S MORAL FOOD PROPHECIES	115
3.2.1	Diet in Adventism	117
3.2.2	Adventist Vegetarianism	121
3.2.3	Temperance	124
3.3	ADVENTIST MOTHERHOOD.....	126
3.3.1	Adventism and Domesticity	127
3.3.2	White as a Maternal Figure.....	132

3.4	THE BATTLE CREEK SANITARIUM	133
3.4.1	White and Kellogg: Gender and Power at Battle Creek.....	136
3.4.2	Diet at the “San”	143
3.4.3	Ties between Diet and Dress Reform	149
3.5	CONCLUSIONS	154
4.0	FOOD AND “READING” METHODISM.....	157
4.1	RELIGIOUS PRINT IN AMERICA	159
4.1.1	Women as Readers and Writers.....	160
4.1.2	Domestic Texts as “Autobiographies”	164
4.2	THE <i>LADIES’ REPOSITORY</i>	168
4.2.1	Ideal Motherhood	170
4.2.2	Food and Pious Domesticity.....	173
4.3	SHE’S NO GOOD IF SHE CAN’T MAKE PIE.....	178
4.3.1	Paratexts and Cookbooks as Rhetoric	180
4.3.2	Readership.....	182
4.3.3	Artwork and Advertisements	184
4.3.3.1	Gendered Ideals.....	185
4.3.3.2	Religious Ideals.....	189
4.3.3.3	Dietary Ideals.....	190
4.3.4	Life Recipes	193
4.3.5	Religious Recipes	196
4.3.6	Additional Paratexts.....	198
4.4	CONCLUSIONS	200

5.0	EPILOGUE.....	204
5.1	PROGRESSIVE ERA FOOD POLITICS.....	205
5.2	IMMIGRATION, ASSIMILATION, AND ACCULTURATION	208
5.3	ADVENTISM.....	209
5.4	“FOOD WILL WIN THE WAR”	211
5.5	CONCLUSIONS	217
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	221

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Glenn Springs Hotel Advertisement. <i>The Watchman and Southron</i> , Sumter, S.C. June 27, 1894. <i>Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress</i> . http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93067846/1894-06-27/ed-1/seq-10/	31
Figure 2. Menus like this one from the Seventh-day Adventist Battle Creek Sanitarium exemplify nineteenth-century ideals for plain, healthful, moral diets. Courtesy of Stan Hickerson, private collection.....	54
Figure 3. Menus like this one from a Protestant charitable church cookbook, represent the realities of what many Americans were eating in communal luncheons. Ladies of the Broadway Presbyterian Church, <i>The Cook's Friend: A Collection of Valuable Recipes</i> (Logansport, Indiana: Journal Company Book and Job Print, 1878), 112. (JBL).....	55
Figure 4. These blueprints for a church-like exterior and interior that included a pulpit were presented by the Beecher sisters as practical ways to further incorporate Christian values into daily life at home. Beecher and Stowe, <i>The American Woman's Home</i> , 454 and 456.....	63
Figure 5. The Wesley teapot offered a meal prayer to those who used it: "Be present at our Table Lord/Be here and everywhere ador'd/These creatures blessed & grant that we/May feast in Paradise with thee," and on the second side: "We thank Thee Lord for this our food/But more because of Jesus' blood/Let manna to our Souls be given/The bread of Life sent down from Heaven." Early twentieth-century reproduction from author's collection.....	65
Figure 6. This depiction of a male Madonna, from a series of twelve anti-suffrage postcards printed in 1909, illustrates concerns about the domestic work that would be left undone if women were increasingly absent from home life. Dunston-Weiler Lithograph Company, 1909. Courtesy of	

Catherine H. Palczewski Postcard Archive. University of Northern Iowa. Cedar Falls, Iowa.
<http://www.uni.edu/palczews/NEW%20postcard%20webpage/Dunston%20Weiler.html>

[accessed May 20, 2015]..... 89

Figure 7. The caption to Leech’s drawing reads, “*Affectionate Little Wife (who has made many abortive attempts to fathom the secrets of Freemasonry)*. ‘WELL, BUT DEAR! TELL ME *ONE* THING, DO THEY PUT YOU INTO A COFFIN?’” emphasizing the degree to which Freemasons in Britain and America were believed to keep the secrets of their organization, even at home. John Leech, “Pleasant,” *John Leech’s Pictures of Life and Character, from the Collection of Mr. Punch* (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co., 1886). Project Gutenberg.
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/46349/46349-h/46349-h.htm>..... 93

Figure 8. “The Christ of the Narrow Way: A Heroic Mural based on the First Vision of Ellen G. White” (1991) by Elfred Lee is a mural located at the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in Silver Spring, Maryland and depicts White’s first vision in 1844.(EGW)..... 116

Figure 9. The Western Health Reform Institute, ca. 1868 (EGW) 137

Figure 10. In her later years, White traveled with her son William, through whom Kellogg sent his regards and correspondence to White. John Harvey Kellogg, Letter to W.C. White, April 9, 1894. (EGW)..... 140

Figure 11. A portion of the Battle Creek Sanitarium campus, ca. 1884-1890. (EGW)..... 144

Figure 12. White wrote of Adventist women’s reformed dress: “Our skirts are few and light, not taxing our strength with burden of many and longer ones. Our limbs being properly clothed, we need comparatively few skirts; and these are suspended from the shoulders. Our dresses are fitted to sit easily, obstructing neither the circulation of the blood, nor natural, free, and full respiration. Our skirts, being neither numerous, nor fashionably long, do not impede the means of locomotion,

but leave us to move about with ease and activity. All these things are necessary to health.” Pamphlet, <i>The Dress Reform</i> . Battle Creek, Michigan: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868. (EGW).....	151
Figure 13. Charitable church cookbooks were marketed to their readership with illustrations of a well-kept, stylish, Christian woman. Epworth League of the First M. E. Church of Barnesville, Ohio, <i>Tried and Approved Recipes</i> . Cincinnati: Monfort & Co., 1907. (VT)	186
Figure 14. With the advent of new cooking technologies, having the right kitchen equipment became more important than previous generations’ emphases on one’s ability, or skills in the kitchen. Ladies’ Aid Society of the First Methodist Episcopal Church. <i>The Table Queen Cook Book</i> . Pueblo, Colorado: Franklin Press, 1914. (JBL)	188
Figure 15. Convenience foods like Jello were marketed to women who wanted quick, easy foods to prepare. Ladies’ Aid Society of the M.E. Church, Farwell, Pennsylvania. <i>The Pride of the Kitchen</i> . Williamsport, Pennsylvania: Scholl Lithographing Co., 1912. (JBL)	188
Figure 16. Advertisements used language like “pure” and “strong” to appeal to the sensibilities of Christian women, while also promising to alleviate some of the burdens of cooking, like failed recipes. Ladies of the Methodist Episcopal Church. <i>Echoes from Many Kitchens, Methodist Cook Book</i> . Greenville, Illinois: The Church, 1912. (JBL).....	190
Figure 17. Ads like this one present an alternative view of “pure” foods, compared with the use of the term “purity” to describe nutritiously empty products like white flour and sugar at the time. Inasmuch Circle King’s Daughters of the Congregational Church, Wakefield, Massachusetts. <i>Look before You Cook</i> . Malden, MA: Geo. E. Dunbar, 1909. (JBL)	192
Figure 18. This ad from the same cookbook uses religious language like “creed,” “gospel,” and “the golden rule,” to advertise to a Christian audience of potential customers. (JBL).....	192

Figure 19. “Life recipes” in “charities” took the form of traditional food recipes, offering women instructions for how to improve their marriages, homes, and lives. Ladies of the Centenary M.E. Church. <i>The Prairie City Cook Book: A Collection of Five Hundred Tested Recipes for the Preparation of Daily and Occasional Dishes</i> . Terre Haute, Indiana: Moore & Langen, Printers and Book Binders, 1891. (JBL)	195
Figure 20. This recipe for “Scripture” cake by Mrs. Edwin Clark in a Methodist cookbook from 1914 reminded women of the ingredients named in corresponding biblical passages. Ladies’ Aid Society of the First Methodist Episcopal Church. <i>The Table Queen Cook Book</i> . Pueblo, Colorado: Franklin Press, 1914. (JBL)	197
Figure 21. This recipe for “Scripture” cake assumes that the baker is more familiar with scripture, or has her Bible close at hand. Ladies of the South Side Presbyterian Church. <i>A Book of Practical Recipes</i> . Pittsburg, Pennsylvania: Meyers-Standfast Co., 1907. (JBL)	197
Figure 22. This “life recipe” in the same cookbook offers readers scriptural passages to turn to in their day-to-day trials. (JBL).....	198
Figure 23. This advertisement from a turn-of-the-century cookbook depicts young women learning the domestic arts in a laboratory, illustrating increasing scientific attitudes toward caring for the home. Ladies of the Pilgrim Congregational Church Cook Book, 2 nd Ed. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1901. (FAP).....	201
Figure 24. The U.S. Food Administration reminded Christian women that wasting food was sinful, especially in war-time. National Archive. http://research.archives.gov/description/512530	215
Figure 25. War-time posters were also printed to support patriotism among immigrant populations in America. Library of Congress, “A Century of Immigration, 1820-1924.” <i>From Haven to Home</i> :	

<i>350 Years of Jewish Life in America.</i> http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/haventohome/haven-century.html	216
---	-----

PREFACE

It takes a village to write a dissertation, and a debt of gratitude is owed to the many individuals and organizations that made this project and my degree possible. I am grateful for the guidance and feedback of my committee members and for their unique qualities that have aided me in the completion of this dissertation and my training in the field. My advisor Paula Kane's encouragement of my topic and thoughtful feedback has been vital for this project. I likewise appreciate Adam Shear's patience and wit, Rachel Kranson's contagious enthusiasm, and Jean Ferguson Carr's kindness and candidness.

I am indebted to my fellow cohort members David Givens and Susie Meister Butler for their friendship and empathy along the way. Greg De St. Maurice has been a friend and ally in the burgeoning field of Food Studies, and Alice Julier has been invaluable in her compassion and investment in my research and teaching. I am thankful for Clark Chilson's insightful feedback and mentorship, and for helping me to see the value in studying religion *and* food, and for the counsel and example of Patrick Hughes and Joel Brady.

I must also acknowledge the generosity of the Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies program at the University for their invitations to present my work in colloquia, and for the Student Research Grant that funded a portion of my archival work. I value my friends and colleagues in the Nineteenth-Century Studies Association, American Academy of Religion, Association for the Study of Food and Society, and Lucy Maud Montgomery Institute for their collaboration at conferences and tremendously insightful feedback about this project.

The Vice Director of the Ellen G. White Estate, Tim Poirier, has been indispensable with his depth of knowledge and willingness to help me to find the best Adventist archival materials to

support my work. J.J. Jacobson, Curator of the American Culinary History Collection at the University of Michigan, was equally enthusiastic and helpful in my time visiting the Special Collections department, and I thank Jan Longone for her generosity in sharing her beautiful and unrivaled collection of charitable cookbooks, and for taking the time to meet with me during my research trip. I am grateful to Stan Hickerson of the Ellen G. White Estate for sharing menus from his private collection, and his expertise about the Battle Creek Sanitarium, and to our department library specialist, Laurie Cohen for her gracious and willing assistance.

I am forever grateful for the unwavering love and support of my family throughout this journey, and in all of my adventures. I am blessed to have parents and siblings who have been my confidants and champions. Finally, I am indebted to my husband Troy—marathon proofreader, my toughest critic, and my truest friend—who has weathered this process with love and determination, helping to make this final draft a reality.

All but one of my great-grand parents immigrated to America in the early decades of the twentieth century. As Irish, Italian, and Slovakian Catholics, the challenges that they faced financially, socially, and religiously must have seemed, at times, insurmountable. I have undertaken this project, in part, to better understand the dominant middle-class Protestant culture into which my ancestors acclimated as blacksmiths and coal miners, making tremendous sacrifices so that their children and grandchildren could have better opportunities and more secure lives.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In her later years, Seventh-day Adventist leader and visionary Ellen G. White (1827-1915) lamented that “some...think that the question of diet is not important enough to be included in the question of religion. But such make a great mistake.”¹ What is lost in our study of religion when it does not include an examination of food practices? What can diet and domestic food traditions tell us about religion that we might not otherwise know?

The many connections between food and religion have been recognized by scholars as serious topics of academic study only within the past few decades, as shifting perceptions about the seemingly mundane act of eating have started to focus on food as a potential signifier of gender, class, race, and even religious identity. Though *kashrut* and *halal* parameters for diet and food preparation in Judaism and Islam clearly delineate what it means to eat like a Jew or Muslim, it is difficult to define what it means to “eat like a Christian” without similar guidelines to follow. In particular, Protestant Christian approaches to eating are far less prescribed, or universally defined. What a study of Protestant food practices can reveal, however, is the significant contributions of Protestant women in defining American diet and cultural identity.

In this study I locate key moments in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that demonstrate trends in lay Protestant food practices, through a unique form of Protestant material

¹ Ellen G. White, “Go Forward,” *Bible Training School*, 1 no.2 (1902): 28.

Christianity. This study covers a “long” Victorian era, with religious dietary practices that had foundations in John Wesley’s eighteenth-century religious community. The British Victorian period is traditionally defined by the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901), while the American Victorian period is considered to have begun and ended decades later; its dates varying according to the historians who define them. While the influences of the British Victorian period on American life are unquestionable, (Methodist women spoke of “the great blessing of a female reign,” and the resulting “purity of court-morals and...decorum of manners” when Victoria took the throne), the eras are not identical and it is not in the scope of this study to compare them.²

Nonetheless, the “Victorian” period in the United States can be used as somewhat of an umbrella term, encompassing the Antebellum, Reconstruction, Gilded Age, and Progressive periods. For the sake of using one term to describe this period in the context of the materials that I researched, I will use “Victorian.” Likewise, in using this term I do not mean to mask the importance of the distinct movements that took place during these decades, but rather to identify a period of time in American history, roughly corresponding to the reign of Victoria through end of the First World War. I do not consider the years of Wesley’s early tradition to be part of this “Victorian” era, but include them to demonstrate the ways in which he and his followers anticipated many of the dietary and health reforms that appeared in the nineteenth century. The term “Victorian,” which has romantic and emotive connotations, also seems an appropriate moniker for a study of a feminine way of life that terms like the “Industrial Era” could not capture in the same way.

I approach the Methodist denomination as one in which dietary restrictions were initially used by John Wesley (1703-1791) and his followers as a unifying force for religious identity, and

² *Ladies’ Repository*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (April 1853), 154.

later as a tool for women who assisted immigrant populations in the process of cultural and religious assimilation when the tradition became mainstream.³ In contrast, I focus on the role of food in Seventh-day Adventist practice through the lens of the dietary reforms that were maintained by nineteenth-century followers both in deference to the visions of Ellen White, and as a means for remaining set apart from period cultural and religious norms. In both instances I uncover how gendered notions of nurturing, embodiment, and power played out through women's dominant domestic roles.

Like their Puritan forebears, nineteenth-century evangelists like the Methodists, and some sectarian groups like the Adventists, sought to help America transition from a nation that they perceived to be a “spiritual wilderness” into one that was religiously and morally renewed.⁴ With the evangelical religious revivals of the nineteenth century, personal life became “sacralized,” as religious attention shifted to an ideal of individual holiness not seen before.⁵ This understanding of theology and spiritual practice was one that coincided with a heightened Protestant awareness of the home as the private domain of the individual, setting the domestic sphere apart from what was perceived to be an increasingly secularized and corrupt world.

As food has traditionally been relegated to the domestic realm and female work, it only made sense that reforming religious women also “wanted to change the way Americans ate,” striving to “make the American diet more Christian—which for them meant more refined and

³ Today's United Methodist Church was established in 1968 when the American Methodist Church merged with the Evangelical United Brethren Church. There have been more than a dozen forms of Methodism in America since the eighteenth century, with a major split occurring between northern and southern churches over the issue of slavery in 1844. The Methodist Episcopal Church emerged out of Wesley's early movement, and was established at the Christmas Conference in Baltimore, Maryland in 1784.

⁴ Robert H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 171.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 163-164.

polite, more genteel.”⁶ The Protestant middle class, with the Methodist tradition at its helm in the second half of the century, was largely responsible for helping to shape nineteenth-century American culture, morality, and diet. As a result, “eating as a Christian should” became equated with “eating like [white], genteel middle-class Americans.”⁷

Nineteenth and early twentieth-century religious food choices were likewise rooted in the shared Wesleyan and Seventh-day Adventist belief that the body was a vehicle for salvation.⁸ Of all of the Protestant denominations in nineteenth-century America, it can be argued that Methodism was the most “embodied,” as followers “moved toward perfection by performing it.”⁹ The body—as an instrument for the spirit—had to be kept in top form so as to support and reflect one’s inward grace. Bodily movements, or “exercises” at early camp meetings were viewed by participants as outward confirmations of an inward conversion experience, to the extent that in many stories of conversion it seemed that the body compelled the spirit to convert.¹⁰ As time went on and camp meeting culture dissipated, diet and nutrition became outlets for wellness and spiritual expression, for Methodists and Adventists alike.

The Methodist and Adventist traditions are considered side-by-side in this study because of their shared history and unique and influential approaches to health and diet in America. Ellen White was raised in the Methodist tradition, and “her responses to William Miller and the Great Disappointment of 1844 were shaped [in part] by the visionary culture of shouting Methodism.”¹¹

⁶ Daniel Sack, *Whitebread Protestants: Food and Religion in American Culture* (New York: PALGRAVE, 2000), 191.

⁷ Ibid., 194.

⁸ Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 156-157.

⁹ Troy Messenger, *Holy Leisure and God’s Square Mile* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 3.

¹⁰ Ibid., 64.

¹¹ Jonathan M. Butler, “Portrait,” in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 5. “Shouting Methodists” were so called because of their enthusiastic vocalizations during worship services and prayer meetings. These meetings are recalled in a Methodist hymn book

Like many converts to Miller's tradition, White was attracted by a religious culture that retained the conversion and sanctification experiences of Methodist camp meetings, while working toward individual purification for Christ's expected return.¹²

When Miller's tradition failed, White applied these doctrines to her new Adventist movement, which "undoubtedly aroused or intensified traditional longings for the felt-presence of Jesus," and "renewed attention to sanctification as a means of preparing for his imminent return."¹³ According to White, this sanctification was possible through austerities in diet and how bodies were cared for, so that the "wrong habits of life should be corrected, the morals elevated, the tastes changed, and the dress reformed" in preparation for Christ's return.¹⁴

The following chapters focus on the ways in which Methodism and Adventism developed in Victorian America alongside industrialized food production, consumption patterns, and shifting American foodways. While many denominational stories in America concentrate on men as founders and clergy, this project strives to illuminate the significant contributions that women made to nineteenth and early twentieth-century food culture and religious movements, and the social and religious power that they were able to achieve through their perceived superior domestic and moral authority. It is my hope that this project will encourage others to study American food and religion through further comparative denominational lenses.

from 1807, in which Hymn 81 states: "The Methodists were preaching like thunder all about/At length I went amongst them to hear them groan and shout/ I thought they were distracted, such fools I'd never seen/They'd stamp, and clap, and tremble, and roar and cry and scream" (Stith Mead, Preacher of the Gospel, M.E.C., *A General Selection of the Newest and Most Admired Hymns and Spiritual Songs Now in Use*. Richmond: Seaton Grantland, 1807), 117-118). What this demonstrates is that even as early as 1807, some of the physical manifestations of Methodist practice were being called into question by other Methodists.

¹² Ibid., 34.

¹³ Ibid., 35.

¹⁴ Ellen G. White, "Position and Work of the Sanitarium, 1881," *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 4* (Battle Creek, Michigan: Review and Herald, 1881), 582.

The remainder of this introductory chapter argues that the dietary reforms and approaches to wellness embraced by eighteenth-century Wesleyans served as catalysts for the ways in which Methodist women approached food and the body in the first half of the nineteenth century. Founder John Wesley's influential mother was especially significant in the formation and organization of his tradition, as were the dietary and wellness movements that he supported. I look at these influences in light of the Methodist tradition and its transmission to America in the eighteenth century, with special attention to how the American Methodist movement intersected and conflicted with traditional diet and foodways.

Chapter 2 considers the effects of Victorian era social and religious expectations on the lives of evangelical Protestant women, reflecting on the ways in which Methodist women gained and maintained moral and culinary authority from within their homes and church communities. I redefine what counts as "power" in light of women's creation and preservation of gender norms, and emphasize what can be defined as a unique, Protestant form of domesticity. This chapter also considers how race and social class were informed by and helped to shape Victorian American religious life and cultural identity. I argue that Victorian women both upheld and pushed the limits of gendered normativity, contributing to the formation of a cult of domesticity, while gaining religious and social power through their domestic work.

Chapters 3 and 4 are "case studies" of female-authored primary source materials about diet and domesticity, demonstrating the ways that Methodist and Adventist women contributed to and resisted the Victorian American gender ideals outlined in the previous two chapters. The writings, correspondences, and visions of Seventh-day Adventist founder and leader Ellen White are considered in Chapter 3. From a dietary standpoint, White built her new tradition on early Methodist foundations, approaching diet and wellness through her purported divine visions about

eating and the body. Unlike Sylvester Graham (1794-1851), William A. Alcott (1798-1859), and John Harvey Kellogg (1852-1943), White is noticeably, and strikingly, absent from much of the secondary scholarship about Victorian food reforms. This chapter underscores White's influence on diet at the Seventh-day Adventist Battle Creek Sanitarium, and continuing effect on the diet of her followers through the present day.

The “domestic religion” of Catharine Beecher (1800-1878), Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896), Sara Josepha Hale (1788-1879), and Margaret Fuller (1810-1850) undoubtedly contributed to the ways in which Protestant women and the home became increasingly sanctified and associated with morality in Victorian America.¹⁵ These idealized views of motherhood and domestic life found expression in Christian parlor etiquette, and even architectural changes to homes in the nineteenth century. In Chapter 4, I show how women's domestic texts, specifically Protestant church cookbooks and the Methodist *Ladies' Repository* (1841-1876) magazine, were used by women to create, support, and confront the gender, domestic, dietary, and religious ideals of their day, gaining social power through perceived moral superiority.

My Epilogue takes into account the ways in which Protestant Christian women used food as a tool to aid immigrants in their assimilation in the early twentieth century, having largely moved away from the dietary reforms of their early tradition. Food was likewise used by women during the period as a way to support the war effort during the First World War. In both cases, mainline Methodist women employed food practices and domestic knowledge for what they believed to be social betterment. This chapter concludes with a reflection on the ways in which

¹⁵ Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle-Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1730-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 182 and 184.

food reinforced moral, Christian nationalism with the advent of World War I, while continuing to play a part in the religious lives of American Methodist and Adventist women.

When conducting my research for this project I found that recent American scholarship about religion and food has tended toward non-Judeo-Christian traditions. The few studies that have explored the connections between Protestantism and food in the west have largely looked toward agriculture and sustainability, in addition to dietary laws and practices, as in Gary W. Fick's *Food, Farming, and Faith* (2008) and Ellen Davis' *Scripture, Culture, and Agriculture* (2009).

In recent years the intersections of food and religion in Protestantism were most notably evaluated by Daniel Sack in his seminal *Whitebread Protestants: Food and Religion in American Culture* (2000). While Sack's study is a survey of food practices among middle-class white Protestants from a range of denominations and eras, this project is a denominational history which focuses on Methodist and Seventh-day Adventist contributions to a critical moment of food and religious innovation in American.¹⁶

This project also takes into consideration the broader body of scholarship about food and religion that has emerged in the past few decades, bolstered by the efforts of historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and ethnographers alike. In the late 1980s the relationship between food and fasting in the life of Catholic religious women was explored by Caroline Walker Bynum in *Holy Feast, Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (1987) and in Patricia Curran's *Grace Before Meals: Food Ritual and Body Discipline in Convent Culture*

¹⁶ This study defines the middle class as the population of Americans that fell somewhere in between the wealthy (and much smaller) Victorian upper class, and a working class that sometimes lived in poverty. The middle class was still a working class, but could afford to make dietary choices and had the leisure time to participate in religious movements of the period. Families that fell into this class were "neither rich nor starving," and many lived in urban centers in the U.S. where the white collar jobs that they worked were more prevalent, and the Protestant denominations to which they adhered, more dominant.

(1989). The 1990s saw the publication of works connecting food, culture, race, and religion, like Jualynne E. Dodson and Cheryl Townsend Gilkes “‘There’s Nothing Like Church Food’: Food and the U.S. Afro-Christian Tradition: Re-membering Community and Feeding the Embodied S/spirit(s)” (1995), Elizabeth Ehrlich’s popular *Miriam’s Kitchen: A Memoir* (1997), and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s “Kitchen Judaism” (1991). Like each of these studies, this dissertation attempts to define and analyze women’s traditional relationships to food denominationally. Building from this scholarship, it also brings to light women’s innovative contributions to the formation of tradition and American culture through food and religion.

1.1 WESLEY, DIET, AND WELLNESS

To understand nineteenth-century Methodist approaches to diet it is important to first consider Wesley’s eighteenth-century influences on them. The new denomination that became known as Methodism was the result of the efforts of British brothers John and Charles Wesley to reform Anglican religious practice in the 1740s. Founding a “Holy Club” while at Oxford, the Wesleys emphasized the importance of charity and social responsibility with a decidedly Arminian view of good works as being essential to Christian salvation.¹⁷ Though the Wesley brothers emphasized the importance of good works, God’s grace was also manifest through one’s inward experience of faith, as demonstrated in revivals, conversion stories, and religious testimonies. Grace, then, was something to be earned, cultivated, and developed in one’s life—“influenced by God’s will, but

¹⁷ James Haskins, *The Methodists* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1992), 10.

never coerced or forced by Him.”¹⁸ Although it was not initially John Wesley’s intention to form a religious community separate from the Church of England, when a London bishop denied the brothers the ordination of ministers to serve as Methodists in England and America, a new sect was born.¹⁹

The tradition emerged in a period of “self-reflection and post-Enlightenment intellectual pursuits”—pursuits that appealed to the equally pioneering new American nation.²⁰ The Methodist tradition gained popularity in America as a sect, (initially aligned with the Church of England) after a missionizing Wesley visited Georgia in the 1730s. Although it would take a century for the church to grow to its zenith in the mid-1800s, as an evangelical movement Wesley’s offshoot was not alone. The charismatic Anglican preacher George Whitefield and others were also carving out their places in American religious history during the First Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s. As evangelical leaders, both Wesley and Whitefield supported a religious life that acknowledged the authority of the Bible, and the significance of an experience of spiritual re-birth, in which the potential for salvation was realized through a relationship with the divine. Wesley took this one step further, suggesting that salvation was not pre-determined, but could come through one’s faith in God and the salvific power of Jesus Christ.²¹

Where a perceived covenantal relationship with God had been central to Puritan religious identity, the Methodist dismissal of a Calvinistic worldview was far more acceptable in the more diverse and religiously pluralistic religious settings of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

¹⁸ Philip Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 231.

¹⁹ The term sect, as it applies to religious movements that are not fully recognized as churches (especially with regard to non-mainline denominations) is not one favored by most insiders to religious traditions. In my research I did not encounter any insider primary sources or secondary scholarship in which Wesley, White, or their followers referred to their movements as “sects.”

²⁰ Susan Williams, *Food in the United States, 1820s-1890* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006), 2.

²¹ Grant Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 32.

This shift was initiated in part by the disestablishment of American religion written into the Constitution in 1791, largely thanks to the work of James Madison.²² Still, as Alexis de Tocqueville noted upon his visit to America in the 1830s, “there [wa]s no country in the whole world in which the Christian religion retain[ed] a greater influence over the souls of men than in America.”²³ The religious reforms of the eighteenth century did not secularize America, but instead paved the way for the Second Great Awakening (1790-1840) and revivalist fervor that made it possible for traditions like Methodism to flourish in the nineteenth century.

The rationalism and reason of the Enlightenment likewise gave rise to the anti-traditionalism and progressivism of the educated middle class as the eighteenth century came to a close and the nineteenth century commenced. Whether part of the intellectual elite, as many Unitarians were, or one among the masses of average Americans drawn to inclusive traditions like Methodism, the nineteenth century marked a period of drastic religious changes in America.

It was during this same Revolutionary period that “gendered meanings of virtue” emerged—understandings of gender that would be foundational for nineteenth and early twentieth-century approaches to feminine virtue.²⁴ Women became even more religiously dominant through the “notion that [they] protected and sustained a home-centered morality” that had the power to protect their families from the “influences of worldly male sinfulness.”²⁵ Wesley’s mother Susanna wrote to her son Samuel in 1704, mothers should “desire nothing in this world so much

²² Despite prominent Americans like Thomas Jefferson insisting that “no man should be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever,” state-supported religions in the colonies made the realities of religious tolerance questionable at best (Thomas Jefferson, “Virginia Statute on Religious Freedom,” 1786).

²³ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, transl. Henry Reeve (State College, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University, 2002), 334.

²⁴ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 187.

²⁵ Messenger, *Holy Leisure and God’s Square Mile*, 85.

as to have [their] children well instructed in the principles of religion, that they may walk in the narrow way which alone leads to happiness.”²⁶

Because the feminine and domestic were considered to be pure and morally superior, even male conversion at camp meetings and revivals was geared toward “salvation from th[e] ‘worldly’ life of male vice to a restored relationship ‘at home’ with God and family.”²⁷ So great was Christian, female, moral virtue that the home became a model for society—a model that would be adopted and further developed by evangelical Protestant sects like Methodism in the nineteenth century.

The American Revolution also made an impact on religious practice and doctrine in America, as many churches were divorced from their denominational ties to England and abroad. The 1789 “reorganization” of the Church of England in America as the Protestant Episcopal Church U.S.A. offers one such example, notwithstanding John Wesley’s anti-Revolution stance. Finding a foothold at last in the American religious marketplace in 1784 under the direction of newly ordained bishops Thomas Coke (1747-1814) and Francis Asbury (1745-1816), the Methodist Episcopal movement grew from a small sect with membership numbering in the mere hundreds. The early tradition was one in which members were encouraged to follow their conscience before acting, “consider[ing] how God did or would do the like,” and then to act accordingly.²⁸ This “methodical” behavior was a guide for Bible study, prayer, and diet, and the driving force behind the movement’s emphasis on service to others.

²⁶ Susanna Wesley, *Susanna Wesley: the Complete Writings*, ed. Charles Wallace, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 48.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Haskins, *The Methodists*, 32.

From the start, the Methodist movement emphasized an imminent and immediate experience of God's grace. By the time of the Second Great Awakening the emphasis on a personal experience of God and the redemptive power of faith reached new heights, as American Christians moved away from bleaker Puritan conceptions of man's depravity and inability to be saved. With a rapidly increasing American Methodist population, these religious views permeated American culture and life, as the evangelical emphasis on personal salvation became increasingly appealing to converts to the tradition. As a result, by 1850 the number of Methodists in America sky-rocketed to nearly 35% of the population from a mere 2.5% in 1776—nearly double the combined number of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians in the U.S. at that time.²⁹

1.1.1 Wesley and Health Reform

During the American Victorian period the Methodist “conversion narrative” was one that “stressed the drama” of a second, or spiritual rebirth “as a means of escaping a world of sin and licentiousness, and of entering a world of faith and godly discipline,” something that could be pursued with both body and soul.³⁰ Unlike Puritan or Catholic views of the body as a corrupt, potential hindrance on one's path to salvation, Wesley and his followers thought of the body as a vehicle to be cultivated for the benefit of the soul. Wesley reflected on the close bond between body and soul, writing that inherently “frail” and easily “disordered” human bodies should be

²⁹ David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 9. The tradition remained a dominant religious force in America until the expansion of the Roman Catholic Church that accompanied rising immigration in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

maintained in “some tolerable fitness for our souls’ use.”³¹ Body disciplines, including diet and exercise, became for Methodists—and later, Adventists—means toward a spiritually beneficial end. Engaging in such practices also set Methodists apart from their Anglican forebears and other American Protestant communities, helping the tradition to gain followers as a distinctive denomination.

Because of the direct influence of diet on physical well-being, when studying food in any religious context it is also important to consider that tradition’s views on the body (bearing in mind that religious approaches to eating are typically undertaken with far greater goals than nourishment). For early Methodists and later for Adventists, food and the body transcended the mundane, and became potentially sacred means for salvation. From Wesley’s perspective, the “dependence” of body and spirit was so important as to need to “be inviolably maintained; that even the operations of the soul should so far depend upon the body as to be exerted in a more or less perfect manner.”³² Spiritual perfection and sanctification could therefore be determined by how one took care of their body, whether through exercise, diet, or both.

While health reforms and resulting body disciplines were considered to be spiritually beneficial for all who undertook them, those with poor health seemed to be especially drawn to such austerities. Wesley, like Ellen and James White (1821-1881), Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910), and Sylvester Graham, suffered from ailments like tuberculosis at various times in his life, and traced man’s physical suffering to the fall of humanity in the Old Testament book of Genesis. With this in mind, Wesley wrote that “since man rebelled against the Sovereign of heaven and

³¹ John Wesley, “Sermon 137, On the Resurrection of the Dead,” 1732, Northwest Nazarene University <http://wesley.nnu.edu/john-wesley/the-sermons-of-john-wesley-1872-edition/sermon-137-on-the-resurrection-of-the-dead/> [accessed April 30, 2015]

³² John Wesley, “Sermon 141, The Image of God, 1730,” in *The Works of John Wesley, Vol. 4, Sermons 115-151*, ed. Albert C. Outler (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987): 292.

earth, how entirely is the scene changed! The incorruptible frame has put on corruption, the immortal has put on mortality. The seeds of weakness and pain, of sickness and death are now lodged in our inmost substance; whence a thousand disorders continually spring...”³³ But bodies weren’t merely corrupt vessels prone to sinfulness—they could be cared for and cultivated, becoming spiritually elevated.

From this perspective, Wesley and his followers viewed salvation as only being possible with the “restoration of a good created order that included health.”³⁴ Was there was a certain chosen-ness in physical suffering that brought these reformers closer to the divine? Did physical suffering make individuals more Christ-like, and therefore worthy of leading others on paths of physical and spiritual wellness? For early Wesleyans and nineteenth-century health reformers both were true. Later Methodists, however, would move away from such extreme body disciplines, approaching diet instead from physiological and moral perspectives, rather than salvific ones.

This is not to say that physical impairments or diseases were necessarily direct corollaries to one’s spiritual state. Wesley allowed for the possibility that illness could occur despite one’s best efforts to stay well, and that wellness did not necessarily imply spiritual aptitude. Instead, he emphasized that there was a “remarkable, but mysterious correlation” between body and spirit that had divine origins and was beyond the scope of human understanding.³⁵ Wesley wrote extensively about health and diet, from his journals which “include[d] numerous accounts of divine healing through prayer,” to his seminal work on health, the *Primitive Physic* (1747). Throughout these

³³ John Wesley, *Primitive Physic, or An Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases* (London: J. Paramore at the Foundry, 1785), iii.

³⁴ Candy Gunther Brown, “Healing,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Methodism*, ed. Jason E. Vickers (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 227.

³⁵ Philip W. Ott, “John Wesley on Health: A Word for Sensible Regimen,” *Methodist History* 18, no.2 (1980): 195.

writings he emphasized “human dependence on grace and all of its manifestations” in healing, linking physical well-being and spiritual health.³⁶

In Wesley’s estimation, prayer was always the most effective form of medicine. Beyond this he encouraged home cures, lamenting that people once worked to heal themselves, but had come to rely on questionable, and sometimes fatal medical assistance from physicians. Believing that physicians only prescribed poisons that harmed more than they healed, Wesley suggested medical intervention as a last resort. Should one find themselves in a position in which no home remedy could cure, Wesley allowed that a physician could be sought out, provided that it be a “physician that fears God.”³⁷

1.1.2 Influences on Wesleyan Approaches to Diet

For historians of religion the study of food practices can offer unique insights into faith, social systems, values, and communal experiences in such a way that they can be read as significant cultural signifiers of things like gender, faith, and morality.³⁸ This approach can also be a rhetorical one, as food practices tell us not only about patterns of nourishment (or malnourishment) and changing foodways, but also about how diet has served as a tool for assimilation, a moral compass, and a form of resistance. To better understand nineteenth-century Methodist and Adventist approaches to diet and spirituality, it is important to consider Wesley’s views as the roots for some future practices.

³⁶ David Hempton, *The Religion of the People: Methodism and Popular Religion c. 1750-1900* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 58 and C. Brown, “Healing,” 228.

³⁷ J. Wesley, *Primitive Physic*, xx.

³⁸ Michael A. LaCombe, “Subject or Signifier? Food and the History of Early North America,” *History Compass* 11, no. 10 (2013): 859-868.

Wesley's approaches to diet and health did not come from one source, but many. He was first, and perhaps most deeply influenced by his mother Susanna. In Wesley's time a mother's own actions and self-control were thought to be the best examples for her children of how to practice similar self-restraint—a sentiment which the following chapters show to have been upheld to an even greater degree in the nineteenth century. Susanna maintained this view, supporting that it was a "mother's duty to instruct her children," especially "in the first principles of religion," which included strict obedience to rules and moral, Christian behavior.³⁹ It followed that helping one's children to be self-disciplined and obedient would ensure a "strong and rational foundation of a religious education without which...both precept and example w[ould] be ineffectual."⁴⁰

The daughter of a Puritan minister, Susanna raised her ten surviving children with similar religious firmness. As an Anglican minister's wife, her remaining letters and journal entries reveal that Susanna was a theologian in her own right, ministering to her husband's congregation and offering counsel to her children well into their adult lives. Diet fell under the scope of this self-cultivation, and Susanna "tolerated no eating or drinking between meals," as an essential aspect of "her children's religious training, which also included more traditional prayers, blessings, collects, catechism, and scripture."⁴¹

Wesley's life and ministry thus reflected Susanna's efforts, especially with regard to health and well-being. Believing that the natural state of the body was wellness, she wrote that it was

³⁹ Wallace, *Susanna Wesley: The Complete Writings*, 368 and S. Wesley, "Noon" journal entry in *Ibid.*, 236.

⁴⁰ From the earliest days of Wesley's movement in the 1740s, women made up more than half of the Methodist population. One appeal of Methodism for women may have been the tradition's revivalist origins as an emotional and experiential religion. These attributes of faith could easily be aligned with expectations for Victorian women and motherhood, helping women to adapt with Methodism as it transformed from marginal sect to established church. Where female preaching was "exceptional and transitional," women's piety and devotion as wives and mothers were wider spread and far more socially acceptable (Hempton, *The Religion of the People*, 184).

⁴¹ Charles Yrigoyen, Jr. and Susan E. Warrick, eds., *Historical Dictionary of Methodism*, 3rd Ed. (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2013): 390.

“necessary for people (especially the young) to improve the[ir] present blessing of health and strength by laying a strong foundation of piety towards God, of submission, patience, and all Christian virtues” before old age set in, and one’s health naturally declines.⁴² Wesley later built on these views, asserting that the conditions of one’s poor health should be examined in the event that afflictions were spiritual rather than physical in origin. If the body and spirit were indeed connected, could sin not corrupt one’s health as it tarnished the spirit?

John Wesley was also one in a long line of Anglican priests who dispensed health guidance. In the seventeenth century Anglican priests were trained to “offer basic medical care as part of their ministry,” a tradition with which Wesley was familiar through the work of Anglican bishop Jeremy Taylor, whom he greatly admired.⁴³ In particular, Taylor’s *Rules and Exercises of Holy Living* (1650) and *Rules and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651) unquestionably influenced Wesley’s approaches to theology and diet. His understanding of faith as a compass for all aspects of life was very much in-line with Taylor’s assessment that “religion, in a large sense, doth signify the whole duty of man, comprehending in it justice, charity, and sobriety; because all these being commanded by God, they become a part of that honour and worship which we are bound to pay to him.”⁴⁴

Wesley especially agreed with Taylor’s views of food and drink as sustainers of both body and soul. One could enjoy their nourishment, “but when delight [wa]s the only end, and rest itself, and dwell[ed] there long, then eating and drinking [were] not a serving of God, but an inordinate

⁴² Wallace, *Susanna Wesley: the Complete Writings*, 149.

⁴³ Randy L. Maddox, “John Wesley on Holistic Health and Healing,” *Methodist History* 46, no. 1 (2007): 5.

⁴⁴ Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Living* (London: Printed for Richard Royston, 1650), 214.

action; because it [was] not in the way to that end whither God directed it.”⁴⁵ Food was to be an avenue toward the divine, and not eaten solely for physical pleasure.

Taking Taylor’s teachings to heart, Wesley concurred that a certain conversion experience needed to happen in terms of diet, making sure that foods were not eaten in overabundance, not overly spiced, and eaten only when one was hungry (reforms that Ellen White and her Seventh-day Adventist followers would favor nearly a century later). In his *Primitive Physic*—which went through twenty-three printings in his lifetime and remained continually in print and use through the 1880s—Wesley wrote that Methodist followers should “abstain from all mixed, all high-seasoned food. Use plain diet, easy digestion; and this as sparingly as you can, consistent with ease and strength. Drink only water if it agrees with your stomach; if not, good clear, small be[e]r.”⁴⁶ Plain foods would nourish the body and spirit, while stimulants and rich foods would distract the mind, injure the body, and potentially corrupt the spirit.

Though in some ways anomalous to mainstream eighteenth-century Anglicanism, Wesley and his followers adapted dietary and health practices that were uniquely Methodist. Much like Catholic “sacramentals,” Methodist communion was “more than a sign or symbol but less than a sacrament.”⁴⁷ In the Methodist tradition communion was looked upon as “an infinitely repeatable means through which divine grace [was] conveyed for converting, sustaining, and sanctifying God’s people.”⁴⁸ With this in mind, Wesley encouraged his flock to “partake of communion as often as possible,” ensuring that the sacrament was accessible to all who wished to share in it,

⁴⁵ Ibid., 92.

⁴⁶ J. Wesley, *Primitive Physic*, xii and Maddox, “John Wesley on Holistic Health and Healing,” 4. Nineteenth-century temperance efforts and cleaner drinking water removed alcoholic beverages, like beer, from the scope of what Methodists deemed acceptable drink.

⁴⁷ Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 19.

⁴⁸ Yrigoyen and Warrick, *Historical Dictionary of Methodism*, 136.

while retaining the Anglican Church's fondness for Catholic communion rituals.⁴⁹ This more ritualistic approach to food carried over to the Millerite and Adventist traditions, setting them apart from other evangelical Protestants, who tended toward reformed Protestant antiritualism.⁵⁰

Wesley was also influenced by the Pietistic Moravian church's "Love Feasts," in which he participated in his travels to Germany. From the start, quarterly "Love Feasts" were incorporated as a significant ritual component in Wesley's tradition. A long-standing Moravian tradition, the Love Feast was adopted and adapted by the Methodists. Combining "community solidarity with intense religious emotions," Love Feasts contributed to feelings of fellowship as Methodism gained followers. Every fifth Sunday Wesley and his followers would gather for a symbolic agape meal, in which prayer and song were interspersed with a non-sacramental meal of "a little plain cake and water."⁵¹

Like nineteenth-century camp meetings, Love Feasts offered Methodist women the rare opportunity to speak candidly about their faith in gatherings of men and women. This is evidenced in Wesley's meticulously kept journals, which mention Love Feasts numerous times. In one such entry Wesley wrote, "the very design of the lovefeast is free and familiar conversation, in which every man, yea, every woman, has liberty to speak."⁵²

Though the food being eaten at Love Feasts was not the central focus of the gatherings, women's food contributions to Love Feast meetings involved planning and preparation. In this

⁴⁹ Ibid. Episcopalians and Lutherans engaged in communion rituals that were also similar to Catholic Eucharistic practices—from engaging in a liturgy, to retaining the use of wine in the sacrament—even after temperance had been firmly established in secular life, largely thanks to Protestant efforts (Sack, *Whitebread Protestants*, 11).

⁵⁰ Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Friars: Scottish Communions and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 215.

⁵¹ From Wesley's *A Plain Account of the People Called Methodist* (1749) in Yrigoyen Jr. and Warrick, eds., 233. The *agape* meal, or "Love Feast" of Christian Pietist groups was, and in some ways continues to be, fashioned after early Christian communal meals.

⁵² John Wesley, *Journal* 4:471, ed. Nehemiah Curnock as referenced in Paul W. Chilcote, *She Offered them Christ: the Legacy of Women Preachers in Early Methodism* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 53.

way women were connected to the communal sharing of ritualized food in the Methodist tradition as lay persons. This more public role for women later helped a handful of Methodists like Sarah Crosby (1729-1804), Antoinette Brown Blackwell (1825-1921), and African Methodist Episcopal (AME) preacher Jarena Lee (1783-?) to gain occasional footholds as preachers with the support of male ministers and bishops like Luther Lee (1800-1889) and Richard Allen (1760-1831).⁵³ As Methodism became a mainline church in America, Love Feasts, or Agape Meals, continued to be practiced despite changing Methodist approaches to diet that were otherwise mainstream. As the trial of evangelical preacher Lyman Beecher in the 1830s showed, what was at stake was “tradition versus innovation;” in order for sects like Methodism to survive for the long term in America, most religious practices needed to become more mainstream and less “innovative.”⁵⁴

1.1.3 Methodism, Adventism, and Material Christianity

Nineteenth-century body reformers “all rescued their sense of sacred order by sacralizing realms of life usually perceived as profane.”⁵⁵ While this might be perceived as a deterioration of faith in mainline churches, it also shows how Christianity pervaded all aspects of Victorian American life. From White’s writings to the female authors of church cookbooks and other domestic publications, Victorian woman took the ordinary items in their homes and kitchens and made them sacred. These unique examples of Protestant ritualism are “popular” in that women used commonplace items and made them sacred by incorporating them into their Protestant homes.

⁵³ Lacey C. Warner, “American Methodist Women: Roles and Contribution,” in *The Cambridge Companion to American Methodism*, ed. Jason E. Vickers (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁵⁴ Peter W. Williams, *America’s Religions: Traditions and Cultures* (New York: MacMillan, 1990), 199.

⁵⁵ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 164.

There have been many approaches to what constitutes “popular” religious practice, including Charles H. Long and Charles L. Lippy in the 1980s, and Peter W. Williams and Meredith McGuire in more recent years. When defining “popular” religion, one is confronted with the many facets that this term encompasses (“folk” and “lived,” for example). It is not my intention here to create yet another way of conceiving of popular religion, but to clarify how this aspect of religious life can be applied to our understanding of Victorian Methodist and Adventist food practices.

By “popular” in this context, I refer to the early Methodist sect, from the time that Wesley’s tradition broke away from the Anglican Church in 1784, and to Seventh-day Adventism from White’s time through the present day. These traditions fall into historian Peter W. Williams’ three general categories for identifying popular practice: movements that develop “at the fringes of established churches and denominations,” movements that arise out of “new revelation,” and traditions which “look for signs of divine intervention or manifestation in the realm of everyday experience.”⁵⁶ Echoing these criteria, Wesley’s early Methodist movement grew out of the Church of England and became an established church in its own right by the time of White’s ministry a century later. Methodism likewise provided a mainline foundation from which White’s fringe sect could emerge in 1863. In both instances White and Wesley offered new theologies and encouraged their followers to experience the divine through health and eating.

Additionally, Meredith B. McGuire’s study of “lived” religion is useful in approaching everyday activities, like eating, as forms of religious experience. In particular, the ways in which Wesley and White related to wellness and the body show how an embodiment of religion allows

⁵⁶ Peter W. Williams, *Popular Religion in America: Symbolic Change and the Modernization Process in Historical Perspective* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 18-19.

people to “touch, see, hear, and taste their material” and spiritual worlds.⁵⁷ Although McGuire’s overall approach to “lived” religion is fundamentally different from Williams’, it is this part of McGuire’s study that intersects with his third characteristic of popular religion—an assertion that divine revelation can be present in seemingly mundane aspects of everyday life. This dissertation therefore approaches Methodist and Adventist movements in America as being both “popular” and “lived.”

Just as we study “popular” religion, looking for actualized expressions of devotion or belief, there are “popular” food practices that can be studied in any time or place. These practices are unique from a Protestant perspective, because “in the iconoclastic controversy of the sixteenth century, the Protestant reformers [had] privileged the ear over the eye, hearing over seeing, the word over the image, and the book over the statue.”⁵⁸ Therefore, the realities of Protestant practice are perceived as being more devotional than ritualistic in nature—a view that is challenged by Victorian Methodist and Adventist food practices. Although the nineteenth-century Protestant sacralization of food seems problematic in the context of a church tradition largely stripped of such practices outside of the Eucharistic meal, the highly ritualized way of eating to which many Protestant Victorians subscribed was not looked upon by believers as material practice per se, but as a way to make order of a hectic (pre-millennial) world.

⁵⁷ Meredith B. McGuire, *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 22.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

1.2 MORAL PHYSIOLOGY

With the “rise of sociohistorical research...the popular health movement of the antebellum period was studied as an epochal event in American cultural history.”⁵⁹ Before the 1970s, scholarly attention to nineteenth-century health was confined to studies of medical advances, as opposed to taking a wider look at both traditional and institutional health movements. Even through the present day, little scholarship has been produced about food culture and religious reform through a nineteenth-century Protestant lens. This study begins to close that gap in order to show the significant—and in many ways lasting—contributions that Christian denominations, particularly Methodism and Adventism, made to Victorian American diet, health, and the formation of religious identity.

1.2.1 Moral Perfectionism

The sense of self and social perfectionism that defined the early evangelical movement undeniably contributed to diet and health reforms as early as the eighteenth century. Wesley’s *Primitive Physic* was circulated by itinerant preachers, as a way to “provide unpaid medical treatments,” while at the same time offering prayers “for healing and reposting miraculous cures” for the sick in their circuits.⁶⁰ Beyond ministerial help, as mothers and nurturers, women were typically charged with caring for the sick and may have incorporated Wesley’s advice into their system of care. In the Methodist tradition, praying “bands” of women also spiritually ministered to those

⁵⁹ Nanumi Suzuki, “Popular Health Movements and Diet Reform in Nineteenth-Century America,” *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 21 (2010): 114.

⁶⁰ C. Brown, “Healing,” 230.

who were unwell. By the mid-nineteenth century, some evangelicals even advocated for the power of prayer and nutritional modifications instead of modern medicine when dealing with illnesses, following Wesley's advice from the previous century that everyone should "use that medicine of medicines, Prayer."⁶¹

At the turn of the nineteenth century "purity" movements, like those practiced at the Seventh-day Adventist Battle Creek Sanitarium, were likewise an outlet for individuals trying to reconcile their health with new religious views of self-fulfillment (vs. the emphasis on self-sacrifice of previous generations of Protestant Americans). This self-serving approach to religion would be challenged by the tensions between Gilded Age abundance and Progressive Era reforms. These same issues were echoed in Adventist diets as the iniquities of a highly materialistic culture challenged religious sensibilities about Christian charity and Victorian notions of frugality.

From Orson Squire Fowler's (1809-1887) pseudoscientific study of phrenology as a way of measuring one's character, to Mary Baker Eddy's Christian Science movement, the relationship between the body and spirit in the nineteenth century was shaped through modern science, research, and reason. Whereas Eddy's Christian Scientists maintained that physical manifestations of illness could be cured through prayer alone, both Methodism and Adventism supported prayer as medicine alongside modern-day medical intervention, collectively opening more than one hundred hospitals between 1881 and 1930.⁶²

The nineteenth-century discipline of "moral physiology," or the use of body reforms to meet new moral (and implicitly Christian) ideals, was designed to create nothing less than a "neo-Mosaic law, a system of everyday piety expressed in the language and style of Enlightenment

⁶¹ John Wesley, *Advices with Respect to Health, Extracted from a Late Author, 4th Ed.* (London: printed and sold at the New-Chapel, City-Road; and at the Rev. Mr. Wesley's preaching-houses in town and country, 1789), viii.

⁶² C. Brown, "Healing," 236.

science but resembling the books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy and later Biblical commentary.”⁶³ Though some religious communities, including Methodists, shunned Calvinist notions of predestination, or a chosen elect, dietary and body reform movements of the era were viewed by members as signs and modes of a new kind of chosenness in the American Promised Land. For these reformers, salvation could only be achieved by “following God’s natural order in all aspects of their lives”—an order that included careful food and health choices.

Moral physiologists were in many ways proselytizers in their own right, because of the “passion with which [they] pursued their goal of reaching every person possible with the message of personal and social regeneration.”⁶⁴ The redemptive spirit of physiological and dietary reformers often trickled into other aspects of life, notably the temperance movement and female suffrage. Women were at the heart of each of these movements, and if “the Graham cracker and cold water symbolized moral physiology’s communion, an idealized hearth and home became its new but troubled church, and women its controversial ministers.”⁶⁵

1.2.2 Health Reforms and Modern Medicine

Nineteenth-century trained physicians and health reformers claimed that their methods were against the “folklore and quackery” of previous generations practicing folk medicine. Yet, in the early decades of the century, approaches to health and medicine included lingering strains of “so-

⁶³ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 170. Abzug’s definition of “moral physiology” is quite different from that of Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877), son of Robert Owen (1771-1858), who founded several experimental, socialist “Owenite” communities in America in the 1820s. In his *Moral Physiology; or, A Brief Plain Treatise on the Population Question* (1830), Robert Dale Owen argued for various methods of birth control, scolding many of his fellow Victorians for being “prudes and hypocrites” when it came to such matters (Robert Dale Owen, *Moral Physiology; or, A Brief Plain Treatise on the Population Question*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Wright & Owen, 1831), 9).

⁶⁴ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 176.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 182.

called heroic medicine in which large quantities of blood were let, and drugs administered that had violent side effects” that were sometimes debilitating, if not lethal.⁶⁶ American physicians at that time had little to no formal education, learning their trade through observations and apprenticeships. In 1800 there were only four medical schools in the United States, at the University of Pennsylvania, King’s College (now Columbia University), Harvard College, and Dartmouth College, a number that slowly increased to forty by 1840.⁶⁷ With the exception of “patent” medicines, which sometimes contained toxins and narcotics, alternative treatments like hydropathy, phrenology, herbal remedies, and diet reforms offered cautious patients less dangerous means for healing.

By the 1870s the “microscopic” studies of Robert Koch and Louis Pasteur contributed to germ theory to explain the cause of disease, and understandings of calories and nutrients in the study of health and medicine also emerged.⁶⁸ These trends to bring science and sanitation into the kitchen resonated with similar language being used by Christian reformers at the time, using terms like “purity” and “goodness” to describe cleanliness and quality. The squalid state of many American cities—where Methodism had its strongest holdings by mid-century—made citizens particularly susceptible to outbreaks of disease, including cholera, scarlet fever, and typhus. Mortality rates were likewise much higher in urban areas, where population density and waterborne illnesses contributed to the rapid spread of diseases. Children were especially prone to illness, with childhood mortality rates as much as 94% higher in cities as late as 1890.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Alice Ross, “Health and Diet in 19th-century America: A Food Historian’s Point of View,” *Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (1993): 42 and Suzuki, “Popular Health Movements,” 117.

⁶⁷ Abraham Flexner, “Medical Education in America: Rethinking the Training of American Doctors,” *The Atlantic Monthly* (June 1910): 798-799.

⁶⁸ Ross, “Health and Diet in 19th-century America,” 45.

⁶⁹ David Cutler and Grant Miller, “The Role of Public Health Improvements in Health Advances: The Twentieth-Century United States,” *Demography* 42, no. 1 (2005): 4.

Fearing susceptibility to the effects of such living conditions, middle-class health reformers looked for new ways to improve health and prevent illness. Progressive Era government food regulations for licensing and inspection like the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, are especially demonstrative of the ways in which food and sanitation were approached at the time. Though religious reformers sometimes reacted against modern medicine with more holistic approaches to wellness, they also embraced some scientific advancements of their day. In the home, serving plates and utensils became more common in an attempt to spread less germs. In Protestant churches, individual cups and portioned pieces of bread were used in communion services to reduce the spread of illness among congregants.

Although some Victorian American popular health programs “arose in opposition to standard medicine,” they eventually “t[ook] on the nature of a movement of health reform that proposed new methods of healing and care that focused especially on diet.”⁷⁰ This element of care is particularly significant when considering dietary reform movements in light of women’s domestic roles. Care of children and family through nurturing with nourishment became an outlet for women’s spiritual practice and moral influence.⁷¹

1.2.3 Water Cures and Vegetarianism

Nineteenth-century religious movements that supported dietary reforms argued that the American middle class’ exposure to “new luxuries” was the “cause of deterioration in people’s health,” and

⁷⁰ Suzuki, “Popular Health Movements,” 114.

⁷¹ The word “nurture” is, notably, defined by Merriam-Webster as both the ability “to provide (someone) with moral or spiritual understanding,” and the action of “supply[ing] one with nourishment.” These definitions are especially fitting in light of nineteenth-century women’s spiritual roles and influences over family diet.

that meat was the source of many social and spiritual ills.⁷² Methodist and Adventist engagement in health reforms was also centered on an understanding of the body not as a corrupt and impermanent vessel to be discarded at death, but as a “sacred temple” to be cherished, nourished, purified, and made ready for Christ’s return—something that was possible through vegetarianism and water cure.⁷³

1.2.3.1 Water Cures

By mid-century water cure movements were at the forefront of modern approaches to health and well-being. Hydropathy, or hydrotherapy, used various applications of hot and cold water for healing, and had existed since ancient times, practiced by the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians. Water cure practices found resurgence in the eighteenth-century, and Wesley promoted cold and hot water cures for a variety of ailments, including asthma, gout, and digestive disorders. By the nineteenth century, water cures gained widespread popularity in conjunction with dietary reforms at water cure clinics and sanitariums like that at Battle Creek.

Dr. Joel Shew (1816-1855), an American physician traveling in Europe in the 1840s, studied water cures and brought his observations back to the U.S., starting a health movement that lasted for nearly a century. In his 1857 *The Hydropathic Family Physician: A Ready Prescriber and Hygienic Advisor*, Shew reflected on the connections between the body and spirit, writing that “it is a sad reflection upon civilization to assert, that the more cultivated and refined man has become thus far in the world, the more sickly and diseased he is found to be...We can not for a moment suppose that the Creator designed that *any* of the powers of the human condition should

⁷² Suzuki, “Popular Health Movements,” 129.

⁷³ Ellen G. White, “Preserve the Body Temple,” in *Our Father Cares: Devotional Readings for 1992* (Hagerstown, Maryland: Review and Herald Publishing, 1991), 47.

suffer from use. On the contrary, it is man's privilege to improve not only his moral and intellectual powers, but his bodily also.”⁷⁴ Shew's sentiments were shared by Dr. F. Wilson Hurd (1830-1914), who opened the Wesley Water Cure in Experiment Mills, Pennsylvania in 1871. Hurd's center was built to reflect Wesley's work as a “consistent and vigorous advocate of a pure, simple, disciplinary life.”⁷⁵ Hydropathic centers were often built in rural areas, marketing fresh air and clean water as cures for the many nervous diseases associated with the urban, middle class—especially women. (*Figure 1*)

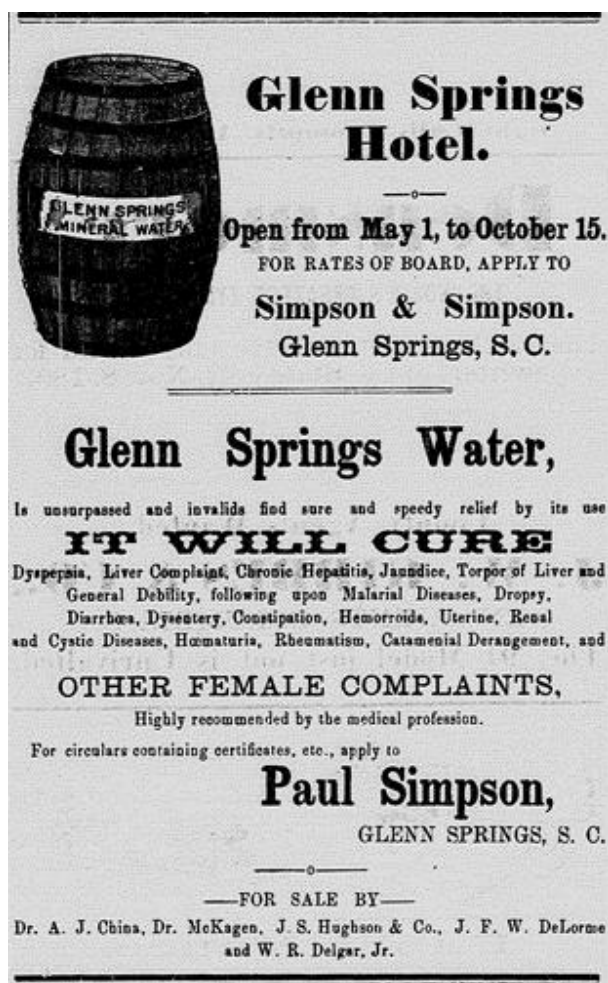
The emphasis on the healing power of water in the care of the body and spirit is also reflected in Wesley's “Treatise on Baptism” written in November 1756. Wesley wrote that, “water has a natural power for healing,” and cleansing away sins.⁷⁶ As a proponent of sanctification through purification this stance is not surprising. Like many nineteenth-century health reform movements, however, hydropathy was only one of many ways to heal the body and soul. As such, the hydropathic movement was as much about diet as it was about water therapy. A healthy diet, and often a vegetarian one, was advocated for as a cure-all for anything from cancer to general malaise. A patient's moral duty included eating well and caring for the body because it was “the Lord's property...never to be marred or abused by the indulgence of perverted appetite or debased passions.”⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Joel Shew, MD, *The Hydropathic Family Physician: A Ready Prescriber and Hygienic Advisor* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1857), 20.

⁷⁵ Alfred Matthews, *History of Wayne, Pike, and Monroe Counties, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck & Company, 1886), 1100.

⁷⁶ John Wesley, *The Complete Works of John Wesley, Volume 10: Letters, Essays, Dialogues, and Addresses* (Albany, Oregon: Books for the Ages, 1997), 225.

⁷⁷ Ellen G. White, Letter to John Harvey Kellogg, May 15, 1891 (K-10-1891).



Glenn Springs Hotel.

Open from May 1, to October 15.
FOR RATES OF BOARD, APPLY TO
Simpson & Simpson.
Glenn Springs, S. C.

Glenn Springs Water,

Is unsurpassed and invalids find sure and speedy relief by its use
IT WILL CURE
Dyspepsia, Liver Complaint, Chronic Hepatitis, Jaundice, Torpor of Liver and
General Debility, following upon Malarial Diseases, Dropsy,
Diarrhoea, Dysentery, Constipation, Hemorrhoids, Uterine, Renal
and Cystic Diseases, Hematuria, Rheumatism, Catamenial Derangement, and
OTHER FEMALE COMPLAINTS,
Highly recommended by the medical profession.
For circulars containing certificates, etc., apply to
Paul Simpson,
GLENN SPRINGS, S. C.

—FOR SALE BY—
Dr. A. J. China, Dr. McKagen, J. S. Hughson & Co., J. F. W. DeLorme
and W. R. Delgar, Jr.

Figure 1. Glenn Springs Hotel Advertisement. *The Watchman and Southron*, Sumter, S.C. June 27, 1894. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.*
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93067846/1894-06-27/ed-1/seq-10/>

1.2.3.2 Vegetarianism

Vegetarianism is perhaps the most popular and well known of nineteenth-century health reforms. The vegetarian movement first gained a following through its relationship with hydropathy, with Sylvester Graham's dietary teachings at its core.⁷⁸ Graham, and later the American Vegetarian Society (founded in 1850), argued for food reform on the grounds that one's physical and mental

⁷⁸ Sylvester Graham's recipe for "Graham" bread—his take on the whole grain movement—gained popularity throughout the rest of the century, first appearing in R.T. Trall's *The New Hydropathic Cookbook* in 1855.

health were directly linked to digestion. Reformers warned that greasy, heavy, spicy, and sugar-laden foods would not only lead to indigestion, but to a breakdown of one's mental state, and possibly even the disintegration of social order. Vegetarianism was viewed by many as having the potential to be a "universal reform," because dietary changes could be made by ordinary people in their homes without much training or medical intervention.⁷⁹

Although some nineteenth-century denominations adopted health reforms as a part of their religious practice, not all Christians were convinced that such changes were spiritually necessary. Both mainline and sectarian Protestant dietary reformers thus faced opposition to their movements from within and outside of their traditions. Insiders often cited reforms as unhealthy and too worldly to be bothered with in the scope of religious practice, while outsiders "looked upon them...with bemused curiosity."⁸⁰ Yet, men like Sylvester Graham and William A. Alcott were popular, published, and well-regarded, particularly by the women who supported them and acted as the messengers of religious health reform. From the perspective of those who changed their diets for religious reasons beyond health, faith was closely linked to moral physiology, and many proselytized a new message of conversion to wellness as a means for bringing one's self closer to God and salvation.

In the 1820s, as Methodism was beginning to take hold in America, Grahamism "became the century's leading avant-garde nutritional theory and attracted both traditionalists and reformers who worked to correct social ills."⁸¹ An ordained Presbyterian minister, Graham broke the mold

⁷⁹ Suzuki, "Popular Health Movements," 124.

⁸⁰ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 176.

⁸¹ Ross, "Diet and Health in 19th-century America," 44.

of mainline Protestantism with his dietary endeavors, sacralizing American food practices and emphasizing that a simple diet had “national, [and] even cosmic significance.”⁸²

Like White and many other health reformers, Graham suffered from various illnesses throughout his life, contracting tuberculosis as a child and struggling with a nervous breakdown as a young man. It was unquestionably with his own health struggles in mind that he responded to a devastating cholera outbreak in New England in 1832. Graham’s efforts to aid the victims of epidemic—and to prevent further spreading of the disease—helped launch his “program of health reform into the national spotlight.”⁸³ His views on regular exercise, fresh air, and the avoidance of flesh meats, alcohol, and stimulants were believed to have helped to cure less severe cases of the illness, increasing the scope of Graham’s influence and the popularity of his “gospel of vegetarianism” almost overnight.⁸⁴

Beyond vegetarianism, Graham argued for the use of whole grains in baking, especially “graham flour,” which gained further popularity among Adventist reformers later in the century. In the 1830s millers had begun to “bolt” wheat flour, removing the nutritious outer shells of grain, in order to make flour whiter.⁸⁵ While this flour was popular, especially among the middle and upper-classes who could afford foods that were more processed, it had very little nutritive value when compared with flour made from whole grains. Graham equated bolted flour with the gluttony of the middle class, emphasizing that the “duties that regard[ed] the purity, comfort, health, and happiness of the Body, were as binding, as important, as sacred, as Christian, as the duties which

⁸² R. Marie Griffith, *Born Again Bodies: Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 45.

⁸³ Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: Study of Ellen G. White* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 97.

⁸⁴ S. Williams, *Food in the United States*, xiii.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

relate[ed] to the purity, comfort, health and happiness of the soul.”⁸⁶ For Graham and his followers whole grains were a critical component of a salvific diet.

It was this connection of body and soul that would be reflected, whether purposefully or coincidentally, in White’s visions and reforms in the latter half of the century. White agreed that the best flour was that which had been “produced by proper tillage” in pure soil, processed to cleanse and retain the nutrition of the grain, and “put...away in clean casks or bins” to be kept safe and fresh for future use.⁸⁷ Graham believed that such specific guidelines for grain production were necessary because, in his estimation, “people generally are contented to gratify their depraved appetites on whatever comes before them, without pausing to inquire whether their indulgences are adapted to preserve or to destroy their health and life.”⁸⁸ Reforms and education about American food production and diet were therefore necessary to save both bodies and souls.

Vegetarianism was also presented by reformers as a way to be better stewards of God’s creation. Alcott defined a vegetable diet as one which avoided food “prepared by a death process, in which pain and suffering are involved,” for God commanded that one should, “neither hurt nor destroy in all [his] holy mountain.”⁸⁹ This unique stance on avoiding meat as a form of non-violence against animals was taken one step further to suggest that God never intended that humankind eat meat, with support like this verse from the Old Testament book of Genesis:

⁸⁶ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 181 (footnote 72).

⁸⁷ Sylvester Graham, *A Treatise on Bread and Bread-Making* (Boston: Light & Stearns, 1837), 39.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁸⁹ William A. Alcott, *Vegetable Diet Defended* (London: Concordia Press, 1844), iv. Alcott’s cousin Amos Bronson Alcott was also well known for his unorthodox approaches to diet and religion in the nineteenth century. In 1843 he helped to create an “intentional” Transcendentalist community, the Fruitlands (1843-1844), which was an experiment in social equality and veganism. Participants avoided animal products and stimulants in order to purify their bodies for higher spiritual pursuits. Inspired by similar practices in Shaker communities, Bronson and the residents at Fruitlands lacked the finances and agricultural knowledge to sustain their community, and it disbanded less than a year after its founding. Bronson’s famous daughter, Louisa May Alcott later reflected on the experiment, writing that it—like many other nineteenth-century intentional communities—“was a failure” because “the world was not ready for Utopia yet” (Louisa M. Alcott, *Silver Pitchers and Independence* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1908), 116).

“throughout the earth I give you all plants that bear seed, and every tree that bears fruit with seed: they shall be yours for food.”⁹⁰

Likewise, Alcott, Graham, and others expounded that the consumption of tea, coffee, and other stimulants was detrimental to one’s health and degrading to one’s moral character. Calling tea a “poison,” reformers likened the drink to opium and arsenic.⁹¹ Coffee was also a potential catalyst for a “series of evils” in which the body was injured and “human happiness and...life” were “abridged.”⁹² The relationship between what one consumed and the subsequent effect that those foods could have on the body and spirit were also echoed by White and her followers, while closely paralleling what Wesley had contended about diet and spirit a century earlier.

Though most Adventists would contend otherwise, it can be argued that White’s story is in many ways a reflection of the work of Sylvester Graham and other health reformers like William A. Alcott in the earlier part of the nineteenth century—work that questioned the morality of an expanding American diet. Despite what seem to be obvious parallels between White’s visions about diet and earlier moral health movements, it is important to note that she claimed to have no prior knowledge of such reforms, going so far as to deny any awareness of related texts (though several were known to be in her husband’s possession). Although scholars like Ronald L. Numbers have called into question White’s “intellectual independence as a health reformer,” my aim here is not to hermeneutically deny or support White’s claims, but to put them into dialogue with other health movements of her day, especially Graham’s. This approach likewise views White’s claims

⁹⁰ Genesis 1:29, *The Oxford Study Bible, Revised English Bible with the Apocrypha*, eds. M. Jack Suggs, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 12. There are also passages of the Old and New Testaments that suggest that meat is acceptable for human consumption, like Leviticus 11:1 and Mark 7:19.

⁹¹ William A. Alcott, *Tea and Coffee* (Boston: William A. Light, 1839), 50.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 146 and 162.

as successful attempts to legitimize the validity of her visions, and the authority of her position in Adventism in the eyes of her followers.

1.3 VICTORIAN AMERICAN METHODISM

Religious belief and practice were markedly different in the antebellum period preceding the American Civil War than they had been just a century earlier. The shift away from an old model of Puritan “New England” religion to one of religious pluralism was acknowledged, and in some circles, applauded.⁹³ While the themes of exemplary Christian virtue in John Winthrop’s fêted “City upon a Hill” echoed in American Christianity well into the Progressive Era of the twentieth century, many Victorian religious movements were far from Puritan in practice and doctrine.

This is to say that “mainline” Victorian Protestant denominations were diverse and changing, and those that “enjoyed dominance in one generation often found themselves playing catch-up in the next.”⁹⁴ At the opening of the nineteenth century the dominant mainline churches were Congregationalist, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian, but were quickly overtaken by Methodism by 1850.⁹⁵ The nineteenth century also saw America expand, regenerate, and establish uniquely American religious traditions.

⁹³ John F. Wilson, *Religion and the American Nation: Historiography and History*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003).

⁹⁴ Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth-Century America*, 11.

⁹⁵ Though the Baptist and Roman Catholic traditions would rise in number to rival Methodism by 1890, an evangelical Protestant movement continued to thrive in the Holiness tradition well into the twentieth century, offering an outlet for those seeking emotional, personal, and direct interaction with God (Finke and Stark, *The Churching of America*, 206).

New religions gained a foothold in the religious marketplace in part because of the many social and economic changes that occurred with the expansion of the American republic. These circumstances of change, from war to economic depression, were mediated with faith in mainline churches, rising traditions like Methodism, and “American originals” like Mormonism, Adventism, Christian Science, and Theosophy.⁹⁶ Although nineteenth-century American religion was greatly shaped by contact with Native Americans, slavery, and immigration, the United States remained “predominantly European in origin, and mostly Protestant in religion” until the turn of the twentieth century, despite denominational differences.⁹⁷ For sectarian communities this sometimes meant an adoption of religious practices outside of the norm, including mediumship, mesmerism, phrenology, eugenics, health and wellness movements, and dietary reforms, as means for remaining uniquely outside of the mainline.

1.3.1 19th c. American Evangelicalism

The stage of “conviction” in the evangelical conversion process was initiated when “the tension between one’s worldly life and religion could no longer be borne, a religious life having being acknowledged as immensely superior.”⁹⁸ This type of inward conversion was outwardly manifested in the religious lives of nineteenth-century Methodists and Adventists in two primary ways. First, the rise of American religious aspirations led to a denominationally diverse religious landscape that looked very different from the lingering Puritan roots of previous generations.

⁹⁶ Paul K. Conkin, *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), vii.

⁹⁷ Sidney Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 24.

⁹⁸ Dickson D. Bruce, *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1974), 64-65.

Secondly, new religious movements appealed to potential converts with religious practices, like dietary reforms, that were similarly innovative.⁹⁹

The Second Great Awakening (1790-1840) in the opening decades of the nineteenth century capitalized on an American population ready for religious change. As Finke and Stark suggest, sects like Methodism in its early years were able to “win” in the American religious free market because they were in tension with mainline Christian culture, and appealed to a lay population that had begun to feel distanced from lofty, educated clergy.¹⁰⁰ A new breed of charismatic preachers entered the religious scene, with ministers like Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875) travelling to the American western frontier (at the time, western and upstate New York) to preach the gospel of Christian perfectionism and save souls. Religious revivals were nowhere as prevalent, nor new traditions as influential as they were in this “burned-over district”—so called because widespread conversions in the area left few remaining potential converts.

The revivals that kindled the early American Methodist tradition were established as a way to gather and convert large numbers of followers from the Christian mainstream, with an emphasis on the “emotional or ‘heart-centered’ evangelical theology” that would “gradually displace...the ‘head-centered’ rational theology of orthodox Calvinism.”¹⁰¹ Where Wesley’s movement did not gain the necessary foothold for a strong following during the First Great Awakening (1730-1755) when he brought his mission to Georgia (1736), the emotionalism that nineteenth-century itinerant preachers emphasized resonated with those attending Methodist revivals, appealing to the masses.

⁹⁹ Evangelical “experiential [religious] knowledge” was significant in Wesley’s early movement, and continued to be practiced by most Methodists a century later (Jason E. Vickers, “American Methodism: A Theological Tradition,” in *The Cambridge Companion to American Methodism*, ed. Jason E. Vickers (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 13).

¹⁰⁰ Finke and Stark, *The Churching of America*.

¹⁰¹ Christine E. Bose, *Women in 1900: Gateway to the Political Economy of the 20th Century*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 216.

This is not to say that all new Christian movements were completely alienated from their denominational heritages. For instance, as millenarians, members of the traditions that came out of the Second Great Awakening tapped into ancient Judeo-Christian teachings about “dispensations” of sacred time. Whether the end times were imminent or unknown, it became the evangelical task to prepare America (and through missionary efforts starting in the 1830s, the world), for Christ’s return by reformation through religion, a heightened sense of morality, and striving for perfection of the body—often through exercise and diet. Only when the nation was spiritually rehabilitated could the prophesied millennium come.¹⁰²

This penchant to prime America for the coming religious age drove evangelicals to “clean...up problems wherever they saw them.”¹⁰³ The spirit of reform was aimed at restoring the body and soul, while improving moral standards in the relatively new nation. An emphasis on “rugged individualism” reflected the “Protestant ethic in morality, and the millennial hope in the manifest destiny of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant America to lead the world to its latter-day glory.”¹⁰⁴ Striving for perfection of the body as an exercise in moral conditioning meant that some American Christians reformed their diet in an effort to cleanse their immortal souls. This emphasis on eating for salvation elevated food and nutrition to heights beyond mere sustenance. In Methodist camp meetings food also became a tool for proselytization, with posters calling attendees to “come one, come all” for “free grub, free provender, and free salvation.”¹⁰⁵ What would become “Victorian” demands on moral behavior, and the restrictions that these placed on

¹⁰² S. Williams, *Food in the United States*, 207.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ William G. McLoughlin, *The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900: An Anthology* (New York: Harper, 1968), 1.

¹⁰⁵ S. Williams, *Food in the United States*, 207.

physical behavior, are perhaps the most significant influences that Methodism and Adventism had on Victorian American life.

1.3.2 Revivals and “Popular” Religious Practice

Whether at rural camp meetings or urban revivals, sectarian traditions rapidly gained followers in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The “power and complexity of the [Methodist] movement...made it [especially] adaptable to the forces of change,” increasing the approachability of the tradition, and resulting in large revivals where new members could listen to relatable sermons and be baptized *en masse*.¹⁰⁶ As the largest Protestant denomination in America for the better part of the late nineteenth century, it can be argued that Methodism had the greatest influence on American culture of any Victorian era religious denomination—something that started first at early camp meetings, or revivals in the opening decades of the nineteenth century.

One the greatest challenges facing scholars of religion is that of looking beyond organized, institutionalized religious practice to religious behavior in daily life, namely those actions or beliefs which fall outside of the norms of a tradition. While the Western view is often one in which the sacred and profane, or the secular and religious, are mutually exclusive of one another with clearly defined boundaries, the reality of religious expression is usually much more ambiguous. This is especially true when studying emergent nineteenth-century religions from the angles of food practice and domesticity—which are more often than not considered to be mundane, secular, and profane.

¹⁰⁶ George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, eds. *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States* (Buffalo: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), 18.

“Lived,” “popular,” or “folk” religions are typically defined as grassroots religious practices—outside of a formal church context or ecclesiastical framework. Although this approach to religion is often studied anthropologically or sociologically, popular religious practices can offer valuable insights for historians into consistencies and changes in religious practice over time. Nineteenth-century sects like Methodism and Adventism had dietary practices that undoubtedly fell into categories of “lived,” or “popular” religion. The early Methodist movement in America was decidedly “popular” in that it was initially led by uneducated, itinerant preachers, or “circuit riders” like Francis Asbury (1745-1816) and Peter Cartwright (1785-1872).¹⁰⁷ It was also quite syncretistic, and like other nineteenth-century upstart sects, “borrowed elements from other, newer [religious] systems and grafted them onto the base of [a] tradition”—in this case from Anglicanism.¹⁰⁸

What critics called “all nonsense and noise,” the wild, ecstatic bodily movements of early Methodist rural camp meetings, in which participants “wrestl[ed] and pray[ed],” were far outside of normative mainline Protestant religious behavior. Testimonies from camp meetings often included details about these physical manifestations of faith, noting prayers and hymns undertaken with “much animation.”¹⁰⁹ Though many of these practices would give way to a calmer, more composed Methodist experience by mid-century, the ability for one to work toward a sinless state during their lifetime, remained foundational to Methodist practice and belief.¹¹⁰ With the rise of

¹⁰⁷ Despite the fact that the Wesley brothers were well-educated—having both attended Oxford—the emphasis on the equality of the laity and clergy was paramount in the early American Methodist tradition. As the denomination began first as a frontier movement, clergy with little education appealed to a population of converts with little to no education themselves.

¹⁰⁸ P. Williams, *Popular Religion in America*, 134.

¹⁰⁹ A. Lummus, “Hebron Camp-Meetings,” *Zion’s Herald* 1, no. 24 (1823): 94. The *Zion’s Herald* (1823-1828) was the first weekly American Methodist publication, printed in Boston. Although it was not initially a church publication, it became part of the *Christian Advocate* (1826-1973) in 1828.

¹¹⁰ Hempton, *The Religion of the People*, 56 and Bruce, *And They All Sang Hallelujah*, 78. By the mid-nineteenth century nearly half of the population in New England—the epicenter of the Great Awakenings—lived in cities. It

evangelicalism, the body, though susceptible to sensory temptations—including indulgence in rich foods—was no longer viewed as a hindrance to salvation, but as a tool in achieving it. The health reforms of the early decades of the 1800s made the body a “prooftext,” giving a Protestant population previously “opposed to such sacred rites” new means for practicing religion.¹¹¹

1.3.3 Gender and Camp Meetings

Camp life both enforced and inverted nineteenth-century social and religious gender norms in that it supported women’s domestic roles, while at the same time giving them opportunities for preaching and leadership not otherwise accessible to them. This alternative social situation in which one experienced “time out of time...when the routines of everyday life were put aside for the pursuit of perfection,” was thus one in which women were offered unequaled social-religious power.¹¹²

Camp meeting roles for women therefore struck somewhat of an odd balance, supporting female submission and social obedience, while at the same time allowing for a degree of female rebellion and religious authority. One might argue that this unusual marriage of both maintaining and rejecting the gendered status quo of the nineteenth century could only happen in an evangelical religious context, as women were able to use the strength and legitimacy of the Holy Spirit—a prevailing force in Wesley’s tradition—to voice their religious experiences, while at the same time performing their expected social duties as wives, mothers, and moral guides.

was no wonder, then that many Methodist camps and summer cottage communities were built in rural areas and by the sea, serving as healthy retreats where fresh air and exercise could be found in abundance.

¹¹¹ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 164. As Abzug notes, these body reforms could be taken by followers to the point of almost superseding traditional forms of faith. The “natural theology” of Fowler’s phrenology was one such example (Ibid., 173).

¹¹² Messenger, *Holy Leisure and God’s Square Mile*, 3.

From the standpoint of traditional gendered roles and behavior, women's food work at camp meetings especially maintained traditional gendered spheres. At these gatherings women were responsible for planning and preparing what was to be eaten in very large communal meals, often "led by the charitable example of the minister's wife."¹¹³ The gatherings were so large (hundreds, and even thousands of people) that food was planned and prepared well in advance, including scheduling plantings in time for harvesting for the meetings.¹¹⁴

By taking on customary gendered roles as cooks at camp meetings, Methodist women found power in the connections between food and faith. This is not surprising when considering that female power at that time had its strongest foothold in domestic economies, as women's roles in the home and family life had become more pronounced with the expansion of industrialization and the movement of men further away from what had been their traditional labor in the home. In addition to distancing home life from public life, industrial capitalism meant a "separation of the domestic economy from the political economy," giving women the upper hand in domestic affairs.¹¹⁵

Victorian American matters of the spirit were closely linked to life at home, and women were elevated for their perceived morality and religious expertise. Religion was so intertwined with the feminine that "conversion for men in the camp meeting theology of the frontier" was viewed as "salvation from [the] 'worldly' life of male vice to a restored relationship 'at home' with God and family."¹¹⁶ Nineteenth-century Christian morality was deeply connected to one's

¹¹³ S. Williams, *Food in the United States*, 207.

¹¹⁴ "History," Marietta Campmeeting <http://mariettacampmeeting.org/cm/content/history-camp-meeting-1837-present> [accessed April 30, 2015] The Marietta, Georgia campmeeting began in 1837 and operates as a non-denominational Christian camp through the present day.

¹¹⁵ Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), 3.

¹¹⁶ Messenger, *Holy Leisure and God's Square Mile*, 85.

behavior, and for Victorian evangelicals food became an agent of discipline in the cultivation of a moral, Christian self. “From the time that [evangelical] children could walk and talk, their outward lives were subject to daily discipline in diet, dress, and manner,” and moral training began first in the home.¹¹⁷

Despite these traditional views of women as domestic and moral authorities, camp meetings were also revolutionary in that they were considered acceptable venues in which women were allowed to speak about religious matters. For Methodist women who were active in their religious communities, the next logical step seemed to be ordination, and the first woman to be ordained in the United States, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, was ordained by a Wesleyan minister (the Rev. Luther Lee) in 1853.¹¹⁸ This is not to say, however, that all social conventions were eliminated in camp meeting culture. Men and women often sat separately in worship services and most preachers were male.¹¹⁹ Despite most religious testimonies at camp meetings being viewed by believers as credible, regardless of gender, women who dared to become preachers were often chastised for being “unscriptural and immodest.”¹²⁰

Though revivalist fervor dissipated with the shift of Methodism from a sect to a mainline church, the doctrine of perfection espoused by Finney and John Humphrey Noyes in the early nineteenth century helped Methodism to develop into the urban, middle-class powerhouse of a

¹¹⁷ Greven, *The Protestant Temperament*, 43.

¹¹⁸ Warner, “American Methodist Women,” 316. When followers of the mainline Methodist movement decided that it was too unconventional to continue ordaining female ministers it suspended female ordination (which had been spare at best). The first female ordination in the church in the twentieth century didn’t take place until 1956. Although the Presbyterian and Methodist churches allowed female ordination in the 1950s, it was not until the feminist movement and circulation of Betty Friedan’s 1963 *The Feminine Mystique* that it became culturally acceptable for women to seek ordination and a clerical life in America.

¹¹⁹ White and black worshippers also sat apart from one another, with black congregants sitting behind white ones. This meant that in camp meetings, as in the rest of American life at the time, black women were the most marginalized group in the population—challenging Methodist claims about the equality of all believers.

¹²⁰ Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 295.

religion that it became by mid-century.¹²¹ The transition of the movement from sect to church meant a number of things, from “institutionalization [and] respectability,” to an unfortunate “unwillingness to credit the spiritual gifts of women.”¹²² As camp meeting culture faded, women’s prominent roles within the Methodist tradition remained, but were reoriented back toward a domestic context until the mid-twentieth century. Like camp meetings, however, home life gave women a degree of power, “for those who were normally expected to take a subordinate role...were... enabled to take control” in that gendered sphere.¹²³

1.4 CONCLUSIONS

In the study of food and religion, eating and religious adherence—like the broader constructs of gender, class, and race—always reflect and influence culture and society. What one eats and to whom one prays are determined by culture and tradition, as well as what is new and innovative. The sects and new religious traditions of nineteenth-century America were born out of a social and economic environment that allowed for—indeed encouraged—individual religious agency and widespread change. Similarly, the health reforms of the nineteenth century were by-products of the era, as the spiritual, moral, and physical well-being of individuals was examined in light of whole grains movements, vegetarianism, and an emphasis on the importance of a diet filled with “natural” foods to fuel both body and soul.

¹²¹ P. Williams, *Popular Religion in America*, 134. Later, marginal groups like the Pentecostals would renew revival-like religious practices like speaking in tongues, continuing to emphasize the possibility of quick sanctification from which the Methodists had diverged.

¹²² Elizabeth Elkin Grammer, *Some Wild Visions: Autobiographies by Female Itinerant Evangelists in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 130.

¹²³ Bruce, *And They All Sang Hallelujah*, 86.

Methodist approaches to nutrition and diet were closely connected to the secular body reform movements of Wesley's time, merging diet and religiosity and helping to establish a new denominational identity. Susanna Wesley's influences, along with Jeremy Taylor's stance on matters of health and wellness also influenced Wesley's approaches to physical and spiritual well-being. However, Wesley's reforms were not merely reiterations of other eighteenth health movements. Instead, they were aimed toward spiritual perfection, and in turn perfection of America for what many (including celibate religious communities like the Shakers) believed would be an imminent return of Christ.

The shift from a post-millennial to an evangelical, pre-millennial theology in the nineteenth century acted as a strong catalyst for religious reform. While camp meeting culture reinforced many of Wesley's embodied religious ideals for the masses, the Victorian American middle class became one in which the majority were educated, relatively well-traveled, urban, and had access to a variety of foods. Methodist approaches to gender and religion also shifted as the tradition transitioned from sect to church in order to fit the denomination's new role as "mainline."

It is critical to emphasize that women's activity in the Methodist movement changed when the sect became a church. Despite "encourage[ment of] the participation of women in many areas, it was clear that their moral authority was to be used not to erode traditional boundaries, but as an instrument in the regeneration of the family...and of the wider society."¹²⁴ As a church, the Methodist movement promoted domestic piety and morality, resulting in what can only be thought of as a cult of evangelical domesticity.

Nineteenth-century dietary reforms and moral food efforts were therefore driven by early Methodist persuasions about individual piety, the influential role of Christian women as moral

¹²⁴ Hempton, *The Religion of the People*, 194.

forces, and the tradition's early roots in Wesleyan food practices. This equation of domestic, feminine morality with Christian piety became the underpinning of American life by the mid-nineteenth century, when Methodism dominated American Christian culture. Chapter 2 considers the intersections of gender, class, and food in light of this distinctive understanding of domesticity.

2.0 DIET AND DOMESTICITY

Nineteenth-century American diets, both in terms of the foods that people had access to and the ones that they chose to eat, had their roots in different cultural and religious contexts. The many changes in Victorian American foods and foodways were fueled by advancements in cooking product technology, the advent of germ theory and sanitation in the 1860s, shifting gender roles, increased immigration, transportation developments, rural-urban shifts in population, and evangelical Protestant views about salvation.¹²⁵ For Protestant dietary reformers “in all...settings, food practices [were] shaped by moral convictions [and] the need to behave the way that Christians should.”¹²⁶ Methodism emphasized that real conversion required effort, action, and an individual commitment to change that manifested itself through seemingly mundane daily activities, like dressing one’s self, exercising, or eating.

Though Calvinists of the era continued to argue for a predestined grace that would be awarded to God’s “elect,” Wesleyans viewed such restrictions on salvation as being signs of human error. The Wesleyan hymn “The Horrible Decree” written by Charles Wesley reflects his brother’s argument that God was not confined to the “foreknowledge” and “afterknowledge” of Calvinistic predestination: “To limit thee they dare/Blaspheem thee to thy face/Deny their fellow-worms a share/In thy redeeming grace/All for their own they take/Thy righteousness engross.”¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Alice Ross, “Health and Diet in 19th-century America: A Food Historian’s Point of View,” *Historical Archeology* 27, no. 2 (1993): 42.

¹²⁶ Daniel Sack, *Whitebread Protestants: Food and Religion in American Culture* (New York: PALGRAVE, 2000), 186.

¹²⁷ John Wesley, “Sermon 58, On Predestination,” June 5, 1773, Northwest Nazarene University <http://wesley.nnu.edu/john-wesley/the-sermons-of-john-wesley-1872-edition/sermon-58-on-predestination/> [accessed February 15, 2015] and Charles Wesley, “The Horrible Decree, 1741,” in *Hymns on God’s Everlasting Love*, 34.

As a tradition that rejected Calvinistic beliefs about predestination, Methodism embraced domesticity and dietary reforms as ways for believers to work toward salvation, and to “vindicate [God’s] grace/Which every soul may *prove*.”¹²⁸

Just as society influences diet and religion, “how we eat, and who prepares and serves our meals are all issues that [in turn] shape society,” religious practice, and identity.¹²⁹ The nineteenth-century American diet reveals that there were religious reasons for shifting food habits that rivaled mere health consciousness. As can be expected, there was also a direct correlation between income, nutrition, standards of living and what people ate and why. This chapter considers how the rise of evangelical Protestantism, through a growing Methodist community, affected American food culture and what it meant to eat like a Christian in Victorian America. It first examines moral food choices in light of industrialized food production. It then looks at the Protestant home as a place where expectations for female domesticity, class, and race were created, and influenced the ways in which Victorian Americans related to food, domestic help, and the home. It concludes with an analysis of the degree to which Victorian Methodist women were able to achieve and exert religious and domestic authority while at the same time maintaining the social expectations for gender in their day.

https://divinity.duke.edu/sites/divinity.duke.edu/files/documents/cswt/07_Hymns_on_God%27s_Everlasting_Love_%281741%29.pdf [accessed May 20, 2015]

¹²⁸ Ibid., “The Horrible Decree.”

¹²⁹ Sherrie A. Inness, ed., *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 5.

2.1 EATING LIKE A CHRISTIAN SHOULD

Food shared religiously—whether it’s the Eucharist, a Passover Seder meal, or a post-Sunday service potluck—reaffirms a sense of community, while extending the invitation for others to do the same. Following “God’s diet,” the parameters of which varied from individual to individual and between communities, helped to establish and maintain the Christian social order in a rapidly industrialized and commercialized America. Evangelical dietary reforms from the period can therefore be viewed as signs and modes for spiritual chosenness among reformers, who believed themselves to be reborn in spirit, while also recognizing their purified bodies to be unique and godly in preparation for Christ’s return. Methodists, sharing the Latter-day Saint view that “the human body [wa]s a reflection of God,” believed “that God g[ave] his children bodies (tabernacles) so that they c[ould] be tested and perform those rituals that w[ould] enable them to achieve salvation.”¹³⁰ If bodies were properly cared for as God’s property, salvation was more likely.

For middle-class Victorian Americans, diet and food reforms were undertaken for practical health purposes as well. In his 1857 *The New Hydropathic Cook Book*, R.T. Trall (1812-1877) summarized the chief causes of digestive ailments in his day. Indigestion, or “dyspepsia” had become a common middle-class medical complaint by mid-century, for a population that had the means to be able to consume a wider variety of foods and larger quantities of them. Trall bemoaned that middle-class Victorians were encouraged “to mix and mingle the greatest possible amount of seasonings, saltings, spicings, and greasings into a single dish,” suggesting that it was “no wonder [that] the patrons and admirers of such cook-books [we]re full of dyspepsia, and

¹³⁰ Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 216.

constipation, and hemorrhoids, and biliousness of every degree, and nervousness of every kind.”¹³¹

In a period in which salvation was foremost in the mind of Protestant Americans, Trall was just one among many who claimed that poor food choices were injuring bodies and spirits and needed to be amended for the sake of the individual and of society.

2.1.1 Making Moral Food Choices

At the opening of the nineteenth century most Americans ate regional foods that were prepared in the home. For those whose families had been on American soil for generations, foods beyond these must have seemed exotic. The average American diet had long been based on a more “Puritan” template of corn and squash recipes along with local game, like turkey, while also being “rooted in colonial English-American adaptations.”¹³² As American foodways and choices broadened over the course of the century, diet became more homogenized and was subject to the influences of industrialized food production and immigration.

Additionally, those in the middle class began to have access to foods outside of their locales with the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869, allowing for the more efficient transport of perishable goods such as produce and meat. Even the opening of the Erie Canal in the “Burned Over” district in upstate New York in 1825 would have provided Methodist converts access to imported goods like rum and sugar—both of which John Wesley and Ellen White strongly discouraged. Religious dietary reforms of the period were in many ways reactions or

¹³¹ R.T. Trall, *The New Hydropathic Cook Book* (New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1857), vii.

¹³² Nanumi Suzuki, “Popular Health Movements and Diet Reform in Nineteenth-Century America,” *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 21 (2010): 113 and Ross, “Health and Diet in 19th-century America,” 48.

adaptations to the changes in foodways “engendered by the rising dominance of the [American] marketplace.”¹³³

Victorian Americans also made food choices based on their past, individual food experiences. As Sidney Mintz suggests in *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past* (1996), the foods that we eat are “associated with pasts of those who eat them; the techniques employed to find, process, prepare, serve, and consume foods are all culturally variable, with histories of their own.”¹³⁴ As those who planned, purchased, and prepared foods, Victorian mothers were most often those responsible for sharing their own food memories and histories through recipes and domestic texts, and for creating new food memories for the next generation.¹³⁵

The rise of restaurant culture, too, effected domestic life and food practices in America, as technological advances and increasing urbanization allowed an expanding middle class to dine out more frequently to eat European-styled fare by the 1850s. The flavors and decadences of French cuisine enjoyed by the upper-class trickled into middle-class dining establishments; training American palates to enjoy flavorful sauces and pâté that were far from plain and Puritan.

Where Thomas Jefferson and his contemporaries just decades before had “equated independence and an agrarian lifestyle with virtue and freedom from decadence,” simple foods and Jacksonian self-sufficiency went by the wayside as American appetites became accustomed to foreign foods in restaurants, processed pre-packaged foods, and menus that shock even the

¹³³ Robert H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 171, footnote #30.

¹³⁴ Sidney Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 7.

¹³⁵ As an effort to connect their goods with recipes that were traditionally prepared in the home, companies producing and mass marketing pre-packaged foods tried to “meet the demands of nostalgia along with the expectation that food products would be increasingly more convenient than before” (William Alexander McIntosh, *Sociologies of Food and Nutrition*, (New York: Peplum Press, 1996), 53).

modern reader in their scale and richness.¹³⁶ Period menus like that from the Battle Creek Sanitarium in Figure 2 illustrate a reforming resistance to such heavy, elaborate meals, instead offering patrons plain and simple foods like whole wheat toast, stewed raisins, and barley gruel. Others, like that in Figure 3 depict sample fares for typical mainline church suppers, including rich foods like chicken salad, ham sandwiches, and sugary cakes in abundance. (*Figures 2 & 3*)

¹³⁶ Susan Williams, *Food in the United States, 1820s-1890* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006), 5.

The BATTLE CREEK SANITARIUM					
BREAKFAST—Friday, August 13, 1911					
	Protein	Fats	Carbo.	Oz.	Portion
FRESH FRUIT					
Cantaloupe	5	0	70	6¼	¼
GRAINS					
Baked Mush	21	21	108	4¼	1¼
Maple Syrup	0	0	100	1¼	1
Toasted Rice Flakes	3	0	47	¾	¾
Cream—1 pitcherful	6	107	12	2¼	1¼
ENTREES					
Nottolene & la Cream	28	74	23	2¼	1¼
Broiled Protose	47	33	20	2	1
VEGETABLES					
Baked Potatoes	11	1	88	3	1
Egg Sauce	10	47	18	2¼	¾
Potato Cakes—Gravy	14	40	71	2¼	1¼
TOASTS					
Cream Toast	18	143	64	5	2¼
Banana Toast	13	77	110	5	2
BREADS					
Whole Wheat Bread—1 slice	12	3	61	1	¾
White Bread—1 slice	0	4	62	1	¾
Entire Graham Bread—1 slice	10	4	61	1	¾
Breakfast Toast—two pieces	4	12	34	¾	¾
Toasted Granose Biscuit—two	7	1	42	¾	¾
Toasted Rice Biscuit—two	4	0	46	¾	¾
Bran Biscuit—two	21	31	73	1	1¼
Boston Brown Bread	19	7	149	3	1¼
Nut Butter	28	106	17	1	1¼
Dairy Butter—1 square	1	99	0	¾	1
COOKED FRUITS					
Blackberry Sauce	5	7	68	3¼	1
Stewed Raisins	6	15	176	3	2
Malt Honey	0	0	200	2¼	2
GRUELS					
Gluten Gruel	17	2	81	6	1
Barley Gruel	9	4	62	6	¾
BEVERAGES					
Apple Juice	0	0	50	3¼	¾
Caramel Cereal—1 teaspoonful	1	1	5	4	¾
Sugar—1 sugarspoonful	0	0	23	1	¾
Cream—1 pitcherful	6	101	12	2¼	1¼
Cream and Milk	22	142	36	6	2
Sanitas Cocoa	13	89	23	5	1¼
Milk	23	67	35	6	1¼
Hot Malted Nuts	36	96	66	1¼	2
Yogurt Buttermilk	28	5	42		¾

To ascertain the number of calories eaten of each element, add the figures in first, second and third columns, opposite the various articles eaten and put down the sums at the foot of the respective columns. Mark each article eaten, sign bill of fare, and hand to your physician.

A "portion" is that quantity of any food which contains 100 calories or food units. No food to be taken from the Dining-room.

NAME R. D. C. ROOM 4

Figure 2. Menus like this one from the Seventh-day Adventist Battle Creek Sanitarium exemplify nineteenth-century ideals for plain, healthful, moral diets. Courtesy of Stan Hickerson, private collection.

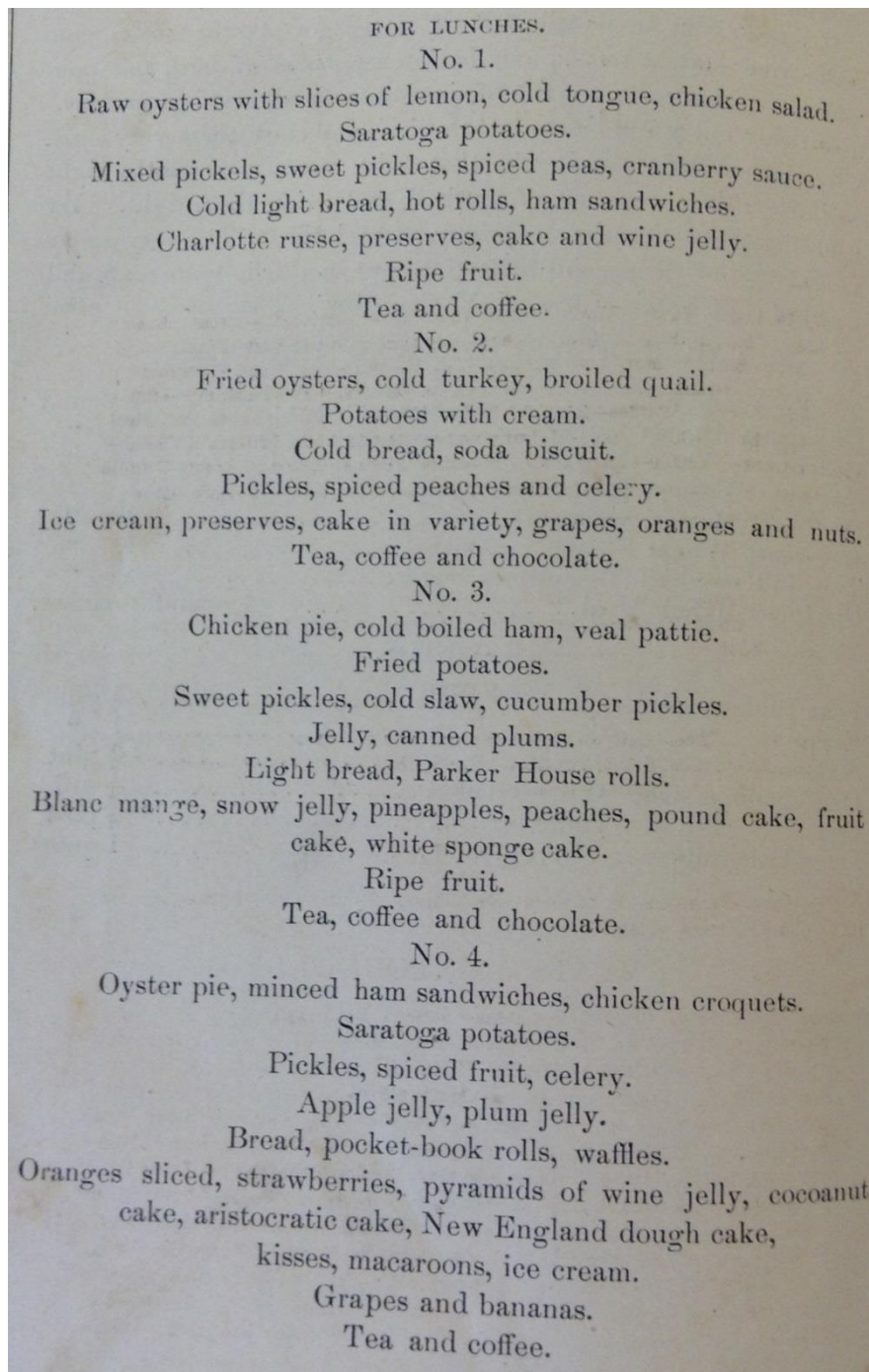


Figure 3. Menus like this one from a Protestant charitable church cookbook, represent the realities of what many Americans were eating in communal luncheons. Ladies of the Broadway Presbyterian Church, *The Cook's Friend: A Collection of Valuable Recipes* (Logansport, Indiana: Journal Company Book and Job Print, 1878), 112. (JBL)

Despite a backlash against pre-packaged foods—many argued that foods made by hand were more wholesome and tasted better—foods of convenience ultimately won out over the course

of the century. With the growth of American industry, an influx of patents for peelers, slicers, can openers, egg beaters, and hand-cranked ice cream freezers flooded the American marketplace. Geared toward a middle-class population who could afford such innovative luxuries in their homes, new technologies promised to make kitchen work easier so that women could devote their time to other, more important matters in their homes, like childrearing and the spiritual well-being of their families.

With the means to procure new foods and kitchen innovations, the Protestant middle class was confronted with the challenge of mediating the dissonance between abundant and industrialized “convenience foods,” and frugal, homemade foods and eaten in moderation. Wesley also foreshadowed this matter, quoting the famous British physician Dr. George Cheyne (1671-1743—a pioneer for vegetarianism whose work was also respected by Alcott and Graham), that “the great rule of eating and drinking [was] to suit the quantity and quality of the food to the strength of our digestion; to take always such a sort and such a measure of food, as fits light and easy on the stomach.”—a message that would be challenged by mainstream American food culture in the nineteenth century.¹³⁷

With moderation in mind, nineteenth-century food moralists acted against the expanding, indulgent American diet, professing that the “animal passions” could also be aroused by stimulating and rich foods like caffeine, sugar, and red meat. Pickled, smoked, salted, and strongly seasoned foods were discouraged as being corrupting, because the “violent passions” that such stimulating foods aroused could “actually throw people into acute diseases,” while also sully the spirit.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ John Wesley, *Primitive Physic, or An Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases* (London: J. Paramore at the Foundry, 1785), xviii.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, xvi.

Sugar was especially viewed as being detrimental to one's physical body and spiritual health—a reaction perhaps to a “500 percent increase in...sugar consumption” in the nineteenth century, that was the result of advancements in the ways in which the commodity was processed and transported. In their highly processed whiteness, sugar and flour became dietary status symbols, while safer and faster transport of red meat made it a more attainable protein choice for middle-class Americans by mid-century.¹³⁹ Dietary reformers were concerned about the increased consumption of these foods, fearing that they had the ability to “sap...the foundation of...life.”¹⁴⁰ With an emphasis on the powerful influences that one's diet could have on their well-being, plain foods were promoted as being best for nourishing the body without distracting the mind from higher, spiritual pursuits.

Though Wesley was not as adamantly against meat-eating as Graham, Kellogg, and White would be, his views on the avoidance of liquor and caffeine were strict, and reflected in later Victorian health reforms. For Wesley and later Methodists, it was “the love God, as...the sovereign remedy of all miseries,” that “effectually prevent[ed] all the bodily disorders the passions introduce[d], by keeping the passions themselves within due bounds,” and acted as the quickest means to “health and long life.”¹⁴¹ By the nineteenth century loving and caring for the body as a mode for salvation meant following a diet that many reformers felt God had given to humanity—one of plain, natural foods that would nourish the physical body and elevate the spirit.

¹³⁹ S. Williams, *Food in the United States*, 43.

¹⁴⁰ J. Wesley, *Primitive Physic*, iv.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

2.1.2 19th c. Food Innovations

Technology also influenced the ways in which food was prepared in Victorian America, with electric kitchens making their debut at the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago—the same fair that featured the first World's Parliament of Religions. Methodism, as a religious tradition gaining popularity in Britain alongside modernization in the previous century, likewise progressed with the advent and rise of industrialization in nineteenth-century America.¹⁴² In the nineteenth century, tensions arose between foods that were perceived as being good for the body and foods that did not take long to prepare.¹⁴³ While foods that fall into these categories need not be mutually exclusive, “fast” foods were already perceived to be less healthful and nutrient dense as early as the first few decades of the nineteenth century thanks to the work of dietary reformers.

When considering nineteenth-century food innovations, it is important to recall that prior to that time people in the United States had grown the bulk of their food at home, traded with neighbors for the items that they didn't produce themselves, and slaughtered, cured, and preserved foods to store in root cellars, smoke houses, and spring houses. By mid-century, food technologies had made it possible for middle-class women and their domestic help to go to markets and general stores to buy meat, bread, milk, and canned fruits and vegetables, which they could then take home and prepare more quickly with newly patented kitchen gadgets and more reliable stoves. By the

¹⁴² Peter Williams, *Popular Religion in America: Symbolic Change and the Modernization Process in Historical Perspective* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 133. E.P. Thompson's seminal *The Making of the Working Class* (1964) further explores the connections between Methodism and the British working class in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

¹⁴³ American agriculture correspondingly became more industrialized during this period as farm technologies improved, making for more abundant crop yields and the wider dissemination of American agricultural commodities both in the U.S. and abroad.

1880s indoor refrigeration in iceboxes allowed for longer periods of food storage, revolutionizing the way that Americans shopped for and ate food.

As part of the movement to bring the advances of modernity into the kitchen, classes in domestic science started to be offered in female institutions of higher learning.¹⁴⁴ Cooking schools were especially viewed as “an important part of women’s education,” though “not necessarily as a means into professional kitchens.”¹⁴⁵ The skills learned in domestically-oriented classrooms were instead intended for those who wished to better manage their own future households, or help to run someone else’s. Perhaps the most famous cooking school at the time, the Boston Cooking School (founded in the 1870s) trained pupils like Fannie Farmer (1857-1915), who taught at the school for more than a decade before moving on to form her own school for cooking, Miss Farmer’s School of Cookery.

2.2 CLASS, RACE, AND THE CHRISTIAN HOME

Nineteenth-century evangelical movements, like Methodism, were “predicated on the notion that women protected and sustained a home-centered morality against the corrupting influences of worldly male sinfulness.”¹⁴⁶ With the Victorian emphasis on the home as a place for nourishment and nurturing, it is not surprising that Protestant visions of a Christian America emphasized the

¹⁴⁴ A push for women’s higher education in the second half of the nineteenth century also led to the establishment of women’s institutions of higher learning, like Vassar College (1861) and Smith College (1871), where women were offered the chance of a liberal arts education. Smith’s mascot, the Pioneer, is a nod to the early vision of the college as a place where women could receive a first-rate education like that available to their male counterparts at Ivy League schools like Yale and Princeton, before those institutions accepted female applicants.

¹⁴⁵ Ann Cooper, *A Woman’s Place is in the Kitchen: the Evolution of Women Chefs* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1998), 20.

¹⁴⁶ Troy Messenger, *Holy Leisure and God’s Square Mile* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 85.

importance of shaping one's moral character first, in the home. In addition to more traditional church-centered ways of teaching Christian morality, domestic life—from the physical attributes of the home, to the foods prepared in it—became a further channels through which Christian morals were diffused.

As it gained popularity, this Victorian American “canon of domesticity” began to convey “the dominance of what...designated [the] middle-class ideal” central to nineteenth-century American life.¹⁴⁷ This is significant for the purpose of this study because at the same time that the Victorian middle class fostered the rise of a “cult of domesticity,” evangelical Protestant expectations for domesticity and family life helped to define what it meant to be part of the expanding American middle class.¹⁴⁸

2.2.1 The 19th c. Protestant Home

For scholars like Émile Durkheim, who viewed the home as secular and therefore separate from the church, “man's notion of the sacred is always and everywhere separated from his notion of the profane by a sort of logical gulf between the two.”¹⁴⁹ In the same vein as this “two spheres” theory, the American Protestant middle class of the nineteenth century viewed the home as feminine and sacred—separate from, and morally superior to the masculine workaday world of a rapidly

¹⁴⁷ Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle-Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1730-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 187.

¹⁴⁸ While this study looks at the U.S. more broadly, there are certainly regional differences when examining religion in the deep South, West Coast, Midwest, and New England. Because of the concentration of Methodists in urban areas in the Northeast and Midwest, and availability of materials about them, this study is primarily focused on those two regions.

¹⁴⁹ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, transl. Carol Cosman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 39. For others, like Max Weber and Mircea Eliade, “without this binary vision there c[ould] not be authentic religious life” (McDannell, *Material Christianity*, 5).

industrialized America. In the context of Victorian Methodist households, domestic work created a bridge for women to more easily cross from the realm of the secular into that of the sacred through the actions of their daily lives.

The concept of ideal womanhood in the nineteenth century had roots in the archetype of “republican” motherhood from the Revolutionary period, as well as the “cult of true womanhood” famously defined by Barbara Welter. Early American persuasions about the role of women, the home, and family carried forward into the nineteenth century, as directives for women to be pure, submissive, and passive were added to Puritan expectations for female piety and domesticity. The idealized Victorian woman was expected to strive toward embodiment of all of these attributes, so as to serve as an example for her family, and especially for her children—the future citizens of the country.

Particularly after the tumult of the American Civil War, the home, in principle and architecture, was to be a place where Victorian Americans could find respite from the corruption of the outside world in a kind of moral sanctuary.¹⁵⁰ As Catharine and Harriet Beecher Stowe proposed in their *American Woman’s Home* (1869), it was to be a place where Christian families were trained in preparation for their “eternal home,” guided by wives and mothers who engaged in a unique domestic “ministry.”¹⁵¹ Like their seventeenth and eighteenth-century forebears, Victorian Christian mothers took on the task of educating their families in faith and morality. In their perceived moral superiority “Christian wom[e]n might boldly act to ensure that those closest

¹⁵⁰ Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

¹⁵¹ Catharine Ester Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman’s Home, or Principles of Domestic Science; being a Guide to the Formation and Maintenance of Economical, Healthful, Beautiful, and Christian Homes* (New York: Arno Press, 1971), 23-24.

to [them] would follow the path of the righteous,” increasing the salvific chances of women and their families.¹⁵²

Just as Wesley’s mother had known the “importance of food in shaping the character of her children,” using diet as a tool for “domestic discipline,” nineteenth-century Christian morality was deeply connected with one’s everyday behavior.¹⁵³ For Victorian evangelicals, diet and food became modes for disciplining the body and spirit. What this means for scholars of nineteenth and early twentieth-century American religion is that a consideration of diet, food preparation, and domesticity is necessary for a clearer picture of “popular” religious practice at that time. Domestic reflections of Methodist ideals especially offer deeper insights into the ways in which religious practitioners identified seemingly secular and mundane things, like food, with religious experience.

This material aspect of Victorian American Protestantism was also reflected in the structure and décor of the home. A tangible application of Christian ideals, the Beecher sisters proposed the construction of homes that could act as “a small church, a school-house, and a comfortable family building” all at once.¹⁵⁴ The layout of the interior of a home should likewise reflect the Christian worldview of the occupants. As the second illustration in *Figure 4* depicts, the first story of home could be designed to include a pulpit space around which the family could worship, alongside more traditional living spaces. The presence of physical reminders of faith, like Bibles and crosses, would also serve the purpose of reminding inhabitants of their religious obligations.

(*Figure 4*)

¹⁵² Leslie J. Lindenauer, *Piety and Power: Gender and Religious Culture in the American Colonies, 1630-1700* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 43.

¹⁵³ Philip Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 44.

¹⁵⁴ Beecher and Stowe, *The American Woman’s Home*, 455.

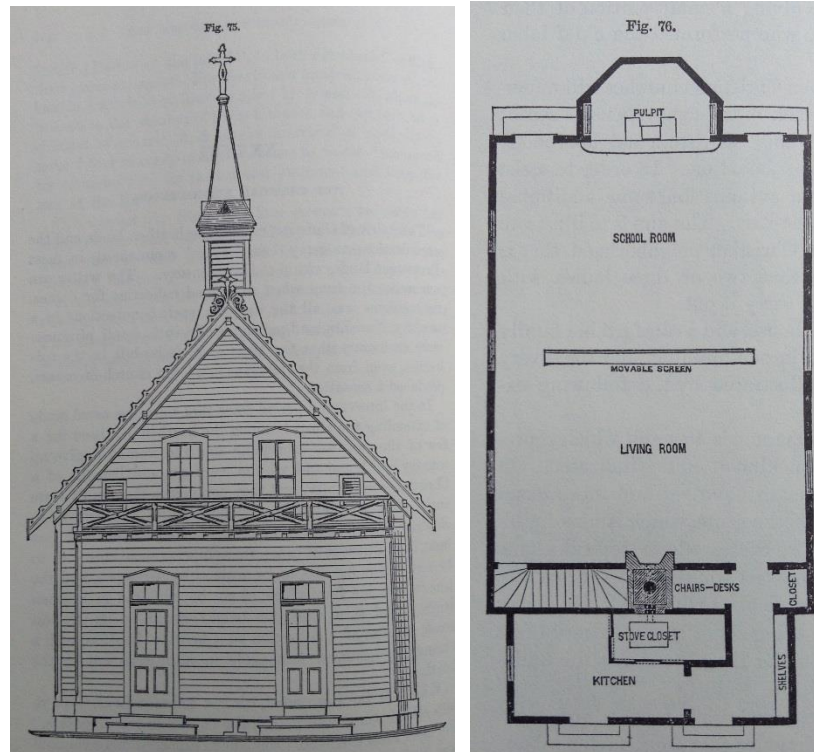


Figure 4. These blueprints for a church-like exterior and interior that included a pulpit were presented by the Beecher sisters as practical ways to further incorporate Christian values into daily life at home. Beecher and Stowe, *The American Woman's Home*, 454 and 456.

The Beechers also suggested that the design and layout of kitchens should match attempts at orderliness in the rest of the home. The purpose of this design element was to encourage a similarly tidy disposition and spirit in all members of the household. Foods prepared in the Christian family kitchen were to be well-planned, “nourishing,” and “unstimulating,” whether cooked by the lady of the house or her domestic help.¹⁵⁵

Nineteenth-century home décor similarly took on religious characteristics, with small organs that were marketed to women who wanted to sing hymns at home, furniture that looked

¹⁵⁵ Catharine Beecher, *Miss Beecher's Receipt Book, Designed as a Supplement to her Treatise on Domestic Economy* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1846), v.

like “domestic altarpiece[s]” for home dining rituals, and religiously inspired chinaware.¹⁵⁶ One notable example of the latter was a popular reproduction “Wesley” teapot made by Wedgewood in the early 1900s. Based on a design created for Wesley in the 1760s, Wedgewood’s pattern included pre- and post-meal blessings on each side of the pot.¹⁵⁷ The teapots were sold by Methodist women’s groups as a way to raise funds for missions.¹⁵⁸ In this instance the chinaware allowed Methodists to literally bring Wesley’s teachings to their tables as reminders of their faith. The verse on the teapot resonates with both Methodist and Adventist approaches to food as sustenance for the body and soul. (*Figure 5*)

¹⁵⁶ Susan Williams, *Savory Suppers and Fashionable Feasts: Dining in Victorian America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 67.

¹⁵⁷ One wonders how Wesley would have felt about his association with tea, as he gave up the drink, believing that tea, coffee, and other stimulants were “extremely hurtful” (Wesley, *Primitive Physic*, xiv). As Meredith B. McGuire notes in her study of “lived religion,” embodied religious practices, like the dietary ones undertaken by Methodists and Adventists, are affirmations of the realities of religious experience (Meredith B. McGuire, *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 101). As mirrors that reflect religious actions in specific places at certain times, “lived” religious practices naturally adapt to fit traditions as they change over time. In this case, early Methodists avoided tea and coffee, while many mainline Methodists later in the century included tea and coffee at their tables, having moved away from the food restrictions that previously set them apart from the mainline.

¹⁵⁸ Mrs. Daniel Onstott, “The Wesley Teapot and its History,” *Western Christian Advocate*, Cincinnati 77, no. 50 (1911), 30-31. Anna Onstott was responsible for commissioning the reproduction Wesley teapots in 1910.

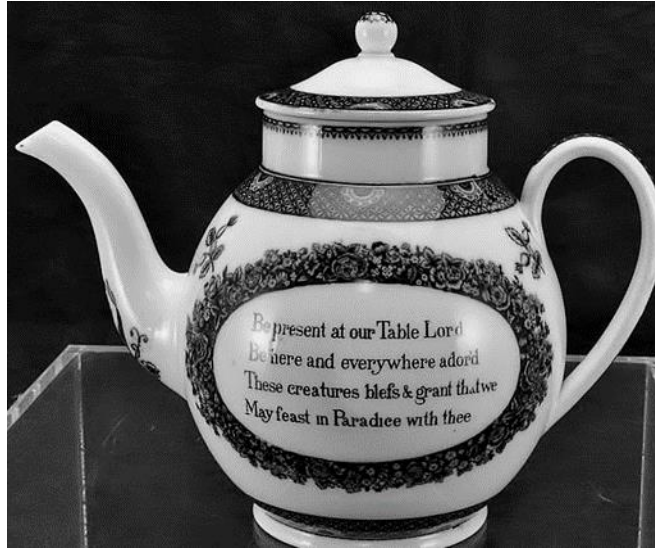


Figure 5. The Wesley teapot offered a meal prayer to those who used it: “Be present at our Table Lord/Be here and everywhere ador’d/These creatures blefs & grant that we/May feast in Paradiice with thee,” and on the second side: “We thank Thee Lord for this our food/But more because of Jesus’ blood/Let manna to our Souls be given/The bread of Life sent down from Heaven.” Early twentieth-century reproduction from author’s collection.

2.2.2 Domestic Service, Race, and the Middle Class

As dining rituals became significant in Victorian middle-class domestic life, dining rooms became “one of the prime symbols of the achievement of middle-class status.”¹⁵⁹ Similarly, “food, and the whole realm of artifacts associated with its preparation, presentation, and consumption, became increasingly important as a measure of class distinction.”¹⁶⁰ Where appliances and kitchen gadgets were typically purchased by middle-class households for use by domestic servants, serving paraphernalia, from crystal bowels to elaborate utensils, allowed families and their guests to enjoy meals in style.

¹⁵⁹ Clifford E. Clark, Jr. “The Vision of the Dining Room: Plan Book Dreams and Middle-Class Realities,” in *Dining in America, 1850-1900*, ed. Kathryn Grover (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987): 147.

¹⁶⁰ S. Williams, *Food in the United States*, 7.

One's ability to employ household servants also affirmed their comfortable position in the Victorian American middle class. (Although most advertisements of the day strangely ignore the role of domestic help in middle-class homes.) Families in this demographic typically employed one, or on rare occasions two, female domestic helpers to aide wives and mothers with cleaning, childcare, and especially with kitchen work.¹⁶¹ This type of domestic service was considered to be an acceptable form of employment for the influx of immigrant women into America in the nineteenth century, in part because it kept that population in what was perceived by the middle- and upper-classes to be their appropriate social sphere.¹⁶² Although it was "widely thought that regular work schedules were injurious to a woman's health, that this advice was not applied to domestic servants... underscored the difference between mistresses and servants."¹⁶³ Though daily contact with middle-class family life may have "accelerate[d] the process of acculturation," for most immigrant servants and their families upward social mobility wouldn't happen for at least another generation.¹⁶⁴

Although women who hired domestic help played somewhat of a "maternal role" in that they offered young women a space in which they could learn how to run a household, in addition to a "Christian environment in which to live," workers and employers came from different classes and often different religious denominations.¹⁶⁵ One wonders how this might have affected Protestant middle-class families. For instance, did Irish Catholic domestic workers contribute to,

¹⁶¹ By 1900 "female" work outside of the home included employment as laundresses, teachers, nurses, and domestic servants—nearly 90% of whom were female (Christine E. Bose, *Women in 1900: Gateway to the Political Economy of the 20th Century* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 103). In light of these figures it is important to note that documented female workers at that time only made up about 20% of the total American labor force (Ibid.).

¹⁶² David M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 162.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 149.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 171. Food, faith, and immigration are discussed in further detail in Chapter 4.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 156.

learn from, or work against the promotion of Protestant middle-class morality? Despite the stigmas on Irish cuisine as being flavorless or somehow inferior, “no Irish need apply” did not always pertain to domestic work. Many housekeepers and cooks in nineteenth-century middle-class Protestant homes were in fact Irish and Catholic. Were plain, home-cooked Irish meals an unexpected outside influence on Protestant cuisine, and its effect on the moral code of those eating them? What about the influence on domestic life of pre- and post- Civil War black domestic servants in the American South?

Female servants’ work and ability to integrate into middle and upper-class American Victorian homes depended on several factors, including “the personalities of the servant, mistress, and members of the employing family; the amount of work required of the servant; and her experience and skill (or lack thereof) in executing the work.”¹⁶⁶ The majority of the women undertaking such employment were often either black or Irish—two populations that faced unique challenges in finding a niche in nineteenth-century American life. Despite their differences in race, what these women had in common, beyond their shared profession, was their low social status and “lack of freedom” as domestic workers.¹⁶⁷

America offered opportunities for Irish who had immigrated to Britain during the Great Famine (1845-1852) only to face intense anti-Irish sentiments. Although the phrase “No Irish need apply” also appeared in America and Canada (to which large numbers of Irish immigrated) the U.S. was viewed by many Irish to be a place of opportunity and tolerance, as is evidenced in this song from the 1890s:

I’m a simple Irish girl, and I’m looking for a place,
I’ve felt the grip of poverty, but sure that’s no disgrace,

¹⁶⁶ Margaret Lynch-Brennan, *The Irish Bridget: Irish Immigrant Women in Domestic Service in America, 1840-1930* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 90.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

‘Twill be long before I get one, tho’ indeed it’s hard I try,
For I read in each advertisement, “No Irish Need Apply.”
Alas! for my poor country, which I never will deny,
How they insult us when they write, “No Irish need apply.”

Now I wonder what’s the reason that the fortune-favored few,
Should throw on us that dirty slur, and treat us as they do,
Sure they all know Paddy’s heart is warm, and willing is his hand,
They rule us, yet we may not earn a living in their land.
O, to their sister country, how can they bread deny,
By sending forth this cruel line, “No Irish need apply.”

...Ah, but now I’m in the land of the “Glorious and Free,”
And proud I am to own it, a country dear to me,
I can see by your kind faces that you will not deny,
A place in your hearts for Kathleen where, “All Irish may apply.”
Then long may the Union flourish, and ever may it be,
A pattern to the world, and the “Home of Liberty!”¹⁶⁸

For Catholic Irish “biddies,” women whose passage to America was paid by employers in exchange for their work, the challenges of exhausting domestic labor were made all the more difficult by religious differences. From the perspective of some “employers, Irish girls made less satisfactory servants because of their religion,” and were looked upon as “threatening foreigners” who entered “‘sacred’ home circles.”¹⁶⁹ Yet, the more than four million Irish immigrants to America from the Great Famine in the 1840s through the 1920s provided a ready female labor force that willing to cook, clean, and help with childcare in exchange for a chance at a more secure future.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Kathleen O’Neill, “No Irish Need Apply,” (Philadelphia: J.H. Johnson, Stationer & Printer, 1892(?)). Library of Congress, American Memory, “American Singing: Nineteenth-Century Song Sheets.”
<http://www.loc.gov/item/amss002378/> [accessed May 2, 2015]

¹⁶⁹ Faye E. Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 67-68.

¹⁷⁰ By the time of the 1855 census in New York City nearly 80% of domestic laborers were Irish (Stephen Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 154.)

Most Irish women who came to America to take domestic jobs had no training or experience in the work that they were about to undertake. It was instead their gender that made them qualified to work in the home, and they “learned about America through its food and cooking, as well as clothing, furnishings, and general housekeeping standards.”¹⁷¹ As Hasia Diner suggests, this method of learning while doing also exposed the lower classes to “what middle-class Americans ate, and how they ate it,” helping to establish what was “typically American” in terms of diet and dining.¹⁷² For the Irish—who were not known for their cuisine—this sometimes proved a challenge, but also a means for acculturation.

Whether Irish or black, the ideals and privileges of the “cult of womanhood” did not apply because of, what Kimberlé Crenshaw has defined as “intersectionality.” Nineteenth-century domestic labor was racialized, and the Irish women who worked in middle-class homes were “racially liminal,” in that they were not looked upon as being white in the same way that their employers were white.¹⁷³ Race, like gender, does not occur in a vacuum, and perceptions of race were instead closely tied to class, social status, and religion, and, like gendered boundaries, were “fabricated,” or socially constructed.¹⁷⁴ After generations of black slavery in the U.S., nineteenth and early twentieth-century black women were “doubly constrained,” in that they “had to overcome both gender and racial stereotypes” for black labor which intersected, and acted “against a white discourse of domesticity.”¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Hasia Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 115.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Bridget T. Heneghan, *Whitewashing America: Material Culture and Race in the Antebellum Imagination* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 47.

¹⁷⁴ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 1.

¹⁷⁵ Shirley Wilson Logan, “*We Are Coming*”: *The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999), 163 and Laura Smith, ““Don’t Be Too Careful of Your Silks and Rags”: Domesticity and Race in 19th-Century American Literature,” *Literature Compass* 9, no. 5

Although black and white domestic workers were connected to their female employers through their shared responsibilities in American homes, slavery's indelible mark meant that black women largely remained a "separate" and "economically subordinate group."¹⁷⁶ For black women, particularly those living in the antebellum south, there was a direct connection between "power and exploitation."¹⁷⁷ Despite having families and homes of their own, by 1900 44% of working black women in America were still employed in domestic service, often bringing their children to work when long hours and low finances meant that their own home lives had to be disrupted for work.¹⁷⁸

Unlike their Irish counterparts, some black domestics shared the Protestant, and even Methodist faith of their employers. The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church (1816) was one of several black churches that gained strength in the religious free market after the American Civil War, particularly with the "Great Migration" of freed southern blacks into northern cities. While this meant that black domestic servants may have shared a closer theology with their employers than their Irish Catholic counterparts, racial and class differences continued to keep them in separate social spheres.

The marginalization of black domestic workers, in part because of lingering racial tensions, led to antebellum reforms calling for "racial uplift," which viewed any perception of racial "inferiority...as a direct consequence of slavery, not as an innate and indelible trait."¹⁷⁹ Schools like the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (1868—now Hampton University) in Virginia

(2012): 344 and Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1991): 1241-1299.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 143.

¹⁷⁷ Teresa Arnott and Julie Matthaei, *Race, Gender, and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States* (Boston: South End Press, 1991), 11.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 157.

¹⁷⁹ Logan, "We Are Coming," 153.

were opened to offer black Americans an education that included training for domestic service as a means for social mobility.¹⁸⁰

For the black women who became cooks in middle-class American homes, food preparation also was a grounds on which assimilation and further race divisions played out. The meals that domestic workers prepared for white, middle-class American families were comprised of ingredients and dishes chosen by the female head of the family. Though influences from black and Irish cooking undoubtedly appeared on some middle-class tables, nineteenth-century Americans affirmed and internalized their race and class through what they ate.¹⁸¹ Food choice is often a matter of privilege, and at the beginning of the century movement's like Graham's, in their restrictiveness, were "prohibitionist and distancing," contributing to the "formation of whiteness" in America.¹⁸² Though many Protestant homes were not still engaged in dietary reforms like vegetarianism or the whole grains movement by the second half the century, what people ate and who prepared it for them were still markers of class, race, and ethnic differences.

It is important to note that the relationship between black and white Victorian American women was certainly not limited to that of employer and employee. As women, regardless of race, were relegated to a separate sphere from men, many white women advocated for the rights of black women. Harriet Beecher Stowe was especially known for her abolitionist stance, as portrayed in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), and in her support of female education. A poem entitled "To Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe" (1854) by free black and fellow abolitionist Frances Ellen Watkins Harper

¹⁸⁰ As cookbook historian Jan Longone notes, the first book to be published by a black woman in America was Abby Fisher's *What Mrs. Fisher Knows about Old Southern Cooking* (1881), taking into consideration black domestic work and the unique challenges that black women faced in nineteenth-century America (Janice Bluestein Longone, "Early Black-Authored American Cookbooks," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 1, no. 1 (2001): 97).

¹⁸¹ Kyla Wazana Thompkins, *Racial Ingestion: Eating Bodies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 91.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

(1825-1911) best illustrates the connection that some black women felt to Stowe and her contemporaries like Julia Ward Howe (1819-1910) and Lucretia Mott (1793-1880):

I thank thee for thy pleading
For the helpless of our race;
Long as our hearts are beating
In them thou hast a place.

I thank thee for thy pleading
For the fetter'd and the dumb;
The blessing of the perishing
Around thy path shall come.

I thank thee for the kindly words
That grac'd thy pen of fire,
And thrilled upon the living chords
Of many a heart's deep lyre.

For the sisters of our race
Thou'st nobly done thy part;
Thou hast won thyself a place
In every human heart.

The halo that surrounds thy name
Hath reached from shore to shore;
But thy best and brightest fame
Is the blessing of the poor.¹⁸³

Regardless of race, women's unpaid domestic labor was largely ignored in labor history until the 1980s with the publication of studies like Ruth Schwartz Cowan's *More Work for Mother* (1983) and Philip Sheldon Foner's *Women and the American Labor Movement: From World War I to the Present* (1980). As a case in point, sociologist Christine E. Bose highlighted in her analysis of census data, circa 1900, that there were very few definitions for what constituted employment for men and women in the earlier part of the twentieth century compared with those that we have today. For instance, the designations used from 1870-1930 by the U.S. Census Office defined

¹⁸³ Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, "To Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe," in *A Brighter Day: A Frances Ellen Watkins Harper Reader* (New York: Feminist Press, 1990), 57.

“gainful employment” as work done by “those persons age ten and over who reported occupation, whether or not they were working or seeking work at the time of the census,” with “work” being defined as “that which one depended upon for [financial] support.”¹⁸⁴ This definition implicitly excluded unpaid housework from being considered as valid labor, therefore diminishing substantive evidence for what would have been considered women’s work.

What this partial definition of labor constructed, and in many ways reflected, was an American family economy in which even those women who took jobs outside of the home as housekeepers, laundresses, cooks, and in child care, were excluded from labor data because their work was considered to fall under the umbrella of domestic work. In other words, whether or not a woman did domestic labor in her own home or in someone else’s, her work was classified in the same way. Also absent from documentation about Victorian era labor were the women who assisted their husbands in family businesses. Because women’s efforts in these endeavors were also “less sociably visible than men’s,” they too were written out of the historical record.¹⁸⁵ This meant that the only documented female occupations during this period were “pink collar” jobs—white collar occupations for women like public school teachers, bookkeepers, and stenographers.¹⁸⁶

In light of the prevalence of outside domestic help in the majority of middle-class Victorian households, many religious dietary reformers called for a return of mothers to their kitchens, arguing that the most nourishing foods were those that were homemade by maternal hands. Food made at home was “supposed to be full of [a] mother’s nurturing spirit,” which would best sustain

¹⁸⁴ Bose, *Women in 1900*, 25.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 55.

her family.¹⁸⁷ Mothers were vital in their role as cooks, or at the very least, their part in planning what the family would eat throughout the week as prepared by their domestic workers.

These nineteenth-century reformers echoed the sentiments of Sylvester Graham, who implored that mothers with domestic help consider reclaiming their role as preparers of family meals, asking, “Who then shall make our bread? Those who serve us for hire? No; –it is the wife, the mother only—she who loves her husband and her children as women ought to love, and who rightly perceives the relations between the dietetic habits and physical and moral condition of her loved ones, and justly appreciates the importance of good bread to their physical and moral welfare—she alone it is, who... [possesses] the indispensable attributes of a perfect bread maker.”¹⁸⁸

Catharine Beecher similarly affirmed Graham’s sentiments in her *Miss Beecher’s Receipt Book, Designed as a Supplement to her Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1846), writing that “unless the cook can be fully trusted, the mistress of a family *must* take this care [of bread making] upon herself.”¹⁸⁹ Graham’s and Beecher’s views characterize the extent to which activists “envisioned women’s place in reform within the doctrines of separate spheres common to Christian...evangelicalism.”¹⁹⁰ Yet, despite these cries for middle-class mothers to return to their kitchens, the employment of domestic help continued to be the norm throughout most of the century.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Suzuki, “Popular Health Movements,” 132.

¹⁸⁸ Sylvester Graham, *A Treatise on Bread and Bread-Making* (Boston: Light & Stearns, 1837), 103-106.

¹⁸⁹ C. Beecher, *Miss Beecher’s Receipt Book*, 230.

¹⁹⁰ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 190.

¹⁹¹ By the early twentieth century, middle-class Americans treated their homes like shrines to art rather than to faith or domesticity,” parlors became “living rooms,” and the servant class virtually disappeared (McDannell, *Material Christianity*, 100).

2.3 GENDER AND POWER

When studying gender in the context of Victorian religion a number of questions arise as to how gender affects religious practice: do men and women experience, perform, or embody religion in different ways because of their gendered identity? Why was it that some nineteenth-century women were able to speak and act more publicly in religious contexts than others? Which denominations allowed women to obtain this power? Why did the degree of religious social freedom gained by women in the early years of the nineteenth century not fully translate to women's broader social experience until nearly a century later? To attempt to answer some of these questions it is important to first consider the historical framework for women's religious lives in nineteenth-century America.

Ann Braude's observation that women must be present in order for religion to flourish is important to our understanding of the domestic role that women played in nineteenth-century American religious life.¹⁹² Although white, middle-class Protestant women at that time were marginalized in some distinct ways because of their gender, they were also viewed as the very pillars and moral forces of their homes and communities. It was this population of American women that was able to exert their religious influence and authority to a greater degree during the Victorian period, eventually extending power to broader social causes like female suffrage and Temperance.¹⁹³

¹⁹² Ann Braude, "Women's History IS American Religious History," in *Retelling U.S. Religious History*, ed. Thomas Tweed (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 88.

¹⁹³ Peter Williams, *America's Religions: Traditions and Cultures* (New York: MacMillan, 1990), 234. See also Ann Douglas' *The Feminization of American Culture* (1977).

Though not a Methodist, it can be argued that Catharine Beecher was the “first major reform activist to rechannel mainstream evangelical doctrine toward a position of woman’s independence and [moral] superiority” in an unprecedented way.¹⁹⁴ When reading Beecher’s works one finds that her opinions often toe the line between the extremes of pre-feminist reforms and the maintenance of women’s important place in the home. Her own life reflected this dualism, as she remained unmarried and childless, yet despite her apparent lack of family domestic experience is best known for her publications of advice about the family and home, like *Miss Beecher’s Housekeeper and Healthkeeper: Containing Five Hundred Recipes for Economical and Healthful Cooking* (1874) and *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841).

2.3.1 Defining “Gender”

Sex—maleness or femaleness—has conventionally been defined biologically and anatomically, while gender—masculinity or femininity— has been rooted in the psychological, social, or cultural—including the religious.¹⁹⁵ Although gender ultimately plays out at the level of the individual, the parameters of behavior that delimit gender typically form in relation to social and cultural influences.

Gender is, as a result, both “interactional” and “micropolitical,” in that one both “does” gender in the way that they have perceived others “doing” gender, and enacts gender in certain ways so as to retain individual power and agency through their position in the larger social sphere.¹⁹⁶ What this means in the context of this study is that the more normative one’s gendered

¹⁹⁴ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 190.

¹⁹⁵ Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, “Doing Gender” *Gender and Society* 1, no.2 (1987).

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 126.

behavior was in their context of time, place, class, and race, the more easily one was able to fully participate in society writ large. It may be, then, that one of the best—yet relatively unexplored—ways to define gender in nineteenth-century America is to look to the connections between religion, food, and labor patterns at that time. As the kitchen has long been “the symbol of women’s domesticity”—so much so that “the lifelong activities and identities of women outside [of] the[ir] kitchen[s] are determined and defined by their domesticity”—it seems only logical to look to food as a source for further historical information about Victorian gender roles.¹⁹⁷

2.3.2 Protestant Victorian Gender Norms

The boundaries for what defines sex and gender are undoubtedly not always straightforward, but for the purposes of this dissertation—an analysis of Victorian women for whom gendered behaviors were far more stringently guarded than in present-day America—I look at gender in its cultural and historical context as a potential conduit for female power. While gender is sometimes historically looked upon as a static cultural construct in which men did “men’s” work, and women stayed at home to do “women’s” work, defining gender is never that simple and straightforward. What I found in my research, however, is that gendered stereotypes exist for very specific reasons, and often reflect some aspects of gendered experience.

What this means for this study is that expectations for Victorian female behavior—like motherhood, piety, and passivity—were constructs of the era, and were largely upheld by the women who were supposed to embody them. This is not to say that all Victorian women were indifferent to their rights and voices in American life, but that their approaches to domesticity and

¹⁹⁷ Linda McKie, et al., eds., *Gender, Power, and the Household* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 3.

religion were intentional and calculated—as is evidenced when reading period sources (like cookbooks and ladies’ magazines) which reveal women’s understandings and everyday experiences of gender.

“Daily life is filled with routine practices...[that] are typically” aimed toward “practical ends,” but which “over time [can] affect physical, emotional and spiritual developments for the individuals who engage in them.”¹⁹⁸ When studying everyday secular activities, it becomes apparent that daily routines have the potential to become a part of the sacred, as the sacred and the secular are linked through ritualized actions. What is routine is often born out of cultural norms and influences, making individual actions symbols of cultural contexts.

This is to say that individuals are both shaped by and create the world around them, including religious life and tradition. This is especially apparent when studying religion and wellness, as many religions and cultures “understand the illness of the body as an expression of social [or spiritual] discord.”¹⁹⁹ Women’s bodies are often scrutinized, and glorified, for their ability to create life, and nineteenth-century health reformers recognized that women were especially equipped to participate in diet and health movements because of their exceptional connections to their bodies.

“Routines,” or ritualized actions become ways through which people attempt to know unknowable, cure the incurable, and explain the inexplicable. Though men like Graham and William A. Alcott were instrumental in the creation of nineteenth-century dietary movements, their followers—those who were responsible for carrying out their dietary work—were predominantly

¹⁹⁸ McGuire, *Lived Religion*, 13.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 130.

women; wives and mothers who used food to nurture their families' bodies and spirits in the home, at the table.

It can also be argued that the Christian story from its earliest days was one that established a gendered hierarchy "as part of a natural human order" in light of Eve's innate subordination to Adam in the Garden of Eden in the book of Genesis.²⁰⁰ Comparably, it can be noted that women's public voices were restricted in the Christian church as early as the first century with St. Paul's admonition that women should not speak in religious meetings. The usual models for American religion in which the colonial period was marked by religious declension, the Victorian era by the feminization of religion, and the modern period by secularization are likewise challenging in that the way that they present gender is often rooted in non-empirical gender-normative assumptions about the role of women in American religious life and practice.²⁰¹ To make such generalizations about Christian women is to diminish the various roles that they played in their religious communities, and to ignore how culture and social expectations are equally responsible for the construction of religious gender norms.

When considering women's roles in Victorian Christian communities one of the best ways to move beyond such oversimplifications is to look to sources like White's writings and period domestic texts for primary historical information about the ways in which gender actually played out in society and religious communities at the time. On the whole, what I have found in my research is that nineteenth-century American society and the political arena were dominated by Protestantism and men throughout the nineteenth century, despite the rise of Catholicism after 1850, and women's domestic authority. Evangelical Christian practice and devotion offered

²⁰⁰ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 185. This hierarchy plays out to various degrees in different Christian denominations, as is well illustrated by Roman Catholic devotions to the Virgin Mary.

²⁰¹ Braude, "Women's History."

women the space—both inside and outside of the home—for the recognition of what was perceived to be their superior domestic knowledge and moral authority. As women outnumbered men in Protestant American Christian communities, they became the face of American religion and morality, in essence “feminizing” American religious culture.

While religious leadership, as a public and hierarchical system of power, is commonly associated with masculinity in most Christian denominations, as “Christian” traits, piety and morality have been linked with the feminine, the domestic, and the home. Men and women throughout American religious history have therefore occupied different spheres within religious life, with women in Protestant denominations as early as the seventeenth century “find[ing] avenues of self-expression and influence based on the fundamental belief that they were potentially as godly [as men] and therefore likely to be saved.”²⁰² These efforts by colonial women were reflected in the religious lives of American women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well, and strongly allied women with domesticity.

In attempting to define any paradigm for gender, it is impossible to claim total adherence by all members of a culture or community to what is considered to be normative in terms of gendered divisions of labor or gendered behaviors. While there are certainly instances in which all nineteenth-century men and women did not act within the parameters of expected gendered comportment (as in Carroll Smith-Rosenberg’s *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (1985)), the great majority of communities and individuals that I have

²⁰² Lindenauer, *Piety and Power*, xiv. The witchcraft trials in seventeenth-century America can work as an additional framework for thinking about gender politics and religious life. To study witchcraft from this perspective is to look at female outsiders and dissenters, and the ways in which they interacted with and were viewed by the Protestant Christian world around them. While the Salem witch trials of 1692 proved to be unique in that social pressures led to the accusation of more prominent and financially secure women in the community, the accused women were most often on the fringes of society—widows, the ill, unmarried, childless, poor, and in some way skilled or powerful beyond the scope of what was acceptable for female behavior at that time.

encountered in my research strove to maintain at least the status quo for gendered behavior, presumably in order to retain their places and positions of power within their families and communities.

2.3.2.1 Victorian Womanhood

Protestant imbalances in gender equality have been made all the more complicated by an emphasis on men and women as equals in a “priesthood of all believers.” The biblical basis for this ideal of gender equality is rooted in the passage from the apostle Paul’s book to the Galatians, 3:28, “there is neither male nor female.”²⁰³ Taking into consideration that ideas about what constituted appropriate gendered behavior in the nineteenth century predominantly “originated from within...white, Protestant, and primarily middle-class culture,” it becomes apparent that Victorian gender realities were far more complex than they are often made out to have been.²⁰⁴

In the eighteenth century, “as mother, teacher, and enforcer of virtue in courtship and marriage, woman became...the ideal and principal fount of Republican values in everyday life,” having a significant role to play in the early American “process of Republicanization.”²⁰⁵ What this meant was that notions about Christian motherhood were tightly bound up with efforts to secure America’s place as an independent sovereign nation. John Adams connected Republicanism with “pure Religion or Austere Morals,” revealing with “startling clarity the extent of the emotional and intellectual alliance between some moderates and most evangelicals”—an emotionalism and morality that would ultimately become feminized and Christianized in the new

²⁰³ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 186.

²⁰⁴ Tiffany K. Wayne, *Women’s Roles in Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2007), xxiii.

²⁰⁵ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 187.

republic.²⁰⁶ It is not surprising, then, that Methodism—a tradition in which individual agency was central to salvation—flourished in America mere decades after Adams’ assertion.²⁰⁷

These early expectations for a unique form of American Christian morality would ultimately lead to the “cult of true womanhood,” which later laid the foundation for Victorian motherhood, in which “it was a [woman’s] obligation, a solemn responsibility—to uphold the pillars of the temple with her frail white hand.”²⁰⁸ As Barbara Welter’s famous analysis suggested, in the opening decades of the nineteenth century four main attributes became fundamental to what would constitute the ideal Victorian woman: piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity—qualities that pervaded expectations for nineteenth-century female behavior regardless of denomination.²⁰⁹

Together these characteristics “spelled mother, daughter, sister, wife—woman,” though no one of these qualities superseded the others, as all were equally vital to a true woman’s constitution.²¹⁰ Because piety, purity and submissiveness were equated with Christian virtue, their connection to Victorian Christian approaches to domesticity is important to consider. It was only through a woman’s domestic duties *and* her religious devotion that she, as an individual, was made complete. But it is not that simple. Middle-class women participated in creating and maintaining normative gendered roles, finding power through a system of gendered submission. In a time when the home was central to one’s life, and the mother the family member most associated with the home, the two were inextricably linked. Religion became the source of woman’s strength as

²⁰⁶ Greven, *The Protestant Temperament*, 346.

²⁰⁷ At the first U.S. census of 1790, 85% of white Americans came from British Protestant traditions, also paving the way for sects like Methodism to flourish in the nineteenth century (Grant Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 109).

²⁰⁸ Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860,” *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1966): 152.

²⁰⁹ Shari Benstock, ed., *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women’s Autobiographical Writings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 5.

²¹⁰ Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood,” 152.

wife and mother, and her foundation for raising her family. As the perceived moral and emotional centers of their families, mothers were to engage in their domestic work, including food preparation, as physical and spiritual caretakers.²¹¹

Women who wanted to transcend such strict gendered boundaries found a degree of power within their religious lives, thanks to their moral agency. The upstart sects of the nineteenth century offered some of these women new-found freedoms and generally acceptable ways to “circumnavigate a socially constructed patriarchy that deemed them inferior to men.”²¹² It is important to emphasize, however, that many Victorian American women necessarily struck a balance between their rebellion and religious authority, and social obedience and gender normativity. The educated, middle-class women who advocated for social changes were also very aware of their place in society—striving to maintain their roles as wives and mothers, and being careful not to “mistake mobilization for [total] civic empowerment.”²¹³

2.3.2.2 Methodist Women

From the start of Wesley’s movement as an Anglican offshoot, the role of women was prominent, but did not always fall outside of the gendered norms of the day. Despite the unusual gender dynamic that he witnessed in his childhood home life, and the great admiration that he had for his mother, Wesley was initially adamant that woman take a less public position in the tradition.²¹⁴ When bringing Methodism to America in the 18th century, one of the challenges that Wesley faced

²¹¹ McKie, et al., *Gender, Power, and the Household*, 15.

²¹² Lindenauer, *Piety and Power*, xii.

²¹³ David Hempton, *The Religion of the People: Methodism and Popular Religion c. 1750-1900* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 191.

²¹⁴ Interestingly, the transmission of Methodism to American soil by English, Irish, and Scottish immigrants in the 1760s is credited to a woman—Barbara Heck, known as the “mother of American Methodism”—whose goal it was to bring morality to what she perceived as an already corrupt America (Lisa J. Shaver, *Beyond the Pulpit: Women’s Rhetorical Roles in the Antebellum Religious Press* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 5).

was to differentiate his tradition from that of another English sect gaining momentum in his time—Quakerism. To many outsiders the two traditions were indistinguishable, with their British roots and strange religious exercises. Wesley initially employed gender as a way to make Methodism distinct from its Quaker cousins, insisting that women were not allowed to speak in his religious services in the manner in which Quaker women could in their religious meetings.²¹⁵

Later Methodist tendencies to support women's roles in religious life, however, can be attributed to the significant role that Wesley's mother, Susanna, played in his early life. The daughter of a prominent Puritan minister, Susanna married the far less popular Anglican minister Samuel Wesley after converting to the church from which her father had dissented. A preacher in her own right, Susanna would tend her husband's spiritual flock in Epworth, England when he was called away on various church matters; often gathering more parishioners than her husband for religious meetings.

When chided by the Rev. Wesley for the attention that she gained in her decidedly unwomanly public role in his parish, Susanna reminded him of her success in gathering in large crowds to hear God's word. She considered her role in her husband's congregation to be divinely inspired, and wrote to him that "though the superior charge of the souls contained [in your parish] lies upon you as head of the family and as their minister...in your absence I cannot but look upon every soul you leave under my care as a talent committed to me under a trust by the great Lord of all the families of heaven and earth."²¹⁶ As the mother of a large family, and by extension, her husband's congregation, she exerted her religious influence through her role as wife and mother.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Paul W. Chilcote, *She Offered them Christ: the Legacy of Women Preachers in Early Methodism* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 32.

²¹⁶ Susanna Wesley, Letter to Samuel Wesley, February 6, 1712 in *Susanna Wesley: the Complete Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997): 79.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

Instead of preaching, however, most early Methodist women served the church through their benevolent work in organized societies, called “classes,” or “bands,” aiding in male pastoral tasks such as caring for the sick, and leading prayer meetings when itinerant preachers were away from their communities, ministering to other congregations on their preaching circuits.²¹⁸ “For all intents and purposes, the[se] Methodist Societies were organizations of women,” as women in the groups typically outnumbered men two to one.

Among many nuanced interpretations of nineteenth-century gender, historian Ann Douglas has asserted that the “feminization” of American culture created a social environment in which a “sentimentalized” male clergy was more in tune with its female congregants than with the male laity.²¹⁹ The Methodist female-pastor bond at that time was generally a strong one, and Methodist women’s work was in many ways an extension of pastoral care. Methodist women formed prayer groups, housed and fed itinerant preachers when they came through on their circuits, and worked as deaconesses to help minister to parishes when permanent local preachers were still not the norm. When considering Wesley’s mother’s influence on her husband’s parish, however, it becomes apparent that this “feminization” process was not exclusive to America, or to the nineteenth century.

Regardless of when this process of female religious influence began, however, Methodism was a tradition that allowed for female power in exceptional ways. Revivals and camp meetings were particularly spaces in which Methodist women could publicly share their faith and “save souls” through prayer and testimony.²²⁰ As personal demonstrations of conversion and faith were part and parcel of such large religious gatherings, these meetings became spaces in which

²¹⁸ Ibid., 25-26.

²¹⁹ Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 18.

²²⁰ S. Wesley, Letter to Samuel Wesley, February 6, 1712, 55.

Methodist women could share their faith without being accused of overstepping their gendered boundaries. In fact, it was often women who were first converted in their families, taking their stories of religious experience home to convert their husbands and children as well.

The absence of female Methodist preachers was not unusual, as American women preachers of any Protestant denomination were virtually nonexistent. As a denomination that at least in theory emphasized the equality of both sexes, Puritanism paved the way for Quaker practice, in which all participants were given the opportunity to speak in religious services if the spirit moved them to do so. Though women's contributions to early Methodism were many, it is significant to note that their leadership and roles in the church cannot be equated with formal preaching or ordination at that point in their tradition. As time went on "she preachers," though few, carved out a place for women in the tradition, despite Wesley's earlier admonitions against them.²²¹

Spiritualism, another sect coming out of the urbanized, industrialized, capitalist conditions of nineteenth-century America, offered women religious power in a unique marriage of empiricism and romanticism. Coinciding with the women's rights movement, "not all feminists were Spiritualists, but all Spiritualists advocated woman's rights, and women were in fact equal to men within Spiritualist practice, polity, and ideology."²²² The tradition allowed the women who were spirit mediums the opportunity to act as religious guides without the mediation of a church, minister, or even scripture. Religious leaders like Mary Baker Eddy and Ellen White similarly gained followers through the radical health reforms of their movements.

²²¹ Ibid., 13.

²²² Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 3.

Wesley first accepted female preaching in 1761 when prominent English Methodist Sarah Crosby felt a call to preach and gathered a spiritual following.²²³ Despite recognition of her work, it was understood that female preaching should only happen in extenuating circumstances, and even then, most men and women thought of female ministers as unseemly for their overtly public religious roles.²²⁴ Although women like Crosby were rather successful in their ministries, eighteenth and nineteenth-century female Methodist preachers “were always in peril, both from within and from without” because of their non-normative gendered behavior.²²⁵ Like Catholic nuns in the era, female ministers were viewed by their contemporaries as falling outside of the parameters for period gender norms.²²⁶

The struggle for Protestant women to gain traction as American preachers lasted well into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Proponents of female higher education like Catharine Beecher opened women’s schools like the Hartford Female Seminary (1823) with the hopes of providing a comparable education—if not the same job prospects—for women as for men.

Social expectations for what it meant to be a wife and mother were at the root of these concerns about female ordination. Although the choice of a religious career over a home and family was not a socially popular one, women itinerants justified their behavior by claiming that

²²³ Antoinette Brown Blackwell (1825-1921), the first woman ordained in the United States, was endorsed by Wesleyan minister Rev. Luther Lee, in 1853 (Lacey C. Warner, “American Methodist Women: Roles and Contribution,” in *The Cambridge Companion to American Methodism*, ed. Jason E. Vickers (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 316).

²²⁴ Francis Asbury encouraged women at camp meetings to act, not as ministers, but “mother[s] in Israel” (Francis Asbury, “Letter to Mrs. Ann Willis,” in *The Methodist Experience in America, A Sourcebook, Vol. II*, eds. Russell E. Richey, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000): 181.)

²²⁵ Chilcote, *She Offered them Christ*, 86.

²²⁶ In her study of the Charlestown Convent, Nancy Lusignan Schultz highlights Protestant fears about the potentially negative influence that nineteenth-century Catholic nuns who operated boarding schools had on the future gendered roles of their pupils. She quotes one such fear: “Shall we send our blooming daughters to Ursuline Cloisters to be properly taught how to behave in the world, and fulfill the relations of wives and mothers, by the precepts and examples of female recluses, who have immured themselves by a vow in their infancy, and solemnly forsworn, as a grievous sin, every endearing tie on earth[?]” (Nancy Lusignan Schultz, *Fire & Roses: the Burning of the Charlestown Convent, 1834* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 69).

their spiritual calling trumped the gender norms of the day.²²⁷ From the middle of the nineteenth century forward, fears increased about the possibility of women becoming somehow less womanly as their social, and sometimes religious, endeavors took them away from the home with more frequency. The essence of these concerns was a cultural panic about the breakdown of the moral and social order should women no longer have time to cultivate proper moral homes.

One of an anti-suffragette series of postcards, Figure 6 illustrates late Victorian fears about women abandoning their domestic roles for causes outside of the home. In a twist on a Madonna and Child motif, a Victorian father is juxtaposed into a domestic scene, his head illuminated by a halo-like serving plate. Feeding a baby, the solo male figure suggests that the female vote would de-masculinize men, who would potentially have to assume domestic duties when social causes took their wives away from the home and family. (*Figure 6*)

As Judith Butler notes in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990), nineteenth-century concerns about subversions of gender—like those in Freud’s conceptualization of the Oedipal complex—went as far as to argue that sons would be “castrated, or overly feminized” by close interaction with and attachment to their mothers.²²⁸ The perceived power that women gained through their suffrage efforts also contributed to fears about an impending American matriarchy; should women gain the vote, they might take over the public sphere as they had the domestic.

²²⁷ Elizabeth Elkin Grammer, *Some Wild Visions: Autobiographies by Female Itinerant Evangelists in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

²²⁸ Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 59.

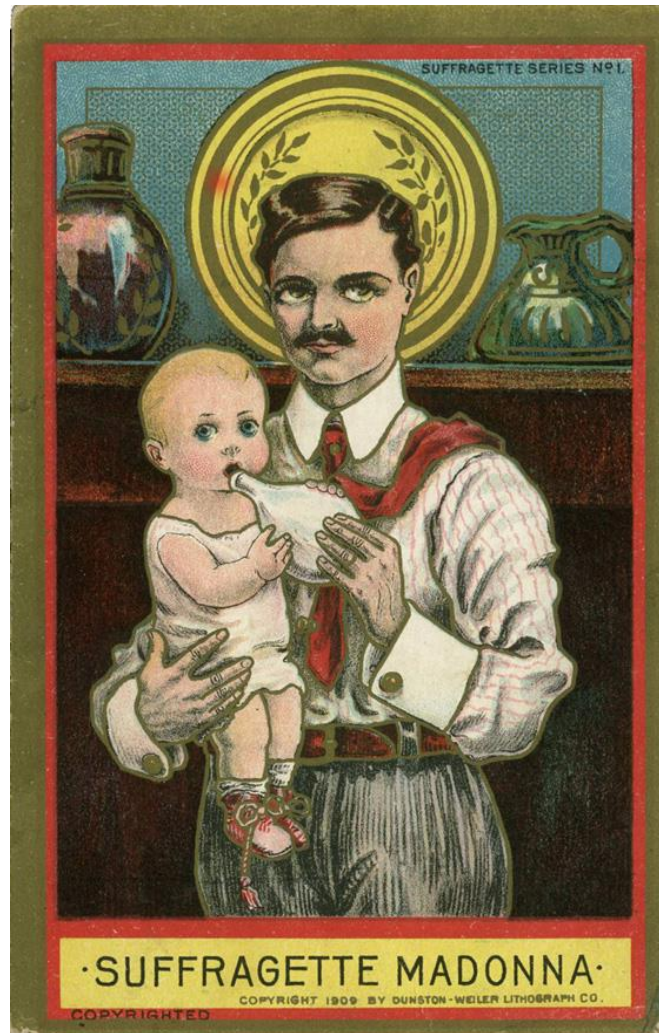


Figure 6. This depiction of a male Madonna, from a series of twelve anti-suffrage postcards printed in 1909, illustrates concerns about the domestic work that would be left undone if women were increasingly absent from home life. Dunston-Weiler Lithograph Company, 1909. Courtesy of Catherine H. Palczewski Postcard Archive. University of Northern Iowa. Cedar Falls, Iowa.
<http://www.uni.edu/palczews/NEW%20postcard%20webpage/Dunston%20Weiler.html> [accessed May 20, 2015]

This is not to say that all women sought to transcend the bounds of home life, or to gain the female vote. In her 1841 *Treatise on Domestic Economy*, Catharine Beecher reflected on the benefit of gendered domains, writing, “If on the one hand, an American woman cannot escape from the quiet circle of domestic employments, on the other hand, she is never forced to go beyond

it.”²²⁹ Coming from a forward-thinking woman, Beecher’s statement may seem surprising in that it resonates with the deeply ingrained ideas about gender at her time.

Although she also perceived masculine traits in women as signs of inner strength, Beecher added that even women who were at their cores as strong as men, had to “preserve great delicacy of personal appearance, and always retain the manners of women,” so as to not disrupt the gendered boundaries that were thought to be so crucial to social balance in Victorian life.²³⁰ The average Victorian woman likewise “understood how strikingly different her life was from that of men. In a sisterhood of wives and mothers, women expressed the joys and...sorrows of womanhood in folk wisdom...and the rituals and customs of female life,” including domestic work.²³¹

Separate gendered spheres were therefore upheld and maintained by most women, who helped to establish that the Victorian woman’s place was a domestic one. There were also those in the nineteenth century who connected women’s religious prominence to their physical weaknesses, instead of their moral strength. The soul was thought to be “passive, just as a woman was meant to be passive. God supported the weak soul just as a husband supported his delicate wife. In their relationship to God, all Christians were [like] women: frail and in need of support.”²³²

2.3.2.3 Protestant Masculinity

Religion and gender have intersected in ways that suggest that men and women do not experience or practice religion in the same manner. To study men and women as two sides on the same coin

²²⁹ Catharine Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy: For the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845), 29.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 185.

²³² McDannell, *Material Christianity*, 124.

of religious experience is to leave out their critical differences, especially with regard to gender. Just as domestic life changed for women throughout American religious history, men have experienced “gender crises” at critical moments because of changing labor and domestic patterns.

As America became an industrialized nation, it saw a major shift in divisions of gendered work, like England had before it. As a result, lay nineteenth-century American men were at even greater odds with the dominant Protestant culture around them, moving to the fringes of home and church life. This distancing from home life was perceived as making men much more susceptible to the corruptions of the outside world. Young, unmarried men moving to cities to find work caused special concern, facing challenges like women and alcohol. In response, organizations like the YMCA were developed to act as “surrogate homes” to help men stay morally unblemished as they entered the workforce and prepared to become good, Christian husbands and fathers.²³³

Victorian Christian men confronted their “crisis” of gender in a number of ways. For some, the answer was to attempt to regain power and influence within mainline Protestant churches. As the head of one of these movements, the Men and Religion Forward Movement (MRFM) of the 1910s, Harry W. Arnold called on men of the industrialized world to apply their economic savviness and rational thinking to a new form of unemotional, “muscular” Christianity.²³⁴

When reporting on the origins of the movement in 1912, well-known British journalist W.T. Stead wrote, “they say on average that there are three women Church members to one male. To arrest this tendency and to restore the requisite masculine element to...religion in the States, a syndicate was formed for the purpose of uniting evangelical Churches in America, and of

²³³ Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

²³⁴ L. Dean Allen, *Rise Up O Men of God: the Men and Religion Forward Movement and Promise Keepers* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2002), 66.

combining effort to bring men and boys into church.”²³⁵ In an era in which masculinity was foundational to the self-made man, the men of the MRFM looked to figures like Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and J.P. Morgan as examples.

Other men in this period approached their crisis of faith through a different channel—that of secret societies in which they could practice modified forms of ritual and religious experience.²³⁶ Organizations like the Odd Fellows, Freemasons, and Knights of Columbus ushered in a “golden age of fraternity” in which American Christian men could act out their spiritual needs (often focused on mortality, with the use of—sometimes dramatically altered—biblical passages), while enjoying the social camaraderie of religious organizations specifically for men.²³⁷ It is significant to note that, despite male efforts to regain a sense of religious purpose, these organizations continued to take men away from what was believed to be the moral, Christian axis of the time—the home. This distinction between masculine and feminine spheres of gendered community and spirituality is illustrated well in a caricature by John Leech (1817-1864) in which a husband refuses to tell his wife the secrets of his masonic experience. (*Figure 7*)

²³⁵ W.T. Stead, “The Progress of the World,” *The Review of Reviews* 45, no. 268 (1912): 350.

²³⁶ Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 1.

²³⁷ Men’s crises of faith and gender were not only confined to the early centuries of American history, but have carried through to the present day. In the late twentieth century men’s religious reform movements, like that of the Promise Keepers, encouraged men to embrace a more emotional, care-driven approach to religion and family (Allen, *Rise Up O Men of God*, 248). This shift in male perceptions of masculinity and religious experience has also led to changes in the domestic economy. As William Bradford Wilcox observes in his *Soft Patriarchs, New Men: How Christianity Shapes Fathers and Husbands* (2004), conservative and liberal theologies contribute to the ways in which modern men approach their roles in home and family life. While conservative Christian men are typically more oriented toward domestic life, they are also more likely to uphold gender norms for men and women, and are less likely to participate in household work. On the other hand, theologically liberal men are generally more comfortable with feminism, taking on a greater share of household and family duties. Regardless of theological position, Christian families tend to operate on a system in which women continue to do the “emotional work” in the family, taking on “double-shifts,” as they work outside of the home while also maintaining their expected domestic duties as wives and mothers (Wilcox, *Soft Patriarchs*, 4).



Figure 7. The caption to Leech's drawing reads, "*Affectionate Little Wife (who has made many abortive attempts to fathom the secrets of Freemasonry).* 'WELL, BUT DEAR! TELL ME *ONE* THING, DO THEY PUT YOU INTO A COFFIN?,' emphasizing the degree to which Freemasons in Britain and America were believed to keep the secrets of their organization, even at home. John Leech, "Pleasant," *John Leech's Pictures of Life and Character*, from the *Collection of Mr. Punch* (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co., 1886). Project Gutenberg. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/46349/46349-h/46349-h.htm>

2.3.3 Gender and Power

There were few social platforms on which women of the Victorian period were afforded the opportunity to speak authoritatively. My purpose here is to construct a more accurate depiction of the lives and responsibilities of Methodist women in Victorian America through their enactments of power in relation to diet and domesticity. To do this it is important to consider what was normative in terms of female behavior within the middle class at that time, noting continuities and changes in perceptions about gender. To do this is to emphasize the ways in which Victorian Methodist women carefully wielded dietary and domestic power in an era of great social and religious change.

What was “power” for the average Methodist women in nineteenth-century America? How was this power developed and used? In order for Victorian women to maintain their socially constructed positions as morally superior wives, pious mothers, and experienced homemakers, most recognized that they needed to act within the boundaries of the gendered status quo. The motives of nineteenth and early twentieth-century women were thus “to gain power through the exploitation of the feminine identity as their society defined it.”²³⁸ In my research, I have found that this placed Victorian women (whether lay women, or religious authorities like Ellen White) in a position in which they had to constantly mediate between their moral authority in the home, and social expectations for their submissiveness and passivity in public life in order to achieve and maintain power. Their power was therefore not a power of dominance or force, but one of influence and authority.²³⁹

Like gender, “power” can be somewhat unwieldy of a term to unpack. While power is thought of in a number of ways (politically, academically, socially, in relationships, between equals, and hierarchically), Victorian Methodist women’s power rested on their ability to maintain or exceed their social, domestic, and religious positions based on their normative or non-normative gendered behavior in relation to food. In this instance, power is not simply an exertion of will, but a reflection, or expression of femininity and masculinity in the nineteenth century—a period in which one’s gendered behaviors, whether in the church, home, kitchen, or political office, were firmly established by cultural norms.

²³⁸ A. Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*, 8.

²³⁹ R.W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1987), 107. When thinking about power, rather than looking at isolated instances of exertion or will, I’ve found it more fruitful to look for structures of power in social relations in order to arrive at a clearer definition.

When defining “gender” and “power,” especially in terms of femininity, a word must also be said about feminism, though I agree with Frances B. Cogan that women’s history is often too focused on feminist history.²⁴⁰ The women examined in this study were not all suffragettes or gender reformers like Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) and Lucretia Mott. Instead, these Victorian American women were not intentionally feminist (as we understand feminism today), but instead gained power and exerted authority within the social and religious parameters for their gender in their time. The middle-class Methodist women in this project were powerful *because* they were wives and mothers, ran households, and in many ways strived to uphold the pious and pure ideals with which they were associated.²⁴¹ Their gender was both enacted and embodied through dress and diet, and female bodies served as both “objects” and “agents” of cultural and social gendered norms.²⁴²

There is a degree of truth in the assertion that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries men wielded different degrees of power, but gender inequalities were predominantly manifested through male hegemony (in male dominance of culture and politics), and “patriarchal privileges” (in terms of better jobs and higher salaries than women in labor outside of the home).²⁴³ These two central tenets of gender inequality in Victoria America—hegemony and privilege—occur and reoccur over time chiefly because gender is not an organic construct, and is most often performed in a way that is “relational and embedded in the structure of the social order.”²⁴⁴ In other words, feminist movements, whether social or religious, ultimately were confronted with

²⁴⁰ Frances B. Cogan, *All-American Girl: the Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989).

²⁴¹ It is also a common misconception that feminism was not a vital part of the social and religious scene in America until the 1960s and 1970s, despite its foundations in the work of ardent nineteenth-century feminist reformers.

²⁴² West and Zimmerman, “Doing Gender,” 244.

²⁴³ Judith Lorber, ed., *Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics*, 5th Ed. (New York: Routledge, 2011).

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

gendered cultural norms that at their very foundation separated masculinity and femininity—and all that was bound up with and understood by those categories—into distinct entities. But everyday women confronted the same challenges and standards for their behavior. These separate gendered spheres persisted not because they were necessarily inherent, but because they were adopted and upheld by the majority of women until the opening decades of the twentieth century.

When thinking about gendered power in light of material Christianity, one way to approach studies of gendered power—whether male or female—is through interpretations of patterns of actual gendered behavior, rather than through generalized expectations for gender at a given time.²⁴⁵ When looking at Victorian American gender hegemony, one finds that on the one hand it was “inter-gendered,” in that men were generally dominant over women, while also being “intra-gendered,” in that within a larger body of men some men were more dominant than others.”²⁴⁶ In nineteenth and early twentieth-century America, hegemonic men were typically defined by their maleness, whiteness, education, and class (middle to upper, and usually Protestant, and by mid-century, Methodist)—attributes that were both innate in terms of traits like whiteness, and extrinsic, in terms of class or education. This demonstrates that while we may “do” gender as part of a set of social constructs, we at the same time can observe men and women’s varying roles in the home and society in light of gendered trends over time.

Male power in the nineteenth century was therefore “achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion, closely linking patriarchy with business and rationality.”²⁴⁷ Female hegemony, however, was linked with the home and religious life in a matriarchy that was closely bound to the

²⁴⁵ R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity,” in *Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics*, 4th Ed., ed. Judith Lorber (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 218.

²⁴⁶ Lorber, *Gender Inequality*, 216-217.

²⁴⁷ Connell and Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity,” 218.

domestic, emotional, and Christian morality. This gendered view of domestic life and the home was reflected in broader social understandings of gender and religion by mid-century. Religious and home life would have undoubtedly looked very different had they been susceptible to the same male influences as the secular world around them, just as domestic life and cultural norms would have been markedly different without a strong emphasis on women's moral influence.

There were periods in the “long” Victorian era that helped to develop these gendered norms. In addition to the growing domestic and religious responsibilities that women took on in the earlier decades of the period, Civil War era America saw an increase in women's public and religious roles with the demands of the war and the advent of female social activism, which was heightened in the period between 1890 and the end of World War I—one of the greatest periods of change in gendered labor patterns in American history.²⁴⁸ As the century progressed and women fought for the freedom to voice their public opinion with the right to vote as equal United States citizens, we find a culmination of Victorian American female power; gained predominantly through the employment of deep religious and moral ideals.

Despite the fact that some women (mostly widows) were listed as heads of their households on census documentation, the censuses of 1870-1930 also reflect the ideology of a “cult of domesticity,” in that women of the middle class are absent from the data because their domestic value was not recognized from an economic or social perspective.²⁴⁹ This is not surprising, as “even valued characteristics of women, such as the capacity for empathy, nurturance, and care for others” were “ranked lower than men's characteristics for assertion, competitiveness, and

²⁴⁸ Bose, *Women in 1900*, 2.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

individual achievement” in the increasingly capitalistic environment of the late nineteenth century.²⁵⁰

These differences in the valuation of men’s and women’s work and abilities created lasting social inequalities that trickled into many aspects of life. This suggests that nineteenth-century gendered labor patterns were the cause of what became a patriarchal system in which men were the primary earners and women the primary nurturers, whether or not this was realistically, or even predominantly the case. In light of these changes, women’s roles in the home, though not as well documented as men’s work in the marketplace, also became “rationalized and professionalized” to a certain degree.²⁵¹ One way in which this occurred was through Victorian women’s roles as household consumers. As the primary buyers of food and other household goods, women managed the home and fueled the “consumer mentality” of the middle class—a mentality that was often in juxtaposition with the frugality called for by Christians.

While many women happily upheld normative standards for their gender, there were during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a handful of female religious pioneers (among them, Ellen White, Helena Blavatsky, and Mary Baker Eddy), who were able to exceed accepted social and religious boundaries for women, earning notoriety for founding upstart sects, while also attracting many converts and followers to their new traditions.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Connell and Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity,” 245.

²⁵¹ Wayne, *Women’s Roles*, 3.

²⁵² Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 200. The Seventh-day Adventist Church has experienced rapid growth since the end of the nineteenth century, and is one of the few American religious sects from the period that thrives through the present day. According to the General Council of Seventh-day Adventists—the governing body of the church—as of June 30, 2011, world-wide church membership was over 17 million and counting. On my guided tour of the General Conference facility in Silver Spring, Maryland in June 2013, I was told that this number continues to increase—thanks to a strong Adventist missionary presence in Africa and South America—by a staggering one million new adult members per year in over two hundred countries worldwide.

2.4 CONCLUSIONS

Where there existed a historical/biblical understanding that “God [had] laid down a path for men and women to follow, “nineteenth-century...American feminism” only became a mass movement when tied in with religion.”²⁵³ Likewise, social gender reforms and traditional heterosexual norms did not have to be mutually exclusive, as “suffrage campaigners at the turn of the century routinely argued that the public realm needed the moral uplift, domestic virtues and nurturance that were the natural attributes of women”—striking a balance between women’s roles in private and public life.²⁵⁴ Through gendered behavior beyond the domestic sphere, women of the era began to shift their perceptions about social, domestic, and religious power—something that was challenged by men (and some women) who feared a breakdown of the moral order, should women stray too far from life at home.

Victorian gender norms were both created and sustained by a pervasive Christian morality that was deeply connected to one’s behavior—the ideals for which were Protestant, often Methodist, and middle-class. For Victorian evangelicals food became an agent of discipline in guiding one’s actions toward salvation.²⁵⁵ Just as Wesley’s mother had known the “importance of food for shaping the character of her children, nineteenth-century Methodist women used food as a tool for “domestic discipline,” realizing “the power of physical discipline for taming and cultivating the mind and spirit.”²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Connell, *Gender and Power*, 24-25.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 26. Scholars like Troy Messenger have also argued that woman’s suffrage was more widely accepted as a cause for reform because it was “not a means for women to gain access to public office but, rather, for women to defend the home,” making women’s voting rights an extension of their domestic responsibilities (Messenger, *Holy Leisure and God’s Square Mile*, 97).

²⁵⁵ Greven, *The Protestant Temperament*, 43.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 44.

Despite the reliance of many families on at least one female domestic servant who helped with food preparation and the care of the home and children, many domestic guides like Catharine Beecher's "focused especially on the 'young lady destined to move in higher circles,' since she most of all might influence the course of a society."²⁵⁷ This presumption of a predominantly educated, white middle class was also apparent in nineteenth-century kitchens and dining rooms, as food like white sugar and elaborate dining utensils became markers of social status. Food and eating thus became manifestations and extensions of race, class, and religion, separating employers from their domestic servants.

Gaining power through their management of the home, Protestant women from mainline sects and their behavior defined not only what was fashionable, but the parameters of Victorian womanhood and moral comportment. Whether through Beecher's advice or other persuasions, Victorian religion, food, and society were all touched by female Christian influences and moral leanings. These Victorian gendered and dietary norms would also be apparent in White's sectarian Adventist movement, though her approaches to diet more clearly reflected Wesley's early tradition more than mainline Methodist approaches to diet in the second half of the nineteenth century. As a tradition that remained on the margins of Victorian American religious life, White and her followers used diet and health reforms to remain set apart, while continuing to uphold many of the gendered norms for their day. Chapter 3 explores Seventh-day Adventist leader Ellen G. White's domestic and religious authority in light of her approaches to gender, food prophecies and influence over diet at the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

²⁵⁷ Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 193.

3.0 ELLEN WHITE: MATRIARCH AND VISIONARY

Nineteenth-century America was a place in which “farmers became theologians, offbeat village youths became bishops, [and] odd girls became prophets.”²⁵⁸ This chapter considers the purported divine visions of Ellen G. White in light of Victorian religious health reforms and gender norms. A former Methodist and Millerite, White was plagued by a childhood of ill health. Prone to visions and divine manifestations following a childhood accident, White claimed in 1863 to have received a new revelation from God; one in which health reform became a religious mandate for Adventists on the eve of what was believed to be the imminent Second Coming, or advent, of Christ.

Female “medical” mediums in the nineteenth century challenged the social and medical establishments of their day with non-traditional attitudes toward gender and healing. White’s movement undoubtedly found longevity because of her approach that *combined* contemporary medical theories with more holistic practices (where Mary Baker Eddy’s Christian Science was more exclusive in its rejection of medical intervention). This chapter asks questions about identity and gendered power, reflecting on the agency of White’s visions in a period in which other female visionaries—like Spiritualists—were eschewed by outsiders.

Although White and her church were by no means widely popular or accepted by the Protestant mainstream in Adventism’s early years, her health reforms were eventually lauded and adopted by many Victorian American men and women—Adventist and mainline Protestant alike. However, her contributions to diet at Battle Creek are, with the exception of Ronald L. Numbers

²⁵⁸ Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 475.

seminal *Prophetess of Health* (1992), largely ignored in scholarship about the sanitarium, which instead favor John Harvey Kellogg's work there. Though Kellogg was unquestionably influential in Adventist health reforms, the archives of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists reveal that Kellogg often deferred to White's visions and guidance, especially in matters of diet. Kellogg also placed great trust in White as his confidant, as is evident in their correspondences with one another. In one such letter from 1877, Kellogg confesses to White that his schedule at Battle Creek has become overwhelming and detrimental to his own health: "I can scarcely work as I have done if I should try. I find I must sleep...If God will pardon my past transgressions of the laws of health, I will reform for the future."²⁵⁹ This power dynamic is significant with regard to White's ability to reaffirm her authority as a Protestant sect leader through her dietary visions, at the same time supporting and challenging traditional gender roles for wives and mothers in her day.

The cogency and origins of White's claims have been contended since her lifetime. Though White's visions are considered by Adventists to be the sole origin for how diet is approached in the tradition, many Adventist dietary practices were akin to other religious health reforms of the day. This chapter examines White's dietary tenets with these other reforms in mind, analyzing the connections between them. While it is not my goal in this chapter to support or refute the agency or religious legitimacy of her approaches to diet, it is important to briefly consider how her visions related to other health reforms of the period.

Indictments against the divine nature of White's visions have most notably been made by Seventh-day Adventist apostates like Walter T. Rea (*The White Lie*, 1982), and Ronald L. Numbers (*The Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White*, 1976). Both argued that White's theological

²⁵⁹ John Harvey Kellogg, Letter to Ellen G. White, February 9, 1877.

and health-related writings not only mirrored those of contemporaries like Alfred Edersheim (1825-1889), Sylvester Graham and Dansville water-cure physician, Dr. James Caleb Jackson (1811-1895), but were in fact plagiarized from such sources.

Apologetic responses to this have included Francis D. Nichol's *Ellen G. White and Her Critics: An Answer to the Major Charges that Critics have Brought against Ellen G. White* (1951), and Herbert E. Douglass' more recent *Messenger of the Lord: the Prophetic Ministry of Ellen G. White* (1998), both of which were printed by Seventh-day Adventist publishing houses. The stance taken in these and other defenses of the origins of White's visions is very much in-line with the Ellen G. White Estate's insistence that her assumed "intellectual independence" from outside sources "implied her supernatural inspiration."²⁶⁰

While White's views on diet and the embodiment of religiosity may be akin to those of other health reformers in her day, she also seems to have been well-acquainted with John Wesley's writings on the subject. For instance, her charge that, "whether we eat or drink or whatsoever we do, we must do all to the glory of God. We must understand and live up to the light that God has given us on health reform," echoes Wesley's directive from a century earlier that "whether we eat, or drink or whatever we do, we do all to the glory of God."²⁶¹

White published more than 5,000 articles and forty books in her lifetime—making her the "most translated American author," and most published non-fiction female writer to date. There are, however, some speculations as to how much influence White's husband James had on her

²⁶⁰ Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 1.

²⁶¹ Ellen G. White, "Lessons from the Third Chapter of Revelation: A Form of Godliness without Power," Manuscript 50 (May 21, 1904), 4 and John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as Believed and Taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, from the year 1725, to the year 1765* (Bristol: William Pine, 1770), 6.

published work. Her limited education meant that she heavily relied on his assistance in editing her writings, raising questions about whether or not White's works and the views expressed in them were entirely her own.²⁶² Whether or not White was the author of the accounts of her visions, however, her followers maintained that the content of those visions had divine origins made manifest through Ellen White.

3.1 ORIGINS OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM AND DIET REFORMS

Regardless of the source of White's visions, her follower's support of them, and of White as the founding "mother" of the denomination, offer unique insights into religious approaches to nineteenth-century diet and gender. What was it about White's character and approach to dietary reforms and healing that made her so influential as the female founder of an "upstart" religious sect?²⁶³ How was White able to simultaneously gain power as an outsider to the Protestant mainstream, while dictating what it meant to be an insider in her religious health movement? How did White's visions help Adventists to navigate their position in a competitive Victorian American religious "marketplace"?

One will recall that the religious conditions in early nineteenth-century America were such that many sects, including Methodism, were able to find roots and gain followers with relative

²⁶² Arthur Patrick, "Author," in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 92

²⁶³ The early Adventist tradition was in-line with Roger Finke and Rodney Stark's conception of nineteenth-century American religious sects in that it maintained a tense relationship with the religious mainstream until becoming a formal church in 1863. Unlike the Methodists, Adventists retained unorthodox Christian practices, like dietary reforms, never becoming part of the mainline (Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 41).

ease. Though Methodism transitioned from sect to church by mid-century, Adventism fell outside of what was (and continues to be) considered “mainline” in the United States, even after becoming a formal church in 1863. White was able to influence the diet of mainline Protestants (who disagreed with her non-traditional gendered power and theological views) through dietary and health reforms at the Battle Creek Sanitarium, which served Adventists and non-Adventists alike. Although mainliners were in no way converting to White’s brand of Protestantism in their support of the Sanitarium, they were willingly, (though perhaps unknowingly) and enthusiastically participating in her divine revelations about diet and health.

The dietary reforms and spiritual “exercises” of the early Methodist tradition that initially helped Wesley’s movement to gain more followers faded away as the denomination became more mainstream. The Adventist tradition, however, remained in-line with Roger Finke and Rodney Stark’s conception of nineteenth-century American religious sects in that it maintained a tense relationship with the religious mainstream, even after becoming a formal church in 1863. Unlike the Methodists, Adventists retained unorthodox Christian practices, like dietary reforms, never becoming a new mainline denomination, or being absorbed by another tradition.²⁶⁴ As a result, Adventism was able to retain practices of healing and wellness over time as a sectarian faith.

In “recasting...camp-meeting” culture “for their own purposes, Adventists downplayed communion and love-feasts,” confining their religious approaches to diet to the home, and subsequently to sanitariums.²⁶⁵ This unique and intensified Adventist focus on diet “further

²⁶⁴ Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 41.

²⁶⁵ Ann Taves, “Visions,” in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 33.

advanced [the tradition's] denominationalization both ideologically and institutionally.”²⁶⁶ What one ate became a mark of chosenness—a way of being set apart from other American Christians in anticipation of Christ's return.

Outsiders to the tradition often equated Adventism with other American sectarian traditions that emphasized health reform and wellness as being significant to healing and one's chances at salvation. White was especially compared to Mary Baker Eddy, as their lives had many parallels, despite the differences in their movements. Both women were born in the “burned over” district in New England in the 1820s, worked to overcome life-long health problems, and experienced long periods of unconsciousness that may have contributed to their religious insights as young women. What set Seventh-day Adventism apart from traditions like Mary Baker Eddy's Christian Science, however, was White's focus on physical, as opposed to strictly mental discipline.

Whereas traditions like Christian Science employed metaphysical cures through the work of mind-healers connected with the “New Thought Movement,” White's visions were aimed at the perfection of the self and world through bodily disciplines, which would in turn help to purify the spirit.²⁶⁷ Unlike mind-healers, who believed that physical ailments were imagined, Adventists took a more holistic approach. By starting with the corporeal, White acknowledged the physical self that Eddy ignored, using the body as a tool for salvation rather than working to merely transcend it. To consider White's distinctive approach it is important to first understand how her early life may have influenced her spiritual work, and the formation of her denomination.

²⁶⁶ Jonathan M. Butler, “The Making of a New Order,” in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 200.

²⁶⁷ Beryl Satter, *Each Mind a Kingdom: American Women, Sexual Purity, and the New Thought Movement, 1875-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 4.

3.1.1 White's Early Years

Ellen Gould Harmon was born to a Methodist farmer and his wife in November of 1827 in northeastern Maine. Few details are known about Ellen's early years, and the first story that we have from her childhood recalls the injury that unequivocally shaped the rest of her life. When young Ellen suffered severe face and head trauma at the age of nine after being struck by a rock thrown by a classmate, she was rendered unconscious for weeks. Left with a permanent facial disfigurement, White later reported a lingering frail physical constitution that left her unable to return to her formal education.²⁶⁸ While there is continued debate about whether or not White's injury led to the bouts of altered consciousness which later became the vehicles for her prophetic testimonies, what is certain is that her visions began in her teenage years, not long after the accident.²⁶⁹

White was a sickly child in a time when childhood mortality rates were high, making death a real and imminent fear. She was not alone in her worry, as early nineteenth-century pamphlets and magazines for children illustrate. In one example, from 1818, a short dialogue is presented to young readers: "Q. Why must you be so earnest in praying for an interest in Christ, newness of heart, and pardon of sin? A: That I might live always in readiness for death. Q: Is your life very short, fail, and uncertain? A: Yes, perhaps I must die the next moment."²⁷⁰ White's poor health, and possible exposure to similar publications as a child unquestionably influenced her young participation in the Methodist movement, which stressed the need for sanctifying experiences

²⁶⁸ "Ellen G. White: A Brief Biography." *The Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.* August 2000. <http://www.whiteestate.org/about/#who> [accessed July 29, 2013]

²⁶⁹ There has also been speculation that White's visions and poor health may have been attributed in part to her possible exposure to mercury through her father's in-home hat-making business (Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 5).

²⁷⁰ John Brown, *Christian Catechism for the Time* (Morris-town, New Jersey: Printed for Peter A. Johnson, 1818), 2.

before one's death. In White's later Adventist movement such experiences factored health and well-being into the equation as the bases for religious expression and participation.

One must also consider White's exposure to "the popularity of dreams and visions," which were "means of spiritual empowerment among...Methodists," especially women.²⁷¹ White's own visions began in 1844. During periods enduring from less than a minute to more than four hours, she entered trance-like states in which she was "left in total darkness," and after which she awakened with new revelations from God. From her first vision at age seventeen, to her last "dream" more than seventy years later, White is considered to have had nearly 2,000 visions in her lifetime. While such physical symptoms during these visions might seem alarming, by all accounts White's family and their Methodist and Millerite friends were unperturbed by her visions. This can perhaps be attributed to the fact that many of them had "seen their share of Methodist camp-meeting worshippers prostrated under religious fervor."²⁷² White's behavior seems to have been accepted as a familiar expression of the process of sanctification.

The Adventist emphasis on the embodiment of faith unquestionably stemmed from White's own physical connections to the divine. From the start, her visions were corporeal experiences—seen by supporters to be manifestations of God through White's person as a prophet. According to physicians who examined White during these episodes, "her vital functions slowed alarmingly, with her heart beating sluggishly and respiration becoming imperceptible."²⁷³ White, like many

²⁷¹ Susan Jester, *A Mighty Baptism: Race, Gender, and the Creation of American Protestantism* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1996), 36.

²⁷² Ronald Graybill, "Prophet," in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 75. Some, familiar with Wesley's translation of Thomas à Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ* (ca.1418-1427) may even have interpreted White and her visions as manifestations of Christ's return (Graybill, "Prophet," 77 and Andrew C. Thompson, "The General Means of Grace," *Methodist History* 51, no. 4 (2013): 255).

²⁷³ Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 19. John Harvey Kellogg and other physicians later attempted to diagnose White's divine visions as symptoms resulting from "catalepsy"—"a nervous state allied to hysteria in which sublime visions are usually experienced" (Ibid).

of her detractors, “suspected [at first] that her visions might only be mesmeric delusion.”²⁷⁴ She claimed her place as visionary, however, when “temporarily struck dumb” for doubting her divine powers, reaffirming for her followers her role as God’s mouthpiece.²⁷⁵

Female visionaries were not unique to Methodism or Adventism in the nineteenth century, as Catholic women like St. Bernadette of Lourdes similarly used their purported visions for religious empowerment. The physical conditions of White’s visions are similarly reflected in accounts of the religious experiences of Shaker women in their “Era of Manifestations” in the 1830s-1850.²⁷⁶ It is possible that White encountered the widespread stories of these other female visionaries, adopting and embodying them as her own. Like Shaker founder Mother Ann Lee (1736-1784), White gained power through her apparent connection to the divine, sharing the messages that she received with her followers. She was not, however, supportive of other women, like Anna Phillips (1865-1926) who some called a “second-prophet” in the Adventist tradition, claiming that other supposed Adventist prophets were false.

Coming of age in the “burned-over district” in the 1840s, White was also no stranger to the post-Second Great Awakening camp meetings and traveling preachers that lingered in her day. As a young woman, she shared her parents’ strong religious convictions, searching with her family for a tradition that would best suit them in America’s still competitive religious marketplace. At

²⁷⁴ Ronald L. Numbers and Rennie B. Schoepflin, “Ministries of Healing: Mary Baker Eddy, Ellen G. White, and the Religion of Health,” in *Women and Health in America: Historical Readings*, 2nd Ed., ed. Judith Walzer Leavitt (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999): 587.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Sally M. Promey, *Spiritual Spectacles: Vision and Image in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Shakerism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 44.

a camp meeting in 1842, at the age of 14, she was baptized by full immersion, becoming an adult member who attended “classes” at the Chestnut Street Methodist Church in Portland, Maine.

It was also around this time that Ellen and her parents became acquainted with the work of William Miller, a former deist and Baptist, and self-proclaimed prophet. Miller predicted that the Second Advent of Christ would occur in the year 1843 or 1844, fulfilling the prophecy of the Second Coming in the Old Testament book of Daniel.²⁷⁷ His movement gained momentum from its first camp meeting in the summer of 1842 on the property of Sylvester Graham’s friend Ezekiel Hale, Jr.²⁷⁸ By 1844, Miller had amassed some 50,000 active “Millerites.”²⁷⁹

Miller’s movement was certainly not the only nineteenth-century sect to forecast that the end was near. Since the time of the American Revolution, many religious groups had underscored that America was a new promised land, and that any corruption of its inhabitants needed to be eliminated in order for God’s millennial plan to unfold.²⁸⁰ In the nineteenth century, evangelical movements like Methodism, and sectarian groups like Seventh-day Adventism were at the forefront of this push for revival and purification. Health and dietary reforms became modes through which such sanctification could occur—especially for women, who were able to exercise spiritual authority through food. It is no surprise then that women were “among the most effective

²⁷⁷ Miller’s prediction of the end times was primarily based on chapters 8-9 of the Old Testament book of Daniel. His behavior, and that of his adherents was viewed as illogical by many non-Millerites. One famous fictionalized account of Millerite preparations for the Second Coming, Edward Eggleston’s period novel *The End of the World: A Love Story* (1872), addresses this behavior—for instance, giving up all of one’s money and possessions because they would not be needed when Christ returned. As a novel written in hindsight, the story notes the folly of those who were left with nothing when Miller’s prognostications did not come to fruition—illustrating how widespread millennial tendencies of the early part of the century had begun to die out by the 1870s.

²⁷⁸ Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 7.

²⁷⁹ Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream*, 2nd Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 5.

²⁸⁰ Peter Williams, *America’s Religions: Traditions and Cultures* (New York: MacMillan, 1990), 180.

evangelists for health reform, organizing societies from Maine to Ohio and lecturing widely about the gospel of health.”²⁸¹

3.1.2 A New Religion

Like many nineteenth-century movements (for example, the Oneida and Harmonist communities), Miller’s tradition began to disintegrate when Christ’s return was not as imminent as he had anticipated. 1844 marked the event known as the “Great Disappointment,” and effectively, the end of Millerism. When the years that Miller had pinpointed passed with no sign of the Second Coming, many of his followers splintered off into smaller sects. Rather than attempting to return to the Methodist church—from which the Harmon family was disfellowshipped because of their Millerite views about an approaching Second Coming—White, her future husband James White, and sea captain Joseph Bates (1792-1872) used Miller’s tradition as a foundation for their new movement.

Rather than a divine earthly event, the new sect avowed that the Second Advent took place as a heavenly shift, at which time Christ was considered to have begun his final judgment. 1844 was looked upon as the time in which that judgment—of which duration and parameters could not be known—had commenced.²⁸² The Second Coming would still occur, but at an unknown time, when Christ’s verdict was complete. This belief in a “literal premillennial Advent of Christ” would persist in the Adventist tradition, though White and her followers avoided designating a specific

²⁸¹ Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 58.

²⁸² Captain Bates was especially influential with regard to diet in the movement, as he adopted and enforced temperance and later vegetarianism aboard his ships, in addition to practicing a seventh-day Sabbath (George W. Reid, *A Sound of Trumpets: Americans, Adventists, and Health Reform* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1982), 61-62).

date for the millennium.²⁸³ Their uncertainty about the timing of Christ's return undoubtedly heightened their desire to make the body and spirit ready, as his millennial reign could begin at any time.

The Whites and Bates further adapted Miller's tradition, most notably in their adoption of a seventh-day Sabbath, or Saturday worship, setting them apart from the majority of American Christian (and later even some Reform Jewish) communities that held services on Sundays. The new movement also deviated from what was viewed to be an impractical Millerite tendency to "los[e] sight of the needs of [the] present world in the glory of the impending reign of Jesus Christ."²⁸⁴ This emphasis on the tangible and temporal in the pursuit of God was perhaps most apparent in White's later visions about health and dietary reforms.

The origin of Adventism as a sect begotten of another sect is also an important part of the tradition's history, as it contributes to an understanding of Adventism as a denomination that "originated, not from within wider society, but from a disintegrating tradition that was considered thoroughly anti-social in its beliefs and practices."²⁸⁵ Through Ellen's influence and prophecies, the Whites and Joseph Bates were able to take Millerism, an "anti-social" sect marginalized in mainline Protestant society, and turn it into a successful and vibrant tradition through unorthodox practices like diet and health reform. After its incorporation in 1863, Seventh-day Adventism continued to strike a balance between its distinctive practices and ability to coexist alongside the American Protestant mainline with relative ease. It is this balance that has allowed the tradition to

²⁸³ Godfrey T. Anderson, "Sectarianism and Organization, 1846-1864," in *Adventism in America*, ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1986): 37.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

²⁸⁵ Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 7.

remain a vital religious force through the present day when so many other Victorian sects did not survive after the nineteenth century.²⁸⁶

In many ways Adventism in its infancy was viewed by its increasing fellowship to be a “sanctuary” from nineteenth-century American culture, which was perceived by many as being corrupt; becoming an alternative to both the religious and social norms of the day.²⁸⁷ In a short reflection in this vein, White stated that, “moral principle, strictly carried out, becomes the only safeguard of the soul [against depravity]. If ever there was a time when the diet should be of the most simple kind, it is now.”²⁸⁸ The purification of Adventist diets was meant to serve as a path for social reform and spiritual perfectionism. As the leader of Adventism in all but name, White used her visions to bridge the social and religious gap through the dietary practices and health reforms that were adopted by Adventists mid-century, and later by Adventists and non-Adventists at the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

3.1.3 Diet in the “Burned-Over” District

Ellen White’s lifetime spanned a period in which the American diet, like religion, was in a constant state of flux. One will recall that many factors led to these changes, including industrialization and new food and transportation technologies, making the American diet more nationalized and less localized than that which previous generations had eaten. The swift growth of the immigrant population in the United States from the mid-nineteenth through early twentieth centuries likewise

²⁸⁶ Adventism was also unique among nineteenth-century sects in that it did not require celibacy of its adherents in preparation for Christ’s return. Traditions that placed such stringent restrictions on their members, like the Shakers and Harmonists, saw their membership significantly decrease as the number of new converts dwindled and there were not new generations of members born into the traditions.

²⁸⁷ Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, xiii-xiv.

²⁸⁸ Ellen G. White, *Reflecting Christ* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1985), 150.

introduced many new foods to American tables. As a melting-pot in the truest sense, the “American” diet was one that was increasingly diverse over time.

Where diet in White’s northeastern corner of America had been laid on a foundation of Puritan “austerity” since the seventeenth century, by the Victorian period the tastes of the American palate had shifted toward a model in which food choices were more abundant and diverse for the middle-class families who could afford them.²⁸⁹ Meals of local foods like livestock, fish, vegetables, and grains that had been based on the English, Scottish, and Dutch food cultures brought to the region in earlier centuries were supplemented with imported sugar, spices, chocolate, and exotic fruits in many middle-class American homes. When entertaining in the home, middle and upper-class Americans aimed to please, serving foods in elaborate style for their guest—both as an expression of hospitality and as a way of representing their social class distinction.

As shown by the charitable cookbook menu in *Figure 3*, Victorian middle-class meals—especially those shared in community with family and friends—were composed of “layers of courses, rich menu items, French recipes, multiple wines, and colorful desserts”—all signs of the “occupational mobility, urbanization, and industrial capitalism” that increasingly defined social stratification through wealth in American life at that time.²⁹⁰ While many aspired to these echelons of fine dining, not all Victorian Americans were enamored with a diet that looked increasingly more gluttonous than nutritious; more sinful than purifying. It was this view of the American diet that Sylvester Graham had adopted in the first part of the nineteenth century, and that White and her followers would in many ways echo in the second half of the century.

²⁸⁹ Susan Williams, *Food in the United States, 1820s-1890* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006), 103.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 153.

3.2 WHITE'S MORAL FOOD PROPHECIES

Ellen White's visions on varying subjects occurred for different durations of time, beginning in 1844, and ending in 1879.²⁹¹ Her first vision at the age of seventeen—not long after the Great Disappointment—was a “comforting revelation in which she saw that the saints [or chosen] would ascend from earth to the Holy City,” despite Miller's failed prediction.²⁹² These “Advent” people numbered 144,000.²⁹³ Despite her emphasis on the work that one must do in order to reach salvation, White strayed from her Methodist roots when it came to the idea of a spiritual elect, or “chosen.” A point of contention amongst Adventists, White adhered to a more Millerite view that only the elect would participate in Christ's millennial reign. Her initial prophecy was taken seriously by fellow former Millerites, setting a precedent for the accepted validity of White's visions as divine manifestations from God, including her later revelations about diet.

Figure 8, an image of a twentieth-century mural at the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in Silver Spring, Maryland, depicts White's first vision. The 144,000 make their way toward the Holy City, surrounded by prominent Adventists like John Harvey Kellogg and James White. The mural also renders the Battle Creek (1877), Sydney (1903), and Loma Linda (1905) Sanitariums. All of these images are projected from Ellen White's line of vision, yet she is placed to the side of the mural. Christ and the Ten Commandments are central to the overall picture,

²⁹¹ White's last waking vision came in 1879, when she was fifty-two. After that time she continued to have sleeping visions, or “dreams,” in which she was believed to have received divine information through angels, for the rest of her life (Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 180). Though White's visions are central to Adventist practice and belief, they have always remained secondary to the Christian Bible in the canon of Adventist scripture, despite being understood as also having come from God.

²⁹² Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 21.

²⁹³ In the 1870s, Charles Taze Russell (1852-1916), founder of the Jehovah's Witness movement, shared a similar interpretation, basing his 144,000 on calculations from the Book of Revelation.

reinforcing the Adventist belief that White's visions were secondary to the Bible and Christ's teachings.²⁹⁴ (Figure 8)



Figure 8. “The Christ of the Narrow Way: A Heroic Mural based on the First Vision of Ellen G. White” (1991) by Elfred Lee is a mural located at the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in Silver Spring, Maryland and depicts White’s first vision in 1844. (EGW)

Unlike some health reform movements of the day, Adventism’s dietary amendments were rooted not only in White’s connection to the divine, but in an understanding that “common human habits and consumption patterns [would have to] be changed before the Second Coming could occur.”²⁹⁵ White’s visions showed that these changes should happen first in the body, leading followers to believe that “at the Second Coming, the saints [would] be ‘clothed with immortality,’ but their complete humanity [would] remain, for they [we]re about to enter a divine realm populated by beings with *material* bodies.”²⁹⁶ The Adventist motivation for the perfection of the body through diet and health reforms therefore hinged on the understanding that, “the unified body and soul...were to be taken to heaven” when Christ returned.²⁹⁷ This became central to Adventist practice and ministry, as was reaffirmed by White when writing about the Sanitarium system in

²⁹⁴ Seventh-day Adventist Church, “Beliefs.” <http://www.adventist.org/beliefs/> [accessed April 14, 2015]

²⁹⁵ Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 135.

²⁹⁶ Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 90.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

1900: “in the preparation of a people for the Lord’s second coming a great work is to be accomplished through the promulgation of health principles. The people are to be instructed in regard to the needs of the physical organism and the value of healthful living as taught in the Scriptures, that the bodies which God has created may be presented to Him in a living sacrifice, fitted to render Him acceptable service.”²⁹⁸

If perfected bodies were necessary in order to join Christ in heaven, it followed that the utmost attention needed to be paid to the condition of the physical self. Bodies—and how they were nourished—took on new meaning for White and her followers. Through her dietary visions, Adventism became a tradition in which the body was not by its nature corrupt or something that one should desire to shed. Rather, bodies were vessels for the sacred, and would one day reunite with the divine. This resulted in an eschatological charge among Adventists to work toward becoming both a “flawless saint and a unified human being,” for “the two together necessitated the perfection of the whole person”—a perfection that Adventism supported as possible through dietary discipline.²⁹⁹

3.2.1 Diet in Adventism

From her first publication in 1846, many of White’s writings focused on diet and health reform. Her first, much shorter health vision came in 1848, discouraging the use of tobacco, coffee, and tea, portending of bigger reforms to come. It was, however, White’s forty-five minute long vision of “comprehensive health reform” at an 1863 tent meeting in Michigan which would have the

²⁹⁸ Ellen G. White, “God’s Design in Our Sanitariums,” in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 6* (Oakland, California: Pacific Press, 1901), 224.

²⁹⁹ Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 90.

greatest influence on the ways in which Adventists approached diet. This lengthy revelation called for an “abstemious” vegetarian diet in which all meat, tobacco, alcohol, spicy and rich foods were to be eliminated, and which advocated for the benefits of regular exercise and water—both curative and for hydration.³⁰⁰ Although this vision came to White at the height of the American Civil War, she left no clues suggesting that abstention from meat was in any way linked to rationing.³⁰¹

Like Graham before her and John Harvey Kellogg after her, White’s emphasis on purifying the body perpetuated an understanding that appetite and sexual cravings were closely linked. This was reaffirmed in an 1854 vision which called for the avoidance of all rich and greasy foods that were believed to ignite such passions.³⁰² Of this vision White wrote, “The lower passions have their seat in the body and work through it. The words ‘flesh’ or ‘fleshy’ or ‘carnal lusts’ embrace the lower, corrupt nature... We are commanded to crucify the flesh, with the affections and lusts. How shall we do it? Shall we inflict pain on the body? No; but put to death the temptation of sin.”³⁰³ Mothers were especially warned against feeding their vulnerable children corrupting foods, like meat, for fear that it would lead to “self-abuse,” or masturbation.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Ellen G. White, *The Ministry of Healing* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1905), 308. Joseph Smith’s Latter-Day Saints would adopt similar reforms with regard to caffeine and alcohol in the nineteenth century, as both were considered by followers to be corrupting forces that would act against one’s spiritual and physical health. Smith’s revelation about diet and temperance came long before White’s in 1833, raising further speculations about the influence of other reformers on her visions.

³⁰¹ Though White was an abolitionist, her visions about the Civil War were controversial, as was her advice to followers to avoid becoming part of the conflict. Adventists were torn between the “belief that God’s will could be realized through the Northern armies—if the war was fought to end slavery,” and a “desire to avoiding fighting in the war...because of the Sabbath breaking and killing that would be involved” (Douglas Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic: the Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 32).

³⁰² Stephen Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform* (Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980), 152.

³⁰³ E. White, *Reflecting Christ*, 144.

³⁰⁴ Ellen G. White, *Testimony Studies on Diet and Foods* (Loma Linda, California: College of Medical Evangelists, 1926), 49.

Despite the fact that celibacy was not part of the Adventist movement, White advocated that “self-denial and temperance should be the watchwords,” even in married life.³⁰⁵ She cautioned that diet should be carefully considered, as one’s passions could be swayed “by abuse[s] of the stomach, and that “those things that derange the digestion” could also “have a benumbing influence on the finer feelings of the heart.”³⁰⁶ In this estimation, dietary vices precipitated other sins, as what would otherwise be considered food cravings were given the agency to facilitate moral and spiritual depravity.

It is important to note that White’s approaches to diet and the body were not only spiritual, as is evidenced in what is perhaps her most famous volume on health reform, *The Ministry of Healing* (1905). Concerning diet, she addressed not only the foods that one should eat, but the very systems and workings of the physical body in relation to nutrition. Her understanding of nutrition was that, “our bodies are built up from the food that we eat,” as part of “a wonderful process that transforms the food into blood and that uses this blood to build up the varied parts of the body; but this process is going on continually, supplying with life and strength each nerve, muscle, and tissue.”³⁰⁷ In this instance, diet is significant for physical well-being, in addition to salvation. White’s more scientific understanding of the physical body also suggests that she had some knowledge of the medical teachings of her day.

In avoiding stimulants, rich and spicy fare, or foods like red meat that were thought to induce immoral behavior, White made moral judgments about different types of food. The reforms of her visions were a reaction against these corrupting foods, calling instead for a simplified diet

³⁰⁵ Ellen G. White, *Adventist Home: Counsels to Seventh-day Adventist Families as Set Forth in the Writings of Ellen G. White* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1952), 123.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 151.

³⁰⁷ E. White, *The Ministry of Healing*, 295.

of “grains, fruits, nuts, and vegetables,” which were healthful and nourishing, and “constitute[d] the diet chosen...by [the] Creator.”³⁰⁸ What better way to achieve health than through God’s own diet?

“Self-control was the key” to Adventist health reforms, based on White’s revelation that the “angels lived lives of perfect order and discipline.”³⁰⁹ Through their “lived” experience of religion, Adventist followers attempted to pare away all of the world’s distracting pleasures by focusing on basic daily physical needs, including eating. The overall aim of this religious lifestyle was balance—physical, emotional, mental, and above all, spiritual.

According to White, a typical diet should consist of Zwieback bread (similar to Melba toast), less sugar, whole foods—or more thoroughly cooked ones depending on the degree of one’s “dyspepsia”—and plain foods. No butter, coffee, tea, meat, or cheese were to be eaten. Like Graham, White and her followers were against the “bolting” process that made wheat flour white and nutritionally empty. Instead, whole grains were viewed as being essential to wellness and proper digestion.

The most physically and spiritually beneficial meals were those that were served regularly, not too late at night, and at the right temperature, so as not to shock the system. Foods that were too hot or too cold were believed to make nutrient absorption more difficult. Even when mothers were not the primary cooks in their households, they were charged with the responsibility of making sure that food was being eaten slowly at the table to aid with digestion, and that there was not too much variety in a meal, or in a day’s worth of meals because having too many choices was believed to lead to illness and sinful overindulgence. Although the health benefits for this brand

³⁰⁸ E. White, *Ministry of Healing*, 296.

³⁰⁹ Mary Butler, et al., *The Battle Creek Idea: Dr. John Harvey Kellogg and the Battle Creek Sanitarium* (Jacksonville, Florida: Heritage Publishing, 1994), 26.

of diet and exercise were similar to those considered by some circles to be beneficial in the first half of the nineteenth century, White's mid-to-late century health reforms took on an unprecedented religious cast in that they were aimed at improving the health of her followers, while at the same time preparing for Christ's return.

3.2.2 Adventist Vegetarianism

With biblical support, White agreed with Graham that consuming meat was a curse that had been “pronounced upon the human family,” after man's fall at the Garden of Eden.³¹⁰ Meat-eating was therefore “one of the means used by God to inflict punishment” on humanity when “death [was] pronounced upon the race.”³¹¹ All was not lost, however, as White shared the evangelical opinion that individuals had agency in their own salvation through perfection of the body and spirit. The only “hope of regaining Eden” was “through the firm denial of appetite.”³¹²

As anthropologist Mary Douglas observed in her study of the dietary laws of Leviticus, Judeo-Christian religious groups who avoid certain foods tend to do so for one of two reasons. Foods are eliminated either because they are considered to be literally unclean and dangerous for consumption, or because they are perceived as being ritually or spiritually impure.³¹³ Citing the Old Testament book of Isaiah (Isa. 1.10-17), Douglas suggests that “cleanliness” in ritual sacrifice “does not [necessarily] mean avoiding ritual defilement,” but instead is a moral act that helps one to “cease to do evil, learn to good, seek justice, [and] correct oppression” through food choices.³¹⁴

³¹⁰ Ellen G. White, *The Faith I Live By* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing, 1958), 51.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Reid, *Sound of Trumpets*, 85.

³¹⁴ Mary Douglas, “The Forbidden Animals in Leviticus,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 18, no. 59 (1993): 4. Outside of Adventism, meat in the latter half of the nineteenth century was typically avoided for similar

While an “Isaiah” model outlines the moral and spiritual reasons for avoiding contact with certain types of food (in this case meat), a “Leviticus” model is not necessarily one in which total abstinence from meat is expected, as it pinpoints only certain types of meat (like pork) that should be avoided. In light of Douglas’ work, it can be said that White offered an interpretation of a meatless diet that seemed to embrace a “Leviticus” model for dietary reform. In a sermon of 1884 in which she taught against the use of pork, White wrote: “As for pork, I never have anything to do with it because God tells me not to touch it, and He knows best. It is a scavenger. Its only use is to gather up filth. God does not want us to become scavengers to the scavengers. Our safest position is to do as the Lord tells us.”³¹⁵ Despite the fact that White’s interpretations of a meatless diet fluctuated between moral cleanliness and literal pollution, in the early twentieth century Adventists took a clearer scriptural approach that was more in-line with the latter—abstaining from “unclean meats” rather than all meat (Lev. 11-16).

What this meant was that White asserted an avoidance of meat—whether certain types of meat, or all meat—in one’s diet for both spiritual and physical well-being; something that she spells out in a manuscript penned in July of 1901. In this instruction to her followers, White notes different problems with eating meat, including the safety of the meat, the scriptural relationship between meat and salvation, the effect of meat-eating on one’s morality and behavior, and the difficulty of transitioning to a vegetarian diet when the secular world offered affordable meat to the middle class in far greater abundance than in previous generations.

reasons, either because of perceived health risks, or as a result of increased awareness about the treatment of animals. Though traditions like Hinduism avoid meat as a practice of *ahimsa*, or non-violence, I have not come across any materials that would suggest a similar sense of non-harming as an underlying reason for nineteenth-century Methodist or Adventist practices of vegetarianism. Where food access, variety, and availability were relatively restricted in the early United States, the advent of industrialized food production and increased transportation of food stuffs allowed for easier accessibility to fresh meat. Those same conditions likewise allowed for the possibility of becoming a vegetarian when meat could be replaced by other nourishing foods in one’s diet.

³¹⁵ Ellen G. White, *Sermons and Talks, Vol. I*, (Silver Spring, Maryland: Ellen G. White Estate, 1990), 11.

White cautioned her community about the dangers of increased meat eating, writing: “it is quite true that nearly all animal flesh is diseased. Many people are eating meat filled with consumptive and cancerous germs.”³¹⁶ At the present day animals are suffering from all kinds of deadly diseases”—which were thought to be transmittable to humans through contact with contaminated meat.³¹⁷ White’s extensive body of work against meat-eating reiterates this connection between the consuming meat products, and the subsequent risk of contracting animal diseases.

Although these admonitions sound more like medical warnings than religious ones, White goes on in her statement to underscore that the requisite for Adventist vegetarianism was revealed to her through a vision in which, “light came to me, showing me the injury men and women were doing to their mental, moral, and spiritual faculties by this use of flesh-meat. I was shown that the whole human structure is affected by this diet, that by it man strengthens the animal propensities.”³¹⁸ Here, White’s vision offers a moral and religious framework for vegetarianism beyond the scientific understandings about food safety of her day. By declaring that this teaching, and all of her visions, came directly from God, White bolstered the legitimacy of Adventist religious dietary tenets, preserving her position of authority within the church as God’s mouthpiece.

³¹⁶ One form of tuberculosis spreading in North America during this period was found in livestock, and there were (invalidated) fears that it could spread to humans.

³¹⁷ Ellen G. White, Letter, July 15, 1901.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

3.2.3 Temperance

The concept of purification, or the elimination of “stimulants” in one’s life abounded in nineteenth-century American culture, including in Methodism and Adventism.³¹⁹ In 1840 the average American consumed 3.1 gallons of hard spirits and 1.3 gallons of beer per year. By 1885 per capita consumption had shifted to 1.4 gallons of spirits and 11.4 gallons of beer.³²⁰ This sharp rise in alcohol consumption, and fears about its effect on American morality, prompted female Christian reformers like Women’s Christian Temperance Union (1873) president Frances Willard (1839-1898—an ardent convert to Methodism) to encourage first moderation, then total abstinence in drinking.³²¹ Willard, like White, viewed the body as a “temple of the Lord,” to be cared for and disciplined for the sake of the individual soul and the future of the nation.³²²

Adventists cast their net of decorum slightly further than many of their mainline Victorian contemporaries, also avoiding dancing and novel reading as activities that were viewed to have the same potential as stimulating food and drink to ignite “unholy passions.”³²³ While mainline Christian sects also promoted the cultivation of proper moral values, Adventists emphasized that by depriving the self of some of life’s earthly pleasures, it was possible to move toward “greater happiness” through “health, holiness, and the certainty of heaven.”³²⁴ Adventist sanitariums

³¹⁹ Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 250.

³²⁰ S. Williams, *Food in the United State.*, xv.

³²¹ There were class tensions surrounding the movement, as some members of the lower and upper-classes viewed temperance as “an effort by middle-class do-gooders to run other people’s lives” (Grant Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 164).

³²² *Ibid.*, 157. Supporters of the temperance movement also wanted to control alcohol consumption in an effort to regulate the American labor force with the growth of industrialization. Little, or no alcohol meant less factory accidents and missed days of work.

³²³ Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 250.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

became havens for those who wished to be fully immersed in an accepting environment that promoted their communal religious values and lifestyle.

White concurred that alcohol had a negative influence on spiritual and physical well-being, noting that “fermentation” of any kind should be looked upon as “the mark of decay.”³²⁵ To drink alcohol was to ingest “decomposition and death.”³²⁶ The scope of her definition of temperance, however, went beyond an avoidance of alcohol. While White agreed with many of her contemporaries that, “the use of intoxicating liquor dethrones reason, and hardens the heart against every pure and holy influence...,” she rationalized that “at the foundation of liquor-drinking [lay] wrong habits of eating.”³²⁷

For Adventists, temperance would therefore include the avoidance of stimulants like the caffeine in tea and coffee, and the elimination of sugar in one’s diet. Moderation in diet was likewise key, so as to be temperate in all of one’s eating and drinking. Unlike the mainline Protestant women of the next chapter—whose charitable cookbooks are filled with recipes for cakes, cookies, and pies—White was especially opposed to the sugar-laden baked goods popular in her day. Carbohydrate consumption in the years 1910-1913 in America was two-thirds potatoes, wheat products, and other such “starchy” foods, and one-third sugar, the so-called simple carbohydrate. By the nineties, however, the share of complex carbohydrates was down to half, that of sugars up to half.”³²⁸ Thanks to improvements in sugar processing and the use of beet

³²⁵ Daniel Sack, *Whitebread Protestants: Food and Religion in American Culture* (New York: PALGRAVE, 2000), 20.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ E. White, *Reflecting Christ*, 142, and “Go Forward,” *Bible Training School* 1, no. 2 (1902): 27.

³²⁸ Sidney Mintz, “Eating American,” in *Food in the USA: A Reader*, ed. Carole M. Counihan (New York: Routledge, 2002): 30.

sugar, the commodity became more affordable in this period, rather than a luxury as it had been for previous generations.³²⁹

In an 1891 letter to Kellogg, White lamented this increased use of flour and sugar: “I wish we were all health reformers; I am opposed to the use of pastries. These mixtures are unhealthful; no one can have good digestive powers and a clean brain who will eat largely of cookies and cream cake and all kinds of pies, and partake of a great variety of food at one meal. When we do this, and then take cold, the whole system is so clogged and enfeebled that it has no power of resistance, no strength to combat disease.”³³⁰ White, an ardent vegetarian, was so adamant about the elimination of sugar from American diets that she claimed she, “would prefer a meat diet to the sweet cakes and pastries so generally used.”³³¹ Dietary temperance, like White’s other health reforms, was not merely for the benefit of physical well-being. Rather, White encouraged all forms of temperance “in preparation for the Lord’s second coming...so that “the bodies which God has created may be presented to Him a living sacrifice, fitted to render Him acceptable service.”³³²

3.3 ADVENTIST MOTHERHOOD

Ellen White was remarkable in that she was able to retain her position of authority in the Adventist tradition by both upholding the normative gendered standards of her day, while maintaining

³²⁹ Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 73. As Williams notes, the use of sugar also increased in the opening decades of the nineteenth century because of the growth of slavery in sugar-producing places like the Caribbean (S. Williams, *Food in the United States*, 77.)

³³⁰ Ellen G. White, Letter to John Harvey Kellogg, May 15, 1891 (K-10-1891).

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² *The Dietary Program of Seventh-day Adventist Institutions and the Use of Flesh Meat, Tea, and Coffee: A Compilation from the Writings of Ellen G. White* (Washington, D.C.: Ellen G. White Publications, General Conference, 1970), 5.

religious power and influence as the leader of her denomination. As a wife and mother, she was well aware of the social, religious, and domestic demands that weighed on Victorian American women and noted that, “the work of the mother is an important one. Amid the homely cares and trying duties of every-day life, she should endeavor to exert an influence that will bless and elevate her household.”³³³

Like her mainline Protestant contemporaries, White strove to provide a moral atmosphere and example for her family, and those who visited Adventist sanitariums. Although White’s religious authority was obviously sustained because of her followers’ certainty in the divine nature of her visions, I have found that her real power came from her ability to balance the demands placed on her as a nineteenth-century wife, mother, and prophet of the largest Christian denomination founded by a woman to date.

3.3.1 Adventism and Domesticity

“For the good Christians of the nineteenth century the connection between religion and [the] home was [both] natural and inseparable.”³³⁴ In this vein, White wrote that mother’s roles were important, for “it is by the youth and children of today that the future of society is to be determined,

³³³ Ellen G. White and Elder James White, *Christian Temperance and Bible Hygiene* (Battle Creek, Michigan: Good Health Publishing Co., 1890), 60. See also White’s *Adventist Home* (1952), a posthumous compilation of White’s reflections on the home and family.

³³⁴ Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), xiii.

and much depends on home training.”³³⁵ Her views on Christian morals and ideals in daily home-life were thus aligned with Victorian mainline conceptions of “parlor piety” and motherhood.³³⁶

White believed that wives, mothers, and even housekeepers had it in their power to control the physical and moral well-being of their families largely through faith, and especially through food. She would later extend this domestic ideal into her vision for life at Battle Creek (and other Adventist sanitariums around the world), writing that above all, the institutions should “let the religious influence of a Christian home pervade...This will be conducive to the health of the patients.”³³⁷

In a letter to Kellogg from 1892, White lamented that the health of American families was at risk, writing “mothers suffer their children to eat irregularly and to dress unhealthily, and through indulgence in unwholesome diet they are educating them for more pernicious things. Children and youth should not be underfed in the least degree; they should have an abundance of healthful food, but this does not mean that it is proper to place before them rich cakes and pastries. They should have the best of exercise, and the best of food, for these have an important bearing upon the condition of the mental and moral power. A proper, wholesome diet will be one of the means whereby healthful digestion may be preserved.”³³⁸

As the “mother” of Seventh-day Adventism and all that the tradition encompassed, White strove to lead by example. Through her health reform efforts she worked to “shape...Adventism into a domestic religion with her concern for child nurture and education, diet and health, marriage

³³⁵ E. White, *Ministry of Healing*, 350.

³³⁶ Colleen McDannell, “Parlor Piety: The Home as Sacred Space in Protestant America,” in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: a Social History of Spaces and Services*, eds. Jessica H. Foy and Thomas J. Schlereth (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992): 162-189.

³³⁷ Ellen G. White, Letter to Brother and Sister Kress, March 11, 1903.

³³⁸ Ellen G White, Letter to John Harvey Kellogg, August 5, 1892 (K-19-1892).

and family,” using the cult of domesticity to gain influence.³³⁹ Steeped in Victorian American gender expectations, she recognized that mothers, more than fathers, were charged with “lay[ing] for their children the foundation for a happy, healthy life,” and claimed that, “the physical condition of [mothers], their dispositions and appetites, their mental and spiritual tendencies” were observed to be “reproduced in...children.”³⁴⁰ Like early Methodists, White highlighted family meals and mothers’ behavior as bring critically important to ensure the health, well-being, and morality of the next generation of Americans and Adventists.

White likewise echoed Catharine Beecher’s earlier assertion that Victorian women gained “power” through their domestic work, and that the home was a feminine domain. With this mind she argued that, “it [wa]s the right of every daughter of Eve to have a thorough knowledge of household duties, to receive training in every department of domestic labor. Every young lady should be so educated that if called to fill the position of wife and mother, she may preside as a queen in her own domain. She may be fully competent to guide and instruct her children and to direct her servants, or, if need be, to minister with her own hands to the wants of her household.”³⁴¹ Female piety and morality were not innate, but required training and effort from generation to generation.

Despite White’s lack of much formal schooling, she also became a strong supporter of educational opportunities for women. One endeavor undertaken by White and John Harvey Kellogg was the American Medical Missionary College in Battle Creek, Michigan which opened its doors to men and women 1891. The school offered medical training to young Adventists who

³³⁹ Jonathan M. Butler, “Portrait,” in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 12.

³⁴⁰ E. White, Letter to John Harvey Kellogg, August 5, 1892.

³⁴¹ Ellen G. White, *Daughters of God: Messages Especially for Women* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing, 1998), 212.

were willing to put their new skills to use in missionary settings for a proscribed amount of time after graduating.³⁴² Several issues from the journal *The Medical Missionary* (1891-1914), for which Kellogg served as editor, show that a significant component of the curriculum at the college was devoted to the benefits of vegetarian diets in curing a variety of ailments.

Like Catharine Beecher, White was an advocate of more traditional forms of education for young women, suggesting that, “many of the branches of study that consume the student's time are not essential to usefulness or happiness; but it is essential for every youth to have a thorough acquaintance with everyday duties. If need be, a young woman can dispense with a knowledge of French and algebra, or even of the piano; but it is indispensable that she learn to make good bread, to fashion neatly-fitting garments, and to perform efficiently the many duties that pertain to homemaking.”³⁴³

With this weight on the importance of domestic training, women’s work in the kitchen was viewed as being particularly valuable where moral order and the saving of souls were concerned. White firmly believed that it was “a sacred duty for those who cook to learn how to prepare healthful food,” and that, “many souls [were] lost as the result of poor cookery.”³⁴⁴ Food choice and preparation became central to Adventist practice, and mothers could “hinder and even ruin...[a] child’s development” by serving “ill-prepared, unwholesome food.”³⁴⁵

On the other hand, “by providing food adapted to the needs of the body” and spirit that were at “the same time inviting and palatable,” women could “accomplish as much in the right as

³⁴² Many of these medical missionaries were female nurses, as by the latter half of the nineteenth century, more than 60% of Christian missionaries were women (Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth-Century America*, 167).

³⁴³ Ellen G. White, “Manual Training,” in *Education* (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1903), 216.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., *Ministry of Healing*, 302.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., “Manual Training,” 216.

otherwise she accomplishes in the wrong direction.³⁴⁶ Good, wholesome foods were not only beneficial to one's health in this lifetime, but for the preparation of the body and soul for their reunification with God.

White's stance on domestic education for women was not uncommon in Victorian America, and her claim that men should also receive domestic training was in-line with the Beecher sisters' views about gendered labor. White argued for the education of men and women in one another's gendered work, writing that since both genders "have a part in home-making, boys as well as girls should gain a knowledge of household duties."³⁴⁷

Like the Beechers, she goes further to propose that young men should learn "to make a bed and put a room in order, to wash dishes, to prepare a meal, to wash and repair [their] own clothing," and that such training "need not make any boy less manly; [because] it will make [them] happier and more useful."³⁴⁸ This is not to say that boys should learn to "needlessly...busy [themselves] in women's work," but that "by skill in such matters...c[ould] save a mother or wife from care and suffering" should a domestic emergency arise.³⁴⁹ Girls, in turn, were expected to "learn to harness and drive a horse, and to use the saw and the hammer, as well as to rake and to hoe," so that "they would be better fitted to meet the emergencies of life."³⁵⁰

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., "Manual Training," 217.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Catharine Ester Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home, or Principles of Domestic Science; being a Guide to the Formation and Maintenance of Economical, Healthful, Beautiful, and Christian Homes* (New York: Arno Press, 1971), 229.

³⁵⁰ E. White, "Manual Training," 217.

3.3.2 White as a Maternal Figure

White took great care to project an image of herself to her followers that affirmed both her religious authority and her Victorian maternalism. Unlike Mary Baker Eddy, who left her son to be raised by relatives when her first husband died, White's life was very oriented toward her family. Her gendered work as a wife, mother, and homemaker is apparent in her letters to her children, in particular those to her son Edson. White looked upon Edson as somewhat of a lost soul after he strayed from the family church for many years, returning to start an Adventist mission to black Americans along the Mississippi River in 1895. In one of White's letters to Edson, dated May 25, 1869, the Adventist matriarch shares her distress at her son's behavior, trying to coax him back to the faith through diet.

She starts by scolding, "I have feared for you as I have marked how little control you have had over your appetite and your desires...You should have rules to regulate yourself, your diet, your labor, your hours. All this you need to do now to discipline yourself."³⁵¹ As her letter goes on, White even resorts to shaming Edson for his actions by comparing him to his younger brother William—who would later play a prominent role in the church and in managing White's estate—writing, "Willie has principle. He has self-control as you should have."³⁵²

Though White's concerns were undoubtedly motherly, fearing for Edson's "critical condition of health," her position of power and influence within the Adventist church is recalled in the same letter. She petitions her son to "represent the health reforms" of her movement, for "if [others] see you, our son, eat the things we have condemned, you weaken our influence and lower

³⁵¹ Ellen G. White, Letter to James Edson White, May 25, 1869.

³⁵² Ibid.

yourself in their estimation. They see at once that appetite is stronger with you than principle, that notwithstanding all our labor to bring the people of God up to denial of appetite, we have no influence with our own children, [for] when they can get meat or butter, they will eat it.” In this letter White struck a balance between her authority over Edson as his mother, and her critical position in preserving the vitality and longevity of her movement. She seemed to resign herself to the fact that the latter position was the one most threatened in relation to Edson’s situation, and warned him that she “could have no act of faith to call upon God on [his] behalf because [he] had trampled upon [the] light and knowledge” of dietary reforms given to her by God in her visions.³⁵³

3.4 THE BATTLE CREEK SANITARIUM

While Victorian religious sect leaders were generally looked down upon by the mainline Protestant majority, American sects like Methodism in the first half of the nineteenth century, and Adventism in the latter half gave women a platform for religious power that was unavailable to them in mainline churches. Religious traditions like these were able to thrive in American culture because of their appealing emphasis on “God’s free grace, the liberty to accept or reject that grace, and dynamic religious expression, which was encouraged among women and all classes of individuals.”³⁵⁴ This gave a new religious agency to female adherents who were regarded as having unique spiritual power. While the public role of women was reduced in the Methodist tradition as it moved from sect to mainline, (which frowned upon female religious leadership) sects

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Lisa J. Shaver, *Beyond the Pulpit: Women’s Rhetorical Roles in the Antebellum Religious Press* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 5.

like Adventism were able to support female leadership because of their position outside of the Christian mainstream.

In 1855 Ellen and James White moved from Rochester, New York to Battle Creek, Michigan when a group of their followers built them a small building there to use as the headquarters for their Review and Herald Publishing Association.³⁵⁵ This move ultimately led to the opening of the Adventist sanitarium at Battle Creek—one of White’s greatest achievements and conduits through which to enact her dietary and religious authority. The success and popularity of the Sanitarium is undisputed, while the sheer number of individuals who visited during its heyday is staggering.³⁵⁶ Late in his career, Sanitarium director John Harvey Kellogg estimated that his work at Battle Creek had brought him into contact with a quarter of a million people. The institution and later, sanitariums built by Adventists around the globe, appealed to insiders for the spiritual significance of their health reforms, and to outside visitors because of their modern approaches to health and well-being.³⁵⁷

At the heart of the Sanitarium’s mission was White’s vision for religious dietary reform, carried out by Kellogg and his team of nurses, physicians, and dieticians. The doctors and staff at “San” took a generally alternative stance to healing, but were also trained in the most up-to-date procedures of the day. In an effort to emphasize this multi-faceted approach to medicine the Whites and Kellogg called their institution at Battle Creek a “sanitarium” instead of the regular moniker “sanatorium,” drawing attention to the modern *sanitary* efforts of the facility. Unlike sanatoriums of the day—which had the reputation for being prison-like places where people with

³⁵⁵ “Ellen G. White: A Brief Biography.”

³⁵⁶ Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 12.

³⁵⁷ Battle Creek was not the only sanitarium founded by White and the Adventists. By 1878 a new health center was also built outside of San Francisco in St. Helena, California, with half a dozen others popping up in the U.S. and around the globe by 1900 (Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 186).

terminal illnesses were sent to linger and die—the Adventist model for sanitariums was one of spa-like places of healing and respite, for the ill and for those who wished to preserve their already good health.

In an era when science sometimes challenged religious practices as being backward or archaic, Adventist health reforms caught on in the latter half of the nineteenth century in part because they were treated as being not religious, but “accepted revelations from science” by many outsiders to the tradition.³⁵⁸ This scientific assertion likewise provided stability for Adventist health reforms within the tradition, as it offered practitioners a “flexibility which spared... [them]...that agony of conflict between theologians and scientists which so damaged both contemporary Catholicism and Protestantism” during that period.³⁵⁹

For Adventists, the scientific world of medicine was able to seamlessly join with that of religious life, as White’s visions provided the ground on which the two could meet on equal terms. Her proposed reforms were considered by her followers to be direct revelations from God, and with later help from John Harvey Kellogg were neither considered to be solely scientific nor merely religious. White’s movement remained successful because many of her visions and teachings about health and well-being were in-line with the rise of increasingly sophisticated scientific approaches to medicine, without a heavy reliance on prescription medications.

The therapeutic potential of sun, fresh air, and water were unparalleled in the minds of these reformers, but urban life posed a challenge to having ready access to such natural luxuries. Athletic clubs, Methodist camps, and Adventist sanitariums provided spaces in which urbanites could travel to exercise and receive treatments that drew from the benefits of water, light, and

³⁵⁸ Reid, *Sound of Trumpets*, 22.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

healthy eating. These practices were intended to not only improve the physical body, but to help “build perfect citizens for the coming kingdom.”³⁶⁰ As “a form of social gospel,” muscular Christianity “affirmed the compatibility of [a] robust physical life with a life of Christian morality.”³⁶¹ In addition to dietary changes, male and female health reformers also devoted their energies to physical education, with an emphasis on guiding the next generation to better health and well-being. Antebellum Christian reforms in particular called for individuals to be both “perfectly fit and perfectly moral,” emphasizing the mutual beneficence of spiritual redemption and physical well-being.³⁶²

3.4.1 White and Kellogg: Gender and Power at Battle Creek

The Whites were inspired to start a health reform institute when White had a vision on Christmas Day in 1865 after visiting Dr. John Caleb Jackson’s (1852-1943) water cure facility in Dansville, New York for James’ failing health. This revelation tasked the Whites with creating “a water cure and vegetarian institution, where a properly balanced, God-fearing course of treatments could be made available not only to Adventists, but the public [more] generally.”³⁶³ The Whites opened the Western Health Reform Institute the following year on a small property in southwestern Michigan. (*Figure 9*)

³⁶⁰ Troy Messenger, *Holy Leisure and God’s Square Mile* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 81.

³⁶¹ James C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness: the History of American Health Reformers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 271.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 67.

³⁶³ Ellen G. White, “The Health Reform,” in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 1, 4th Ed.* (Oakland, California: Pacific Press, 1948), 489 and Mary Butler, et al., *The Battle Creek Idea*, 6.



Figure 9. The Western Health Reform Institute, ca. 1868 (EGW)

Despite the fact that “medical and religious reform proved a possible way of escape” for Victorian American women who wanted break free of gendered norms, White must have realized that there would be cultural resistance to the Sanitarium should she direct the project unaided.³⁶⁴ With the intention of making the “San” a place of healing, education, and a reprieve from an increasingly hectic modern world, White looked for a capable male physician to treat patients and oversee the day-to-day operations there.

A decade after White’s initial vision for a health reform institute, in 1876 she invited a young John Harvey Kellogg to take the position of medical director shortly after his graduation from the New York University School of Medicine in 1875. Despite Kellogg’s initial reservations—his intention after graduation was to do research and write about medicine, as

³⁶⁴ Numbers and Schoepflin, “Ministries of Healing,” 581.

opposed to having an active practice—the Whites proved persuasive and he accepted the post, bringing their struggling project back from the brink of bankruptcy. Though Kellogg planned to only stay at the Sanitarium until it had a firm foundation for success, he was as drawn to the place as his patients were and remained active there until his death in 1943 at the age of 91.³⁶⁵

White's visions for health and wellness at Battle Creek are excellent examples of how Adventists believed that God's will was made manifest through everyday living. The tradition employed already established practices like vegetarianism and exercise and turned them into intentional expressions of religious belief. By allowing non-Adventists to come for treatment, the Sanitarium attracted more than ten thousand patrons between 1867 and 1885, sharing their tradition with “many who otherwise would never have heard of it.”³⁶⁶

White's goal for the sanitarium at Battle Creek, and the Adventist sanitarium system worldwide, was to make them “instrument[s] for reaching the people...agenc[ies] for showing them the evil of disregarding the laws of life and health, and for teaching them how to preserve the body in the best condition.”³⁶⁷ With this in mind, Adventists at the sanitariums attempted to present White's prophecies in a tangible and accessible manner for individuals inside and outside of the tradition. While the literature is unclear as to whether or not this was a successful endeavor to gain converts,

³⁶⁵ Impressively, Kellogg never took a salary for his life's work at Battle Creek. Rather, he supported his wife and forty-two foster children—eight of whom the Kelloggs adopted—with the proceeds of his own prolific writing about health, which at times rivaled White's in popularity. Kellogg's theological stance and rebuilding of the Battle Creek Sanitarium against White's wishes and visions after a fire in December, 1902 placed him into contention with the church, leading to his formal disfellowship in 1907. He nonetheless retained his Adventist stance on health and dietary practices personally and through the remainder of his tenure at the Sanitarium.

³⁶⁶ Emmett K. Vande Vere, “Years of Expansion, 1865-1885,” in *Adventism in America: A History*, ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1986): 70.

³⁶⁷ Ellen G. White, “God's Design in Our Sanitariums,” 224. By the turn of the twentieth century the Adventist church operated 27 sanitariums in the U.S. and abroad, but Battle Creek remained the largest and most successful of them. Though a few of the sanitariums remain in operation today, none of them are church-run. (LLUMC Legacy: Daring to Care, “Whatever Happened to those Good Old Sanitariums?” <http://www.llu.edu/info/legacy/appendix/> [accessed May 5, 2015])

it does appear that by employing secular dietary and health reforms the Adventists were able to find a more secure foothold in the Victorian American religious landscape.

Though Kellogg is typically given credit for the health and dietary practices at Battle Creek, the Ellen G. White Estate archives reveal that Kellogg often deferred to White's visions and approval when developing diet at the "San." Through her many and regular correspondences with Kellogg, White continued to have a say in what was served at the San, despite her extensive travels, while also voicing her opinion about Adventist commercial food endeavors. The letter in Figure 10 illustrates Kellogg's desire for White's approval, in this case for his newly patented "Granose" cereal. (*Figure 10*)

The menus at the Sanitarium included items made with whole grains, which remained in demand among dietary reformers following Graham's movement earlier in the century. The first cereal produced at the Sanitarium, Granose, was supposedly invented when an over-baked wheat cracker was put through a roller, producing a small, more easily digestible flake. After further refinements, and increased popularity, Kellogg applied for a patent to produce the product on a larger scale. He wanted to mass-market his cereals (which would include oat, barley, and corn products) for supplemental funds for the church, but White refused. She wrote that "when a thing is exalted, as the corn flake has been, it would be unwise for our people to have anything to do with it."³⁶⁸

³⁶⁸ Ellen G. White, *Spalding and Magan's Unpublished Manuscript Testimonies by Ellen G. White*, 394. <http://egwtext.whiteestate.org/publication.php?pubtype=Book&bookCode=SpM&lang=en&pagenumber=394&m=1> [accessed February 20, 2015]

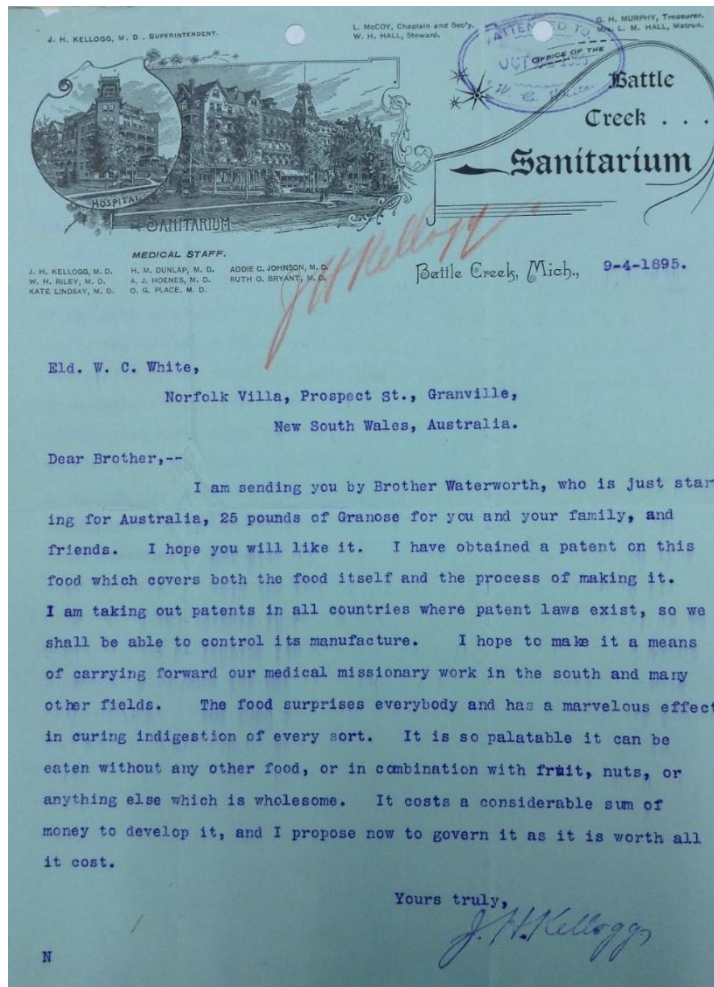


Figure 10. In her later years, White traveled with her son William, through whom Kellogg sent his regards and correspondence to White. John Harvey Kellogg, Letter to W.C. White, April 9, 1894. (EGW)

In refusing to support Kellogg's patent, White's concern was that the fame of the product would detract from the spiritual reasons for eating it. While "health-food work c[ould] be profitably engaged in," White warned against "efforts that accomplish[ed] nothing more than the production of foods to supply physical needs."³⁶⁹ She felt that it was a "serious mistake to employ so much time, and so much of the talents of men and women, in manufacturing foods, while no special effort [wa]s made at the same time to supply the multitudes with the bread of life," and

³⁶⁹ Ellen G. White, *Counsels on Diet and Foods* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946), 277.

cautioned Kellogg that “great dangers attend a work that has not for its object the way of eternal life.”³⁷⁰ Granose could be made and distributed for the higher spiritual goals of the community, but from White’s perspective would not be an acceptable undertaking merely for profit. Kellogg deferred to White’s instructions, leaving his brother W.K. Kellogg, and fellow Adventist C.W. Post to build and manage the competing cereal companies which bear their names to this day.³⁷¹

This power dynamic allowed White to occupy an unusual gendered space as the unofficial leader of the Adventist tradition that to this day does not allow women to be fully ordained. One way in which she did this was to find an equilibrium between normative gendered behavior for her time and her authoritative role within Adventism. To support this, White would often project a vision of her constitution that paralleled Victorian notions of feminine frailty, noting that—although she had achieved more robust health thanks to the reforms that God had given her—“when the message [of health reform] first came to me, I was weak and feeble, fainting once or twice a day. I was pleading with God for help, and He opened before me the great subject of health reform. He instructed me that those who were keeping His commandments must be brought into sacred relation with Himself, and that by temperance in eating and drinking they must keep mind and body in the most favorable condition for His service.”³⁷²

White even deflected attention away from her role as prophet, stating in a manuscript of 1897 that, “I have had a great light from the Lord upon the subject of health reform. I did not seek this light; I did not study to obtain it; it was given to me by the Lord to give to others.”³⁷³ While

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ In 1906 C.W. Post introduced a corn flake cereal called “Elijah’s Manna,” creating competition for W.K. Kellogg’s new company and sparking the Battle Creek “cereal boom” (Gerald Carson, *Cornflake Crusade: From the Pulpit to the Breakfast Table* (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1957), 258-259).

³⁷² Ellen G. White, “Sunnyside,” Manuscript 29, 1897 and Reid, *Sound of Trumpets*, 31.

³⁷³ White, “Sunnyside.”

this statement affirmed her role as visionary, it also downplayed her significance in the tradition. White was able to maintain her position in the church, while at the same time at least socially appearing to adhere to the gendered standards of her day.

Kellogg's wife, the former Ella Eaton, was another pioneering female force in the field of dietetics. College educated and a practicing dietician, it was Ella who led food tests in the Sanitarium kitchen, while also raising the many foster children that the Kelloggs brought into their home throughout the years. Eaton-Kellogg's approaches to health and diet are best depicted in her *Science in the Kitchen: A Scientific Treatise on Food Substances and their Dietetic Properties, Together with a Practical Explanation of the Principles of Healthful Cookery, and a Large Number of Original, Palatable, and Wholesome Recipes* (1893).

As the Battle Creek Sanitarium dietician and assistant editor of the Adventist published *Good Health Magazine* (formerly the *Health Reformer*) from 1877 to 1920, Ella undoubtedly had as significant of an influence on the food served at Battle Creek as White had, if not a greater one.³⁷⁴ Like her husband and White, Ella's approach to diet was both religious and scientific. With this in mind, *Science in the Kitchen* goes beyond moral eating, and proposes that "unwholesome cookery is the result" of a lack of scientific knowledge, even "among the most experienced housekeepers."³⁷⁵

Despite the Kelloggs' Adventist support of vegetarianism at Battle Creek, there are a surprising number of meat-based recipes in *Science in the Kitchen*. Though Ella's forward to the

³⁷⁴ Ella Kellogg was also the chair of the World's Fair Committee on Food Supplies for the state of Michigan at the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago—the same fair that hosted the first World's Parliament of Religions, where the Adventists shared a brief history of their church (John Henry Barrows, ed., *The World's Parliament of Religions: an Illustrated and Popular Story of the World's First Parliament of Religions, Held in Chicago in Connection with The Columbian Exposition of 1893, Vol. II* (Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Co., 1893), 1391-1392.)

³⁷⁵ Mrs. E.E. Kellogg, *Science in the Kitchen: A Scientific Treatise on Food Substances and their Dietetic Properties, Together with a Practical Explanation of the Principles of Healthful Cookery, and a Large Number of Original, Palatable, and Wholesome Recipes* (Chicago: The Modern Medicine Publishing Co., 1893), 22.

meat section of her cookbook argued that meat products were, “in no way superior to vegetable substances,” “putrefactive,” “liable to be diseased,” and a “threat to the character and lives” of those who ate it, there are several pages of recipes for all types of meat.³⁷⁶ Instead of completely forbidding meat-eating, Mrs. Kellogg, like her husband and White, left the choice of eating meat to the conscience of the individual. She offered tips for choosing safe meat, and recipes for preparation in the “simplest and least harmful manner,” while maintaining that her personal view was that “the human race would be far healthier, better, and happier if flesh foods were wholly discarded.”³⁷⁷

3.4.2 Diet at the “San”

There is unfortunately very little documentation about how many visitors to the Sanitarium were Adventist and how many were not, as such statistics were not kept by the staff at Battle Creek. What we do know, however, is that the demand for treatment at the “San” was so great that by the 1890s the campus at Battle Creek numbered some eighty buildings for guests, patients, and employees.³⁷⁸ (*Figure 11*)

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 389-391.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 392.

³⁷⁸ M. Butler, et al., *The Battle Creek Idea*, 49.



Figure 11. A portion of the Battle Creek Sanitarium campus, ca. 1884-1890. (EGW)

By the late nineteenth century segments of the American population were already skeptical about the effect of pre-packaged, nutrient-empty foods on one's health, as a result, White's divinely inspired regimen of a vegetarian diet full of whole grains and "true remedies for health" became "increasingly popular" at Battle Creek.³⁷⁹ Even though White, and later Kellogg, would employ modern medicine, (the sanitarium offered services from bloodwork and x-rays, to eye exams, massage, and light and water therapies), neither supported the use of drugs in healing. In a letter of 1903 to fellow Adventists White wrote that they should "not use drugs" because "drugs never heal; they only change the features of the disease."³⁸⁰ Pure food, exercise, and rest were the best ways to heal the body and to stay well.

Despite its roots in a religious sect, the "San" was visited by state governors and tycoons like John D. Rockefeller Jr., as well as "composers, explorers, and even former President William

³⁷⁹ E. White, *Daughters of God*, 174.

³⁸⁰ Ellen G. White, Letter to Brother and Sister Kress, June 24, 1903.

Howard Taft, whose health and weight issues were widely known.³⁸¹ Treatment at the Sanitarium was not restricted to the famous and wealthy, however. “Without fanfare, Dr. Kellogg...accept[ed] many charity patients at the San so that access to good health [and dietary reform] would not be limited to the rich and famous.”³⁸² Middle-class patrons who could afford the luxury of time away from home and work for rest and treatment were also frequent visitors to Battle Creek.

For the first few decades of its existence the Sanitarium experienced exponential growth in the number of visitors traveling there for treatment. With such a diverse population of individuals from different places, religions, and classes, Kellogg and White struggled with what foods should be served to guests staying there.³⁸³ Like Graham before them, both believed that “by eating the flesh and blood of dead animals, man becomes animalized,” and that “those whose diet is largely composed of animal foods are brought into a condition where they allow the lower passions to assume control for the higher powers of the being.”³⁸⁴ It was difficult, however, to convince the paying patrons of the Sanitarium to adhere to such a strict and unfamiliar meatless diet.

The issue of serving meat at the Sanitarium was a frequent topic in correspondences between White and Kellogg, and both vacillated about whether or not to provide patrons with meat, notwithstanding their own arguments against it. Despite her ardent promotion of vegetarianism, White appears to have been more relaxed in her approach to diet at the Sanitarium, recognizing that not all patients were Adventists.³⁸⁵ In a letter to missionaries dated March 11, 1903, White

³⁸¹ M. Butler, et al., *The Battle Creek Idea*, 8.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ The Sanitarium was also popular among “many of the period’s metaphysical seekers such as mind-curists and sundry spiritualists,” who visited Battle Creek “despite Ellen White’s biblical theology” (Robert C. Fuller, *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 54.

³⁸⁴ E. White, “Lessons from the Third Chapter of Revelation,” 5.

³⁸⁵ There is also some debate about whether or not White fully adhered to a vegetarian diet at home. Although she claimed in several of her writings that she strictly avoided all meat, many accounts suggest that the temptation for at least fish and poultry was sometimes too great for her to resist.

wrote that although she had “been plainly instructed by the Lord that flesh-meat should not be placed before the patients in our sanitarium dining rooms,” she claimed a second vision in which “light was given to [her] that the patients could have flesh-meat, if, after hearing the parlor lectures (which were often focused on the dangers and ills associated with meat-eating), they still urged us to give it to them; but that, in such cases, it must be eaten in their own rooms.”³⁸⁶

White makes it clear that this possible exemption from eating like a vegetarian, at least while at Battle Creek, was expressly for those visiting the “San” who might be “thinking of becoming patrons of the institution.”³⁸⁷ In this instance it appears that White’s mind is set on the practicality of preserving the Sanitarium by placating guests’ palates, while at the same time claiming that it was God who had enlightened her to do so. Not entirely giving up on converting patients to dietary reform, White advised that the best way to encourage patients and potential converts to adopt a vegetarian diet at the Sanitarium was to make sure that the food being offered at mealtimes was “palatably prepared and nicely served.”³⁸⁸

It appears that non-Adventist patients at the sanitarium who adopted dietary reforms were more focused on their physical health, rather than the purification of the body for the benefit of their salvation, but White worked to convert their appetites just the same. In an effort to “direct sin-sick souls to the Great Physician,” patients were likewise encouraged to transition to their new diet slowly because, she observed, placing “a strait-jacket...on the appetite suddenly,” seldom resulted in lasting reform.³⁸⁹ All efforts were made to provide visitors unfamiliar with such a diet with “a liberal supply of well-cooked food,” so that “the diet be such that a good impression”

³⁸⁶ E. White, Letter to Brother and Sister Kress, March 11, 1903.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid. and Ellen G. White, “The Health Institute,” in *Testimonies for the Church*, Vol. 3 (Battle Creek, Michigan: Review and Herald Publishing, 1872), 170.

would “be made on the guests.”³⁹⁰ Not only would this help to ensure future patronage, but make such an impression “that those who visit the Health Retreat...m[ight] carry from it reformatory principles.”³⁹¹

Similar allowances were made concerning the conversion of outsiders to the tradition. White instructed Kellogg that a missionary who “visits from house to house... should seek to understand the needs of the people, presenting right principles, and giving instruction as to what is for their best good. To those who have a meager diet, he should suggest additions, and to those who live extravagantly, who load their tables with unnecessary and hurtful dishes, rich cakes, pastry, and condiments, he should present the diet that is essential for health, and conducive to spirituality.”³⁹² Later in this same letter White suggests that because “the science of cooking is an essential [part of] practical life,” it “must be taught in such a way that the poorer classes can [also] be benefitted.”³⁹³

These efforts appear to have been successful, as reports from the church reveal (albeit they biased) testimonials of the acceptance of new health principles by converts to Adventist dietary reforms. After a Women’s Christian Temperance Union meeting in Michigan in the summer of 1877, at which the Sanitarium was invited to contribute a large table of food, it was reported that, “Not a seat was left vacant a moment, and there were usually a score or two of persons standing behind the long lines of diners, ready to drop into a seat the instant it was vacated. The popular prejudice, usually expressed in such terms as ‘bran bread,’ ‘starvation diet,’ and similar epithets,

³⁹⁰ Ellen G. White, Letter to Brother and Sister Kress, January 18, 1904.

³⁹¹ Ellen G. White, Letter to a physician, St. Helena Sanitarium, August 12, 1896.

³⁹² E. White, Letter to John Harvey Kellogg, August 5, 1892.

³⁹³ Ibid.

‘melted away like mist before the rising sun;’ and words of commendation were in the mouth of everyone. The whole affair was a grand success.”³⁹⁴

As the leader of her community, White also had a realistic sense of the degree to which her followers would be able to maintain such austere dietary practices. She claimed that she could make her own diet “a criterion for no one else. There are things that I can not eat without suffering great distress. I try to learn that which is best for me, and then, saying nothing to any one, I partake of the things that I can eat, which often are simply two or three varieties that will not create a disturbance in the stomach.”³⁹⁵ Despite the fact that her dietary reforms were accepted by Adventists as divine visions for what to eat and why, White seems in this case to leave some agency to the individual to decide which foods agreed with them, and to make their own dietary choices accordingly.

This recognition of the benefits of varying diets for different individuals meant that the kitchen at Battle Creek catered to the Kelloggs’ specifications for more than thirty therapeutic diets.³⁹⁶ Though the Battle Creek Sanitarium closed in the 1930s, having suffered the impact of a depression-era decline in patients, and changing American “tastes in healthcare,” White’s dedication to health and education continue on in the form of more than 570 Adventist-affiliated health-care organizations, 100 colleges and universities, and 15 major food production companies world-wide.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁴ James White, “The Temperance Movement,” *The Review and Herald* 50, no. 2 (1877): 12.

³⁹⁵ Ellen G. White, Letter to Brother and Sister Kress, March 11, 1903.

³⁹⁶ M. Butler, et al., *The Battle Creek Idea*, 31.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 10 and General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, “Food Industries.”

<http://www.adventistdirectory.org/ViewAdmFieldSubEntities.aspx?&EntityType=F&AdmFieldID=GC> [accessed May 3, 2015]

3.4.3 Ties between Diet and Dress Reform

White placed a special significance on her inward, personal religious practice and ability to get closer to Christ through it, while also striving to maintain an outward appearance that would encourage her followers to do the same. A woman's outward appearance in her estimation, should be as simple and wholesome as the diet to which she encouraged her followers to adhere. White believed that the, "outside appearance is an index to the heart. When the exterior is hung with ribbons, collars, and needless things, it plainly shows that the love for all this is in the heart; unless such persons are cleansed from their corruption, they can never see God, for only the pure in heart will see Him."³⁹⁸

For the purposes of this project it is important to note that bodies in Adventism were thought of as "both objects of" and "agents in" social practice.³⁹⁹ In other words, when evaluating Victorian diet and dress, bodies can be thought of in terms of their ability to enact and perform gender and morality through the ways that they are used, dressed, and carried—all of which are deeply influenced by cultural and social norms. Although Ellen White upheld some of the gender norms of her day as wife and mother, she was a staunch advocate of dress reform for women, for reasons of physical health and well-being.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁸ Ellen G. White, "Wives of Ministers," in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. I, 4th Ed.* (Oakland, California: Pacific Press, 1948), 136.

³⁹⁹ R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity," in *Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics, 4th Ed.*, ed. Judith Lorber (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 222.

⁴⁰⁰ As the nineteenth century came to a close and the twentieth century progressed, depictions of the "new" woman were also centered on dress reform. Straighter, looser clothing and the elimination of corsets raised concerns about women who were "both female sexed and masculinely gendered" (Laura L. Behling, *The Masculine Woman in America, 1890-1935* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001, 3). Fears that women were becoming more "manly," suggested that men would, out of necessity or as result of gendered imbalances, become more womanly.

In Adventism, as in many Christian traditions, the body is not viewed as being entirely one's own. With regard to this understanding of the body, White reminded her followers that, "God has given you habitation to care for and preserve [your body] in the best condition for His service and glory. Your bodies are not your own...Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's."⁴⁰¹

Dress, like food, was also encouraged by White as a way for Adventist women to maintain their unique identity as a community. Despite earlier reservations about the "American Dress," White would later promote dress reform as a way for Adventists to set themselves apart from other Protestant Americans. She likened her followers to the Israelites of the Old Testament, who "as they looked upon their peculiarity of dress...were to remember that they were God's commandment-keeping people."⁴⁰² In a letter penned in 1861, White encouraged her followers to similarly "preserve the signs which distinguish[ed them] in dress, as well as in articles of faith."⁴⁰³ (Figure 12)

While an in-depth analysis of bodies in relation to gender is not in the scope of this project, a brief discussion of Victorian views about the female body in terms of diet and dress reform seems appropriate here. With regard to diet, health, and the body, Victorian doctors—the majority of whom were male—viewed female bodies as being "inherently pathological," arguing "that a

⁴⁰¹ E. White, *Reflecting Christ*, 150.

⁴⁰² Ellen G. White, "Reform in Dress," in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. I, 4th Ed* (Oakland, California: Pacific Press, 1948), 524.

⁴⁰³ Ellen G. White, Letter to Mary Loughborough, June 6, 1861.

disease-prone reproductive system governed women's physiology, resulting in inevitable frailty that dictated a severely restricted sphere of action."⁴⁰⁴

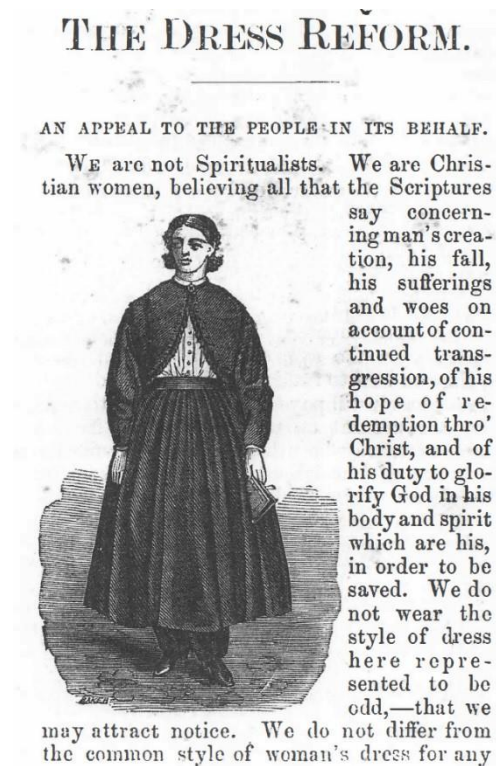


Figure 12. White wrote of Adventist women's reformed dress: "Our skirts are few and light, not taxing our strength with burden of many and longer ones. Our limbs being properly clothed, we need comparatively few skirts; and these are suspended from the shoulders. Our dresses are fitted to sit easily, obstructing neither the circulation of the blood, nor natural, free, and full respiration. Our skirts, being neither numerous, nor fashionably long, do not impede the means of locomotion, but leave us to move about with ease and activity. All these things are necessary to health." Pamphlet, *The Dress Reform*. Battle Creek, Michigan: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868. (EGW)

What White's writings and other literature from the period show is that women often embraced this "scientific" view of their bodies, while working to point to their strengths and the many tasks that they were able to accomplish in a given day despite their supposed weakness. Though many Victorian women embraced the fashions of their day, despite the restrictions which

⁴⁰⁴ Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 157 and 143-144. Movements, like White's push for vegetarianism, were similarly viewed by some to be female causes, "depict[ing] meat eating as a form of male violence" (Ibid., 153).

that clothing placed on their bodies, for some nineteenth-century women, clothing modification became a way to enact gendered performances of power. Women like Amelia Bloomer and Ellen White, felt that their dress, by its design, kept them “in their ‘place’ and restricted movement so as to render them incapable of venturing outside [of] their [gendered] sphere.”⁴⁰⁵

The harsh reality of nineteenth-century women’s clothing was one of cumbersome layers of skirts and dangerous corsets, which in the process of helping women to achieve the painfully thin fashionable waists of the period also caused organ deformities, difficult childbearing and labor, and even death. Despite these dangers, most women strove to keep up with the fashions of their day.⁴⁰⁶ This adherence to normative fashion was the product of “a matrix of social, economic, and technological factors,” and was used by women who eschewed dress reforms to maintain their status and feminine power in the home and in their communities. An observance of the latest fashions continued beyond the hoop skirts of the mid-nineteenth century through the Edwardian dress of the 1890s and 1900s, when slender Gibson girls became the fashion templates to which women aspired in dress (though that style was much less constrictive for women’s bodies).⁴⁰⁷

For White and her fellow dress reformers, even clothing choices could be linked to the dangers of poor diet—whether too gluttonous or too meager—especially in the case of women. White associated “austere attire with true Christianity,” much in the way that she believed that

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 152. As Barbara A. Schreier notes in her *Becoming American Women: Clothing and the Jewish Immigrant Experience, 1880-1920* (1994), immigrant women also used clothing, much as they used food, as a way to better assimilate into American culture.

⁴⁰⁶ T.J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994). This is not to say that every ladies’ magazine was fixated on fashion. For instance, Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of the *Godey’s Lady’s Book* (1830-1896) magazine for forty years, found women’s fashions to be nothing better than “the servile imitation of European extravagances” (Nicole Tonkovich, *Domesticity with a Difference: the Nonfiction of Catharine Beecher, Sarah J. Hale, Fanny Fern and Margaret Fuller* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997), 74).

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 72.

simplicity in diet could help one to prepare for the Second Coming of Christ.⁴⁰⁸ Her support of dress reform, like diet, was also considered to have been divinely inspired. The changes that she recommended were initially minor, calling for women to raise the hem of their dresses a few inches—helping garments to last longer while remaining modest.

White would later claim to have a vision of “‘short’ skirts and pantaloons, similar to the Bloomer costume,” despite her earlier admonition that “God's order ha[d] been reversed, and His special directions disregarded, by those who adopt the American costume. I was referred to Deuteronomy 22:5: ‘The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God.’”⁴⁰⁹ White became increasingly concerned with antebellum women's dress, vehemently arguing against hoop skirts, which she “was shown, were an abomination, and [that] every Sabbathkeeper's influence should be a rebuke to this ridiculous fashion, which has been a screen to iniquity.”⁴¹⁰ The prescription for shortened dresses and pants that White suggested for Adventist women's health would ultimately fail. She acknowledged the trepidation of many women to convert to such extreme clothing reforms, citing that in the end “The Lord ha[d] not moved upon any of our sisters to adopt the reform dress.”⁴¹¹

In the mid-nineteenth century femininity meant “nurturance, intuitive morality, domesticity, passivity, and affection.”⁴¹² As the century progressed and diet and health reforms

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 43.

⁴⁰⁹ Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, xiv and White, “Reform in Dress,” 457. Despite her call for radical dress reform, White believed that the changes in dress that she recommended for her female followers were still within the parameters of what was socially appropriate for feminine dress.

⁴¹⁰ Ellen G. White, “Perilous Times” in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. I, 4th Ed.* (Oakland, California: Pacific Press, 1948), 270.

⁴¹¹ Ellen G. White, *Manuscript Releases, Vol. 5.* (Silver Spring, Maryland: Ellen G. White Estate, 1990), 405.

⁴¹² Francis B. Cogan, *All-American Girl: the Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 30.

encouraged modifications in dress, images of the ideal woman changed. By the 1910s athletic women were favored in mainstream sources about fashion, which emphasized an active, corset-free lifestyle that in many ways reflected the work of reformers in the previous century. The “new woman” was also further distanced from the home, as likely to “read an uplifting book” or “climb a tree” as she would be to “cook a meal.”⁴¹³ Though it would take the better part of a century, from early health and dietary reforms to their mainstream fruition in the opening decades of the twentieth century, greater attention to health and well-being expanded women’s conversations about caring for their bodies and those of their families.

3.5 CONCLUSIONS

Adventist views about health and diet were significantly responsible for the tradition’s ability to bridge the gap between its unique religious beliefs and mainstream Protestant America. Adventists have historically been viewed “to be at odds with socially accepted values,” in that they are focused on an imminent end time, and are “inclined to [what is sometimes perceived to be] self-destructive behavior.”⁴¹⁴ However, the denomination has been “peculiarly successful in attempting to realize life-enhancing goals,” especially those that pertain to health and diet.⁴¹⁵

Unlike the Mormon or black churches in the nineteenth century, Adventists did not struggle to gain acceptance as religious insiders, but remained comfortably on the outside of the Protestant mainline. The Adventist ability to remain “outsiders” while growing and thriving as a church for

⁴¹³ Ibid., 60.

⁴¹⁴ Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 16.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

more than a century can only be a product of the American religious landscape, “where fluidity and change are much more the order of the day than stability and tradition.”⁴¹⁶

White’s movement was unique with regard to other reform movements of the period in that it emphasized health reforms as preparation of the body for the Second Coming of Christ. White’s success as the leader of a nineteenth-century religious sect hinged on her ability to work within the parameters for domesticity and motherhood of her day—parameters that are explored through the lens of mainline Methodist publications in Chapter 4. The tradition likewise found a lasting foothold in American religious life because of efforts from within the movement to preserve White’s visions and unique approach to Christianity, while also offering health and diet reforms that appealed to Adventists and non-Adventists at the popular Battle Creek Sanitarium for the better part of a century.

Modern Adventists continue to adhere to White’s premillennial prophetic tradition, upholding her revelations for health and wellness, particularly through dietary practices. As a tradition that remains outside of the mainline, Adventism continues to flourish, now globally, and the effects of its focus on diet and nutrition in America are as apparent as ever. When walking through almost any American grocery store, one finds that the efforts of White and her fellow Adventist and Methodist dietary reformers endure. From Welch’s grape juice, to Kellogg and Post brand cereals, to the popular Morningstar brand vegetarian meat products, modern-day food companies reflect an Adventist past.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁶ Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1992), 217.

⁴¹⁷ Charles Welch, a temperance advocate and Methodist communion steward, was “opposed to using alcoholic wine for the Lord’s Supper” in the 1860s, and worked to create an unfermented grape juice that would offer communicants a temperance-friendly communion drink (Sack, *Whitebread Protestants*, 28). Grape juice was presented as being, “pure, unstimulating, healthful, and wholesome,” allowing for the proper “development of moral character” (Jennifer L. Woodruff Tait, *The Poisoned Chalice: Eucharistic Grape Juice and Common-Sense Realism in Victorian Methodism* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011), 3). One also wonders how Kellogg and

The Adventist movement is one which exemplifies the ability of a “popular” religious tradition to thrive. While sects and cults often wane or are absorbed into already established traditions, “popular” movements maintain their separate identities as organized religious practices. The “lived” component of Adventist practice through White’s visions of health reform has been maintained by followers to the present day. One hundred and fifty years after White’s church was formally established (and on the eve of the centennial of White’s death), Adventists uphold the popular practices of their forebears, orienting their lived experience of religion to the revelations of a nineteenth-century prophetess of health and well-being.

Post would react to the sugary cereals being produced by the companies that bear their names today—companies that only recently have recommitted their brands to creating “whole grain” products for consumers.

4.0 FOOD AND “READING” METHODISM

By the 1870s, American mainline Protestants were “much more likely to define their faith in terms of family morals, civic responsibility, and...the social function of churchgoing,” than they were through dietary reforms.⁴¹⁸ By that time, the gender divide created by the industrial revolution was further emphasized by the “theology [of] the nineteenth century combin[ing] with the cult of domesticity.”⁴¹⁹ The result was a “feminization” of American culture, giving rise to increased feminine religious power. As women became more influential than ever in the home and in family life, their presence became more pronounced, allowing many Victorian women to gain power while employing their deep religious ideals.

Domestic literature was the genre most widely accessible to women writers, and it is this type of female writing for which we have the best examples of Victorian home life. From ladies’ magazines and cookbooks to manuals for childrearing and homemaking, women produced texts for other women to help one another navigate marriage and motherhood.⁴²⁰ The home, and the kitchen in particular, became channels through which women could enact their superior moral and domestic authority, exercising influence in an otherwise male-governed world. Moral eating took

⁴¹⁸ Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 7.

⁴¹⁹ Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 18.

⁴²⁰ Although I encountered nineteenth and early twentieth-century charitable cookbooks from other Christian denominations, Methodist sources were the most abundant. This is perhaps because of the rapid growth of Methodism on the East Coast and in the Midwest, where many of the cookbooks are archived in collections like the “Feeding America: the Historic Cookbook Project” at Michigan State University, the Janice Bluestein Longone collection at the University of Michigan (where many of the texts referenced in this study are housed), and the Peacock-Harper Culinary Collection at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. From the tens of dozens of books that I’ve encountered, Methodist cookbooks also contain the most ads and religious anecdotes beyond recipes for food preparation. It is for these reasons that I have chosen to examine Methodist cookbooks in this study.

on a new meaning, as the most physically and spiritually nourishing foods were not necessarily vegetarian or free of sugar, but those prepared in a Christian home where religious values pervaded all aspects of life.

While early Methodist women emphasized “active spirituality as the means and...way to practical holiness,” embracing a revised version of the dietary and health reforms of their day, as the English Methodist movement transitioned to a mainline American denomination, most Methodist health reforms were abandoned as embarrassing reminders of a sectarian past.⁴²¹ Where White’s tradition continued in the vein of Grahamism and early Wesleyan dietary reforms, by the 1830s Methodists were eating meat and sugar, serving tea in their homes, and were not nearly as health conscious as their forebears.

Methodist charitable church cookbooks in particular reveal that the foods that Methodist families were eating contained many previously avoided ingredients, as faith and an emphasis on Christian morality took the place of reformed diet and moral perfectionism. Contributions to the *Ladies’ Repository* (1841-1876) magazine similarly support a sense of evangelical Christian morality and domesticity, with a focus on serving (less delimited) healthful foods to one’s family as an extension of domestic spiritual work.

This work became for middle-class women that which they were able “to control, often when they controlled little else.”⁴²² It is for this reason that denominational ladies’ magazines, like the Methodist *Ladies’ Repository*, and church produced cookbooks from the period are so valuable to historians as primary texts. This chapter considers the ways in which they offer readers an intimate window into the daily lives and kitchens of Victorian Methodist women. By

⁴²¹ David Hempton. *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 57.

⁴²² Mary Drake McFeely, *Can She Bake a Cherry Pie? American Women and the Kitchen in the Twentieth Century* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 1.

subscribing to and purchasing such texts, women secured their place in an extended community of female authors and readership. To own and read the texts was to affirm one's identity as middle-class and Methodist. The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate the ways in which period "charities" and issues of the *Ladies' Repository* created a new American female readership, and can be read to identify and analyze the connections between nineteenth-century Methodist women, their food practices, and their domestic and religious lives.

4.1 RELIGIOUS PRINT IN AMERICA

The approach to the Christian Bible as merely one text among others was magnified in the nineteenth century, and theories abound as to when and why this change in perspective occurred. The declension of the Bible as the dominant text for Protestant readers began with the improvement of print technology and steam powered print production, which replaced the slower, more costly print methods of previous centuries.⁴²³ Better transportation also allowed for quicker, broader distributions of texts, and printing houses in cities like New York and Boston became central hubs for American print production.

What this meant was that an unprecedented number of men and women had access to religious literature, as more affordable books entered the American print market. This widespread distribution of texts made it possible for nineteenth-century visionaries like Ellen White and Joseph

⁴²³ Paul C. Gutjahr, *American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777-1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 13.

Smith to reach a larger number of potential believers through their writings, as religious tracts sought “to promote personal piety and devotion.”⁴²⁴

The Victorian American print market changed the way that books—including the Bible and domestic texts—were read in America. The same nineteenth-century market revolution that transformed domestic life and kitchens was also a catalyst for the expansion of the print market and the subsequent “reading revolution” that followed.⁴²⁵ Previous “intensive” approaches to reading, in which readers would continuously read and re-read the same texts, like the Bible, shifted to “extensive,” or “discontinuous” ways of reading.⁴²⁶ Discontinuous reading patterns became predominant in the nineteenth century, as the sale of novels, cookbooks, and different types of periodicals like ladies’ magazines rivaled scriptural books for American readership.⁴²⁷

4.1.1 Women as Readers and Writers

Nineteenth-century print materials reveal a number of things about reading consumers and the types of literature to which they had access.⁴²⁸ In early America, men’s literacy had been defined by the ability to read and write, and writing was viewed as an occupational skill that only men needed to have. It was not until the nineteenth-century rise in print production that women were

⁴²⁴ Mark P. Fackler and Charles H. Lippy, eds., *Popular Religious Magazines of the United States* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995), vii.

⁴²⁵ David Paul Nord, *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 6.

⁴²⁶ Matthew P. Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 14.

⁴²⁷ This is not to say that Victorian Americans stopped reading Christian scripture—quite the contrary. By the 1880s there were nearly 2,000 print versions of the Bible available to Americans, some illustrated and gilded for middle and upper-class families to display in their homes as heralds of their Protestant domesticity.

⁴²⁸ Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

viewed as a separate readership.⁴²⁹ Nineteenth-century American women were therefore looked upon as “new readers,” for whom female literature needed to be produced and marketed.⁴³⁰

Where “motherhood had been only one of a woman’s tasks” for the Puritans and authors of eighteenth-century texts for women, “nineteenth-century writers saw motherhood as the most important of a woman’s responsibilities.”⁴³¹ As the “nursery of both patriotism and piety,” the Protestant American home was the place where children learned about faith and society from their mothers.⁴³² As active contributors to, and consumers of print, Victorian women continued to use the Bible and catechism for religious instruction in the home, but were also offered magazines, novels, cookbooks, and psalm books published for their enjoyment and domestic edification.

Nineteenth-century images of reading women typically depicted middle- and upper-class female reading as a “leisure activity,” and along with it, a “formal education” was almost always implied.⁴³³ When thinking about women as readers of ladies’ magazines and domestic texts, this is not surprising, as female education—whether at home or in school—was often undertaken by young women who wished to prepare for their work in homes as wives and mothers.

As published writers, nineteenth and early twentieth-century women produced textbooks, novels, newspaper and magazine articles, poetry, plays, diaries, domestic texts, and religious tracts. Their published writing was typically related to domesticity, but at times raised questions about

⁴²⁹ The “Antinomian Controversy” of the 1630s is an early example of the role of American women in determining the “letter” vs. the “spirit” of the Bible in America—a role that was often contested.

⁴³⁰ Martyn Lyons, “New Readers in the Nineteenth Century: Women, Children, Workers,” in *A History of Reading in the West*, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003): 313-344.

⁴³¹ Barbara Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), 76.

⁴³² McDannell, *The Christian Home*, 164.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 10.

the role of women in the public world of publishing.⁴³⁴ While some women solved this problem by writing under pseudonyms, others, like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, were openly recognized (and criticized) for their work.⁴³⁵ Charitable cookbooks and denominational ladies' magazines, as primarily female authored texts, were viewed as being acceptable sources for female publication in that they were sympathetic to the challenges facing nineteenth-century women and upheld customary expectations for female morality and Christian practice.

From the perspective of Victorian evangelical Christians, the abundance of print materials available to female audiences by mid-century posed a threat to American morality. Novels in particular were looked upon as potentially corrupting influences that would distract women from their practical piety with fictional stories of romance and intrigue. Ellen White shared this sentiment, comparing novel reading to drinking alcohol—"the only safety for the inebriate is total abstinence."⁴³⁶ From Methodist and Adventist perspectives, the mind was thought to be "of the same character...upon which it [had] been fed. There [was] only one remedy; that was, to become conversant with the Scriptures," above all other texts.⁴³⁷ To ensure that this would happen, Protestant denominations provided women with periodicals and domestic texts meant to satiate women's desire to read, while preparing the female spirit to do its important religious work in the home.

⁴³⁴ See Mary Kelley, *Private Women, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

⁴³⁵ Kathi Kern, *Mrs. Stanton's Bible* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001). Stanton, incidentally, was condemned by evangelicals and suffragettes alike for her "Woman's Bible" because her assertions in it went so far beyond Gilded Age gender norms.

⁴³⁶ Ellen G. White, Letter to John Harvey Kellogg, December 30, 1886 (K-6-1886), 3.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

Publications like the Methodist *Ladies' Repository* thus “provided a countervailing moral force to the growth of secular” printed materials.⁴³⁸ By offering a “forum for maintaining social control,” religious publications reasserted communal religious values, reminding their readers of their chosen place on God’s “city upon a hill.”⁴³⁹ The emergence of Methodist women’s publications in the nineteenth century would ultimately help to reinforce the ways in which evangelical women viewed their roles and responsibilities, and to establish what can only be defined as a pious orthodoxy of Christian domesticity.

In conflating domesticity with religiosity, “the increasing privatization of religious experience” became more prevalent in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴⁰ This allowed for the spread and popularity of reading materials about domestic issues, and that could be read in that most intimate and sacred of spaces outside of church—the home. Although women’s activities as writers and speakers were not restricted to the middle class, white women from that segment of society were the primary authors of domestic texts and contributors to periodicals like ladies’ magazines because they had the education and leisure time to do so.⁴⁴¹ With the publication and circulation of home-making guides, cookbooks, and other types of “popular press,” the role of nineteenth-century authoress was one increasingly taken on by women who wanted to share their domestic expertise and religious opinions through the socially acceptable outlet of domestic religious print.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁸ Quentin J. Schultze, *Christianity and the Mass Media in America* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2003), 265.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., xv-xvi.

⁴⁴¹ One must also consider the rich body of black contributions to the American print market that came out of the nineteenth century. Black literary societies and activity in abolitionist presses are just two examples of the ways in which black communities counteracted the educational deficits forced upon early generations of American blacks in an attempt to suppress slaves.

⁴⁴² Alice Ross, “Health and Diet in 19th-century America: A Food Historian’s Point of View,” *Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (1993): 46.

While female literature was received well by other women, it was often regarded by men as being less serious and less relevant than literature written by other men. An 1855 letter from Nathaniel Hawthorne to his publisher illustrates this, in which the famous writer felt threatened by the publication successes of the “damned mob of scribbling women,” fearing that he “should have no chance of success while the public taste [wa]s occupied with their trash.”⁴⁴³

Hawthorne’s musings are understandable when considered against the wave of female publications at the time. Victorian Britain and America alone produced such writers as the Brontë sisters, Louisa May Alcott, Jane Austen, Emily Dickinson, Margaret Fuller, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, George Eliot, and the Beecher sisters. Victorian women’s writing was therefore also encouraged and applauded, and popular domestic texts like Lydia Maria Child’s (1802-1880) *The American Frugal Housewife* (1828) and Sarah Josepha Hale’s *The Good Housekeeper* (1839), may have encouraged homemakers to contribute their own short pieces of writing to ladies’ magazines and community cookbooks.

4.1.2 Domestic Texts as “Autobiographies”

American Protestant evangelicals were “leaders in both printing technology and the organization of national distribution networks” for printed materials in the nineteenth century.⁴⁴⁴ It wasn’t that evangelicals necessarily wanted to completely “revolt against modernization,” but rather to “steer the new industrial world in a millennial direction,” and “co-opt the rational use of technology for the goals of the kingdom of God.”⁴⁴⁵ These millennial motives informed nineteenth-century

⁴⁴³ John T. Frederick, “Hawthorne’s Scribbling Women,” *The New England Quarterly* 48 (1975): 231.

⁴⁴⁴ Schultze, *Christianity and the Mass Media*, 58.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 60.

evangelical thinking and became a driving force behind Christian printing, as religious presses worked to enrich lives and save souls with the texts they produced, hoping to create what Martin Marty has identified as a “righteous empire.”⁴⁴⁶

Print media like ladies’ magazines and charitable church cookbooks offered women extended communities in which to discuss their homes, faith, children, husbands, and current affairs with like-minded women, whether locally or across the country. Consequently, these print sources contain much more than articles and recipes, and offer otherwise unknown information about their writers as a community. As authors of these printed materials, women constructed a bridge between the private sphere to which they were so thoroughly connected by the mid-nineteenth century, and the public world.

Though details of the average Victorian American woman’s domestic life are rarely documented outside of diaries and letters, charitable cookbooks offer “a glimpse” into the lives of the people who wrote and owned them.⁴⁴⁷ In the vein of what historian Jacques Presser called “egodocuments,” one basic standard among the texts is that its female contributors were given a moment of social recognition among their peers, as their names were often connected with the

⁴⁴⁶ Martin E. Marty, *Righteous Empire: the Protestant Experience in America* (New York: Dial Press, 1970).

⁴⁴⁷ Janet Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women’s Lives through the Cookbooks they Wrote* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 120.

recipes that they shared.⁴⁴⁸ While the cookbooks are not autobiographical in the traditional sense of a life story, the authors are very much present in their advice, poetry, and recipes in the texts.⁴⁴⁹

Without further research beyond the magazines or cookbooks, little information can be gleaned about individual contributors. Rather, the compiled texts can be viewed as sources of communal identification, or as “communal autobiographies.”⁴⁵⁰ While this may sound like a contradiction in terms, this type of autobiography especially describes Victorian Methodist church cookbooks, which must be read as representations of collective voices rather than just individual ones.

In the case of earlier cookbooks, contributions tended to come primarily from women within the same congregation, while later books contain contributions by women from other places and faith backgrounds. This was chiefly thanks to the expansion of the United States Postal service through the use of steamships and rail transportation, all of which also bolstered the lines of communication necessary for western expansion. The inclusion of outsiders into an intimate undertaking like a church community cookbook broadened the sense of community, revealing a network of American Christian women that shared advice and encouragement about food, faith, and domestic life.

⁴⁴⁸ The format of the names of contributors varies from text to text, sometimes only including a woman’s initials. Others include a woman’s full name (e.g. Fannie Clark Wigginton), while some offer only married names (e.g. Mrs. Edwin S. Card) (Ladies’ Aid Society of the Capitol Heights Presbyterian Church, *Our Best Recipes: the Most Successful Dishes of Successful Housewives*. (Denver, Colorado: Publishers’ Press Room & Bindery Co., 1910), 33 and Ladies’ Aid Society of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, *The Table Queen Cook Book: A “Blue Book” of the Favorite Recipes of Pueblo’s Most Famous Cooks* (Pueblo, Colorado: Franklin Press, 1914), 28.) In my research I have only encountered two books with male contributions in them—both from ministers. See “Johnny Cake” by Bishop Williams in *Snap Shots at Cookery*, Ladies of the Church of the Ascension (Buffalo, NY, 1909), 154 and advice for how to make good coffee from “A Methodist Minister” in *The Prairie City Cook Book: A Collection of Five Hundred Tested Recipes for the Preparation of Daily and Occasional Dishes*, Ladies of Centenary M.E. Church (Terre Haute, Indiana: Moore & Langen, Printers and Book Binders, 1891), 122.

⁴⁴⁹ Center for the Study of Egodocuments and History, <http://www.egodocument.net/egodocument/> [accessed August 5, 2015]

⁴⁵⁰ Theophano, *Eat My Words*, 187.

As the range of women reading the books grew to include membership of women outside of local churches (and even denominations), these networks of women became less personal, and more in-line with what Benedict Anderson had identified as “imagined communities”—extended communities for which regular personal contact is not plausible, but for which common ideals create a sense of membership and rapport.⁴⁵¹ As a testament to this, nineteenth-century texts often included dedications like this one: “to all of the housewives ...throughout the land who are aiming at greater perfection in the art of cooking.”⁴⁵²

Collectively, female contributors helped to “define and memorialize a group of people and a way of life.”⁴⁵³ The historical information that can be taken away from Victorian American domestic texts is therefore a window into the *social* life of the women who worked to create them. This is especially true of ladies’ magazines and church community cookbooks, which are “emblematic of the social circles through which adult women traveled.”⁴⁵⁴ The information shared in these sources—like indications of ethnicity, social class, and denominational affiliation—are representative of the compilers’ collective identity that they wished to share with each other, and with those reading their texts from outside of their communities. In the case of charitable church cookbooks, even the titles of the texts offer information about the ladies’ society, town, or congregation.

While Christian autobiographies sometimes focus on isolated spiritual experiences, such as conversion stories, they can also work to tell a more general faith story. Nineteenth and early

⁴⁵¹Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).

⁴⁵² Ladies’ Aid Society of the Congregational Church, Howard City, Michigan, *Twentieth Century Cook Book: A Feast of Good Things: A Careful Compilation of Tried and Approved Recipes*. (Angola, Indiana: Lillian V. Wyrick 1913), 7.

⁴⁵³ Theophano, *Eat My Words*, 52.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

twentieth-century church community cookbooks serve a similar function, as the compilers, contributors, and even advertisers worked together to paint a broad picture of religious commitment and experience as members of shared faith communities.

Victorian era cookbooks were not only places for stories and self-reflection, but they became forums through which women could share their religious faith—collectively reaffirming what it meant to be middle-class, female, and Methodist at that time. Quotations, pictures, and religiously inspired advice take on deeper meaning when the cookbooks are treated as autobiographical texts, constructing a partial narrative about the compilers’ lives and religious values. However, as with any autobiographical text, one must recall that the story being told is subjective. One of the “shortcomings of these books as [autobiographical] ‘documents’” is “that they tell us largely what the writers themselves prescribed, not what most women may actually have done.”⁴⁵⁵ To read the texts with this in mind is to interpret and recreate what the *reader* understands as the story’s meaning, which may be quite different from what the authors were trying to convey.

4.2 THE LADIES’ REPOSITORY

For Methodist women in America, print media—and especially church-printed periodicals—became rhetorical public spaces in which women could participate in their communities, allowing “individuals excluded from [other] formal institutional histories” to be heard.⁴⁵⁶ While the

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 187.

⁴⁵⁶ Roxanne Mountford, *The Gendered Pulpit: Preaching in American Protestant Spaces* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003), 3.

Methodist Church's earlier periodical, the *Christian Advocate* (1826-1973) included a column called the "ladies department," the introduction of the *Ladies' Repository* offered everyday lay women a magazine that dealt solely with the challenges and joys of home life from a female perspective. This helped to "reinforce" the American "canon of women as dutiful wives, mothers, and household managers," as women found a sympathetic audience of peers.⁴⁵⁷

The *Ladies' Repository* was the brainchild of Samuel Williams, a Methodist layman who "believed that the church had an obligation to provide women with instructive and inspiring reading material."⁴⁵⁸ Though many secular periodicals, like *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830-1896), reflected the Protestant values that pervaded nineteenth-century American life, Williams intended for the *Ladies' Repository* to be "a magazine of 'pure literature'" that could "serve as a Christian alternative to the widely read *Godey's Lady's Book* and to the popular romantic fiction of the day."⁴⁵⁹

The *Ladies' Repository* board preferred and encouraged female contributions, though the magazine was edited by male Methodist preachers and bishops like Leonidas Lent Hamline (from 1841-1844) and Daniel Curry (1876). The image of Victorian Methodist women that was created in the magazine over the course of three decades thus represents how women viewed their domestic lives, and how male editors portrayed, and possibly influenced, those perceptions. Like many magazines of the day, the *Ladies' Repository* was intended for a specific audience of middle-class,

⁴⁵⁷ Lisa J. Shaver, *Beyond the Pulpit: Women's Rhetorical Roles in the Antebellum Religious Press* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), back cover.

⁴⁵⁸ Fackler and Lippy, *Popular Religious Magazines*, 284.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid. From a consumer perspective, periodicals also helped middle-class nineteenth-century women to "navigate the confusing...world" of household goods (Sarah A. Leavitt, *From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart: A Cultural History of Domestic Advice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 6).

white women, and sought “to promote the healthful cultivation of the female mind, and draw it from trifles into its appropriate sphere of privilege.”⁴⁶⁰

Because of its popularity and connection with the vibrant American Methodist tradition, the *Ladies' Repository* experienced a longevity that many periodicals, religious or otherwise, did not. In circulation for more than three decades, the magazine went through a number of changes in content and format over the tenure of its eight editors. Initially, the magazine was eclectic and included political and travel essays. But by the second decade of publication, this eclecticism had “g[iven] way to a somewhat narrower focus on religious topics and the responsibilities of wives and mothers.”⁴⁶¹ In its later years the magazine was marketed to families, with articles for men and children, and became increasingly less popular as a result. My focus in this study is on the middle years of the magazine’s publication—the 1850s and 1860s—when the *Ladies' Repository* best mirrors the religious and domestic lives of nineteenth-century Methodist women.

4.2.1 Ideal Motherhood

Changing nineteenth-century labor patterns created a dramatic shift in American homes, where the bonds between women and their children took the place of the patriarchy that had defined previous generations.⁴⁶² Evangelical Victorian American women were especially charged with cultivating their moral characters so as to serve as examples of Christian behavior for their children and husbands. “Entrusted with the future” of America, “women were supposed to be virginal and

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 284.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 285.

⁴⁶² Mary P. Ryan, *The Empire of the Mother: American Writing about Domesticity, 1830-1860* (New York: Haworth Press, 1982), 18.

innocent in their youth” until they matured into “pure and nurturing mothers.”⁴⁶³ Contributions to the *Ladies’ Repository* express this feminine responsibility, declaring that a “fond mother’s holy love” was a “sacred shrine on earth,” unmatched by any other.⁴⁶⁴ From essays about virtuous mothers, to elegies for mothers who “shall [be met] again in glorified bodies,” the magazine’s contributors and editorial staff supported the archetype of the virtuous Methodist woman.

Through the decades that the *Ladies’ Repository* was published, essays about famous wives and mothers were also included as models for motherhood. Women like Martha Washington and her Revolutionary Era contemporaries were especially depicted as patriots who supported their husbands by nurturing their families.⁴⁶⁵ John Wesley’s mother was also elevated as an illustration of what an evangelical, Victorian mother should be (though Susanna was neither evangelical, nor Victorian). It is noted that “Mr. Wesley loved his mother as man seldom loves,” for her superior maternalism.⁴⁶⁶ Indeed, it was suggested that all Methodist mothers could be as successful as Susanna in their uniquely gendered roles if they similarly “pointed [children] to the Christian’s God” and “told [them] of the Christian joys,” so that “clothed in the Christian’s armor,” they could “enter on [their] career[s] in life.”⁴⁶⁷

While Wesley’s mother served as a model of what a mother should be, his failed marriage appears in the magazine as an example of what would happen when a woman did not succeed in marriage and motherhood. A cautionary “morality tale,” young Methodist wives were warned against “admir[ing] the jealous, selfish wife of Wesley,” who placed herself “with her whims and

⁴⁶³ Harvey Green, *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 115.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ladies’ Repository*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January 1850), 17.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ladies’ Repository*, Vol. 10, No. 7 (July 1850), 235.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 229.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 240.

fancies, in the path of his usefulness, like a sharp thorn, till she compelled that patient man to forsake her.”⁴⁶⁸ Sacrifice, selflessness, and domestic competence were expected of wives, while inefficiency and self-centeredness were marks of a woman who could not fulfill the duties of her husband’s “kitchen cabinet.”⁴⁶⁹

To perform the obligations of wife and mother, Victorian Methodist women were encouraged to use “the Bible as their rule for life; cherish[ing] its truth as the well-spring of [their] well-being [and] exert[ing] themselves to the extent of [their] sphere and capacity to disseminate its principles and to promulgate its doctrines.”⁴⁷⁰ Marriage and motherhood were hard work filled with obstacles, especially for those who aspired to a feminine evangelical ideal, and scripture was offered to them as a balm in moments of fear and weariness.

Like scripture, the “mother’s charge [was] immortal,” in its potential to be a lasting influence on the lives and actions of her husband and children.⁴⁷¹ Women were warned that though it “may be called a prosaic task to be occupied day by day with arranging the household, with sewing and mending plain work, helping in the kitchen, and superintending washing,” care should be shown in the management of household affairs so that daughters would learn by example and not need to depend on their servants one day “by fault of [their] ignorance.”⁴⁷² This imparting of knowledge from generation to generation is echoed in Victorian Methodist cookbooks, as women well-practiced in the domestic arts share their experiences and advice with young wives and mothers.

⁴⁶⁸ Leavitt, *From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart*, 24 and *Ladies’ Repository*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (January 1851), 35.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ladies’ Repository*, Vol. 12, No. 8 (August 1852), 309.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ladies’ Repository*, Vol. 11, No. 10 (October 1851), 363.

⁴⁷¹ *Ladies’ Repository*, Vol. 13, No. 5 (May 1853), 222.

⁴⁷² *Ladies’ Repository*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 21.

Through a constant striving toward perfectionism, a Methodist mother's power came from her ability to rule over her home with an "influence which mailed warrior never could."⁴⁷³ Her gentle strength was supposed to be derived from "her graces" in such a way that "her power [would be] resistless...with modest merit, and dictated by conscious duty."⁴⁷⁴ For these nineteenth-century women, even mundane activities like housework could be used to strengthen one's chances for salvation. This connection is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in women's writing about domestic responsibilities, including food work.

4.2.2 Food and Pious Domesticity

"Since the early Victorian era periodical literature has served both to shape and reflect the consciousness of Americans on many subjects," including religion and domesticity.⁴⁷⁵ These period sources can offer us, as readers more than a century later, insights into the ways in which religious traditions like Methodism evolved over time, and how popular religion was expressed in evangelical Protestant homes. What the *Ladies' Repository* reveals is that the majority of Methodist women had a certain set of domestic values in mind, which they—as an extended community—worked to uphold and cultivate.

In the Victorian home there seemed to be no greater virtue for woman than piety—described by one magazine contributor as the "most essential characteristic of a true woman."⁴⁷⁶ Poems in the magazines abound with reminders of this vital quality, recalling the influence of mothers as examples for their children with verses like the following: "I may forget the blooming

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Fackler and Lippy, *Popular Religious Magazines*, vii.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ladies' Repository*, Vol. 13, No. 5, 196.

flowers/I culled in childhood's golden hours...But dear to memory still shall be/My hours of early piety."⁴⁷⁷ Victorian Christian women were thus encouraged to make their homes places for spiritual respite, so that "the house, having a domestic Spirit, should become the church of childhood, the table and hearth a holy rite."⁴⁷⁸

Though post-sectarian Methodists would retain an emphasis on spiritual perfection and purity, perspectives on health and diet had considerably shifted by the mid-nineteenth century. As the church grew in the 1840s and 1850s, "only a minority...advocated the practice of divine healing."⁴⁷⁹ Those who did were mostly aligned with the Holiness movement that branched off from mainline Methodism. For the majority, faith-cure practices had largely been abandoned as Wesley's early sect transformed into a mainline faith. Modern medical advances likewise relegated water-cure, exercise, and dietary reformations to the realm of the scientific and secular—practices that were popular, but not religious. This is not to say that Wesley's notions about the "holistic salvation" of body and spirit had completely disappeared.⁴⁸⁰ The Methodist "body-soul" connection was alive and well in the second half of the nineteenth century, but it was the approach to this connection that changed.⁴⁸¹

Food practices were to be centered in the home, a sanctuary where, "Mercy spreads like a heavenly feast/And smiles to us the bounteous board/There all the saints, the high the least/May taste the dropping of [Mother's] word."⁴⁸² As the *Ladies' Repository* demonstrates, food and

⁴⁷⁷ *Ladies' Repository*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 29.

⁴⁷⁸ Leavitt, *From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart*, 24.

⁴⁷⁹ Candy Gunther Brown, "Healing," in *The Cambridge Companion to Methodism*, ed. Jason E. Vickers. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 232.

⁴⁸⁰ Randy L. Maddox, "'Celebrating the Whole Wesley': A Legacy for Contemporary Wesleyans," *Methodist History* 43, no. 2 (2005): 75.

⁴⁸¹ Laura Bartels Felleman, "A Necessary Relationship: John Wesley and the Body-Soul Connection," in *"Inward and Outward Health": John Wesley's Holistic Concept of Medical Science, the Environment, and Holy Living*, ed. Deborah Madden (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2008): 140-168.

⁴⁸² *Ladies' Repository*, Vol. 10, No. 6 (June 1850), 196.

eating were still viewed by many Methodists as conduits for the cultivation of the spirit and moral character.⁴⁸³ In the nineteenth-century cult of motherhood, women's roles as cooks and keepers of the home were further elevated. Plain, simple meals were still considered to be best—for one's digestion and for frugal Christians. As such, women were advised to “be careful not to cook too much,” for “one course is enough, and one cooked dish is enough—for prince or peasant—at one meal.”⁴⁸⁴

Similarly, it was important to “take exercise” frequently...to be temperate in food and drink, to “bathe frequently,” and to “avoid stimulants” whenever possible.⁴⁸⁵ As it was mothers to whom “children habitually look[ed] for nourishment, attention, and help,” it was women's responsibility to put these ideals into practice to ensure the health of their families.⁴⁸⁶ Though the task of giving such care might seem great, mothers were “rest assured that a little proper attention” to what and how much they fed their families would “greatly promote the health, and as a necessary consequence, the comfort and happiness” of those “entrusted to their guidance and care.”⁴⁸⁷

As for women, Protestant American men's roles and responsibilities shifted during this period. The movement of men away from the home, and into the factory in the mid-nineteenth century had created an ever widening gap between the home and the outside world. As labor patterns shifted and more males entered the industrial labor force to work long hours outside of the home, they relinquished the time spent as patriarchs of their households (though not the

⁴⁸³ While this study does not explore negative food practices, Wesley's early movement also emphasized the importance of fasting as a part of religious experience, harkening back to the tradition's Anglican roots. Fasting, like early Methodist dietary restrictions, did not remain a significant component of “lived” Methodism after its transition from sect to church (R. Marie Griffith, *Born Again Bodies: Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 32).

⁴⁸⁴ *Ladies' Repository*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (January 1852), 36.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ladies' Repository*, Vol. 12, No. 5 (May 1852), 190.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ladies' Repository*, Vol. 12, No. 12 (December 1852), 473.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ladies' Repository*, Vol. 20, No. 7 (July 1860), 441.

position itself). As a result of these changes, Victorian males became increasingly distanced from home life, further necessitating women's authoritative domestic roles.⁴⁸⁸ Although there were women who joined the industrial workforce, the majority of middle-class Victorian women were charged with the responsibility of ensuring the smooth operation of their households and the spiritual and physical well-being of their families—including their husbands.

Though the average lay Victorian Methodist man was well aware of his perceived moral inferiority when compared to women, they were nonetheless expected to strive for religious piety and devotion. The onus for male purity, however, did not rest entirely upon men's shoulders. Male actions were also linked in all ways to the influences of the women in their lives—first their mothers, and later, their wives. The significance of the home as a moral sanctuary meant that “a husband's failures could be attributed to his wife's indifferent housekeeping.”⁴⁸⁹ Consequently, a woman's domestic shortcomings were viewed as having the power to directly contribute to a man's vices. Men coming home to a “‘disorderly house’ and ‘comfortless supper’” could be driven to the “grog-shop or the underground gambling room,” where they would go to seek solace from their unfit homes.⁴⁹⁰

Though Victorian Methodist men were—at least in theory—as accountable as women for their work toward personal salvation, a certain degree of biological determinism came into play, suggesting that men were spiritually, mentally, and physically less equipped for moral perfectionism. It was imperative, then, that the home be “a place for the inculcation of proper

⁴⁸⁸ McDannell, *The Christian Home*, 7.

⁴⁸⁹ Warren Belasco, *Food: the Key Concepts* (New York: Berg, 2008), 43. Men generally, and specifically unmarried men, were viewed as being so distanced from the home and religious life as to be described as having satanic attributes. These depictions appeared even in the popular press, as illustrated in a frontpiece of an issue of *The Godey's Lady's Book* in which a young man and woman sit alone together above a caption that reads, “Look out, Mamma! That man's a snake like the one Papa reads to us about in the Bible book” (*The Godey Lady's Book*, 125, no. 748 (1892)).

⁴⁹⁰ Green and Perry as cited by Belasco, *Ibid.*

middle-class values” for all members of the family.⁴⁹¹ As in the classic example of the character Marmee in Louisa May Alcott’s *Little Women* (1880), women as moral templates wielded a great deal of power over their families, simply through their actions and example. Should they “fall into bad eating habits,” their behavior could cause their children and husbands “to commit the same sin,” for “behind every gluttonous man...lay a food-bearing woman.”⁴⁹²

The “home of a temperate, industrious, honest man” was therefore supposed to be “his greatest joy.”⁴⁹³ Women were responsible for creating the right atmosphere for the cultivation of their husbands’ moral characters and happiness, with the understanding that men’s behavior would follow suit. The home that men came back to at the end of the day, “weary and worn,” was to be one “under mother’s proper care,” where his children’s voices would “cheer him” and a “plain...but healthful meal await him.”⁴⁹⁴ Finding an equilibrium of health and religiosity, of happiness and hard work, became the best way for Methodist women to fulfill their female, Christian duties, while helping their families to also work toward salvation.

Despite the fact that many middle-class Victorian homes had some domestic help, women were advised to take “dignity in [their] labor! Yes; did the Almighty himself work?”⁴⁹⁵ One testimony from a woman who admired “healthy” and “robust” Irish domestic workers suggests that physical work—from cooking to cleaning—was the best approach to well-being: “since that time I have occupied some portion of each day in active domestic labor, and not only are my friends congratulating me upon my improved appearance... in my whole being—mind, body, and

⁴⁹¹ Green, *The Light of the Home*, 59.

⁴⁹² Griffith, *Born Again Bodies*, 216.

⁴⁹³ *Ladies’ Repository*, Vol. 11, No. 9 (September 1851), 327.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ladies’ Repository*, Vol. 11, No. 11 (November 1851), 417.

spirit—do I experience a wondrous vigor, to which I have hitherto been a stranger.”⁴⁹⁶ This image of strength and health was one that would replace the “Victorian social myth” of frail, swooning women who needed to relegate physical work to servants in order to preserve their own femininity.⁴⁹⁷ Instead, women began to support one another’s efforts to not only have strong spirits, but robust bodies in order to best serve their families, communities, and God.

4.3 SHE’S NO GOOD IF SHE CAN’T MAKE PIE

Between 1864 and 1922 more than 3,000 charitable community cookbooks were published in America.⁴⁹⁸ An invention of the nineteenth century, “charities” became an “integral” part of the American publishing business after the Civil War, when ladies’ organizations sought to raise funds for the “victims of the war—orphans, widows, the wounded, veterans.”⁴⁹⁹ These early examples of the genre are highly useful representations of the period from which they come and the individuals who compiled them. While modern charitable cookbooks are produced from standardized templates and are relatively uniform in structure, the composition of the early texts

⁴⁹⁶ *Ladies’ Repository*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (March, 1860), 182.

⁴⁹⁷ Elizabeth Langland, “Nobody’s Angels: Domestic Ideology and Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Novel,” *PMLA* 107 (1992): 290.

⁴⁹⁸ Michigan State University, “Feeding America: the Historic American Cookbook Project.”

http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/books/book_68.cfm [accessed July 9, 2013]

While this study looks at charitable cookbooks written by women from Protestant denominations, similar texts were published by Jewish and Catholic women’s organizations. The Protestant cookbooks that I have encountered, however, yield a far greater amount of information about the religious views of the communities that compiled them than the sources from other faith traditions.

⁴⁹⁹ Janice Bluestein Longone, “‘Tried Receipts’: An Overview of America’s Charitable Cookbooks,” in *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, ed. Anne Bower (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997): 18 and Eleanor Brown, *Culinary Americana: Cookbooks Published in the Cities and Towns of the United States of America during the years from 1860 through 1960* (New York: Roving Press, 1961), vii. Many cookbooks written shortly after the Civil War include recipes for “General Grant” Cakes, and “Yankee” Baked Beans, reflecting northern sentiments. Despite the occasional inclusion of “foreign” recipes, the books are also decidedly American texts with recipes for “Liberty” bread and “Pocahontas” cake.

widely varies between communities. As a result, the earlier cookbooks contain far more detailed information about the daily lives, faith, and diets of contributing authors and their communities.

One of the biggest challenges that food studies scholars face today is that domestic work and texts are generally viewed as being commonplace, and therefore not worthy of careful scholarly exegesis. Only in recent years have scholars come to “accept that any number of texts, institutions and events can be ‘interpreted’ as histories.”⁵⁰⁰ Like other period writings related to the home, cookbooks have begun to be read as primary documents for historical information.

When reading nineteenth-century cookbooks, their wealth of period information is immediately apparent. The texts offer an insider’s view of religious, domestic, and social norms, foodways, diet, ethnicity and assimilation through the advice of seasoned homemakers and younger generations of aspiring moral matriarchs. This analysis of charitable cookbooks, or “charities,” considers the ways in which the texts are gendered and contain far more than instructions for meal preparation.⁵⁰¹

While there has been considerable scholarship produced about female domesticity and Protestant Christian life, there has been very little scholarly attention paid to the ways in which domestic texts and food can serve as bridges between the two. This may be attributable, in part, to the relative scarcity of the books. Few survive because of the wear of regular use, and many that do are still in private homes, continuing to be passed down through generations.

⁵⁰⁰ Anne Bower, ed., *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1997), 6.

⁵⁰¹ Longone, “Tried Receipts,” 18.

4.3.1 Paratexts and Cookbooks as Rhetoric

When reading the texts as historical documents, one finds extensive information beyond instructions for baking bread or concocting home remedies for colds and fevers. This additional information is *paratextual*, in that it consists of materials that intentionally (or unintentionally) frame and enhance the intended purpose of the book—in this case, recipe books. When analyzing the structure of any historical piece of writing, one often encounters some form of paratext. As sources that allow for deeper reading, paratexts especially serve as “thresholds” of information between the reader and the main body of the text, performing a liminalizing function in that they create a space in which the reader is exposed to new layers of meaning and interpretation not otherwise apparent in the main body of the work.⁵⁰² In Victorian Methodist church cookbooks these paratexts include artwork and advertisements, “life” and religious recipes, preface materials, religious poems, marginalia, and even stains on the books, which are specific to the individuals and communities who wrote and used them.

For their intended audiences, paratexts in the cookbooks—like short poems and reflections on motherhood—helped to reaffirm one’s place in a community of fellow readers. Reading the texts in hindsight, as outsiders to those communities, paratexts can also be useful in providing insights into geographic foodways at specific points in time. The inclusion of certain ingredients—salt water vs. fresh water fish, certain vegetation, or meat—not only reveals which foods may have been available in a certain place, but how often someone might have had access to those foods. The presence of recipes that required expensive ingredients or non-local ones can also tell a story of class, wealth, and migration. As rhetorical sources, however, “charities” must be read knowing

⁵⁰² Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), i.

that the accounts they offer are biased by the intentions of contributors—intentions about which we, as twenty-first-century readers, can only speculate.

Where the historical accuracy of the narratives becomes particularly hazy is with regard to whether or not the contributors to the texts were even offering accurate representations of their typical lives and diets to one another. Charitable church cookbooks demonstrate that the women who compiled such sources were given license to “construct a socially sanctioned world that was theirs to value, dissect, and embellish.”⁵⁰³ While the books provide details about compilers’ lives and values, they are also idealized creations of what women wanted to project about their diet and homes to each other and the outside world. Much like today’s blogs, community cookbooks can be read as intentional life narratives. Though the texts become “record[s] of life,” they are unlike Victorian women’s diaries in that “charities” were produced for a public audience—something that may have changed the ways in which women told their stories.⁵⁰⁴

As nineteenth-century print sources, charitable cookbooks and ladies’ magazines also elicited both “utopian [and] dystopian American rhetoric[s].”⁵⁰⁵ As “dystopian” rhetorics, the publications reflect the “moralistic imagination” of the Methodist women who strove to make their homes sanctuaries for Christian values and behavior in what was perceived to be a corrupting outside world.⁵⁰⁶ As “utopian” rhetorics, women’s contributions are decidedly aligned with the Victorian evangelical understanding that moral perfectionism was possible through the actions and example of women. To contribute to, and to read these texts was to establish membership in a community of fellow middle-class Methodist wives and mothers, while at the same time

⁵⁰³ Theophano, *Eat My Words*, 156.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁵⁰⁵ Schultze, *Christianity and the Mass Media*, 2.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

communally affirming what it meant to be a wife and mother in that demographic. Though seemingly disparate, “utopian” and “dystopian” evangelical rhetorics came to form the Christian “metanarrative” that we now associate with nineteenth-century America—a narrative that was both shaped and informed by Christian women’s domestic publications.⁵⁰⁷

4.3.2 Readership

Charitable community cookbooks are inherently generational. As “work-in-progress,” “charities” were continuously “added to, altered, and transformed to suit the idiosyncratic needs” of the women who bought and shared them.⁵⁰⁸ With worn corners and stained pages, most “charities” have handwritten notes in their margins and “memorandum” sections, providing tangible evidence of the food choices and recipe memories of the women who owned them.

As “texts poised between generations,” many of the books contain prefaces with dedications “to housekeepers old and young, experienced and inexperienced.”⁵⁰⁹ To ensure that potential readers would view the texts as “tried and true” sources for domestic guidance, many of the books remind their audiences that the contributors to their sources are trusted friends—as good and true as the recipes themselves.⁵¹⁰ Through such assertions of intimacy and legitimacy, the texts are marketed as useful and worthwhile to their potential readers. The resulting books are therefore the “combined effort” of generations of women, strangers and friends, who came to form “social, cultural, and economic” relationships with one another over time.⁵¹¹ As compilations of

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 25.

⁵⁰⁸ Theophano, *Eat My Words*, 187.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid. and Ladies’ Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *The Jubilee Cook Book: A Collection of Tested Recipes* (Ann Arbor: The Courier Steam Printing House, 1887), 18.

⁵¹⁰ McFeely, *Can She Bake a Cherry Pie?*, 2.

⁵¹¹ Theophano, *Eat My Words*, 12.

advice from a wide circle of trusted sources, the texts were considered by their compilers to be collections of the *best* recipes.

With a glut of secular domestic texts on the market by the last two decades of the nineteenth century, women especially valued one another's real-life experiences and advice against that of the unknown. One cookbook preface demonstrates this sentiment: "We are never at a loss, in the present day, to find formulas and directions for the preparation of foods. The daily papers, magazines, almanacs, and even the patent medicine books thrown at our doors are full of them. But it is the experienced housekeeper alone who is able to select from among so many, only those [that are] worthy."⁵¹² Those with domestic knowledge and expertise gained a degree of social power in their communities, and were respected for their skills, which they willingly shared with one another in texts like charitable church cookbooks.

The intended readership for the majority of "charities" is not immediately apparent when reading the texts as recipe books. However, references to the poetry of Walt Whitman and advertisements like that for "lighter, whiter, finer, [and] better" cake flour suggest that the books and their advertisements were geared toward an audience of educated, middle-class, Gilded Age women who could afford to muse over recipes for teas and luncheons. Highly processed (and expensive) white flour and sugar appear in many recipes, as further indications of the "whiteness" of the middle-class audience buying the cookbooks.⁵¹³

⁵¹² *The Prairie City Cook Book*, 2.

⁵¹³ Ladies' Aid Society, *The Old Mission Congregational Church Cook Book*. (Traverse City, Michigan: Ebner Bros, 1922), 97. While the majority of cookbook sources included in this study are Methodist, I have referenced a few cookbooks from other denominations because of their shared sense of mainline Christian morality. The *Ladies' Repository* reveals that Methodist women felt a kinship with other Christian women, averring that, "much has been written about the holy and elevating influence of woman; but it should be remembered that these epithets apply appropriately only to the influence of *Christian* women. Can a stream be pure, if the fountain from which it flows be not so? Or can light radiate from an unilluminated body? No more can a woman exert a holy and redeeming influence, if her heart be not purified by communion with that which is holy and good"—with that which was Christian (*Ladies' Repository Vol. 20, No. 7*, 431)). As Methodist approaches to food and diet became less sectarian

4.3.3 Artwork and Advertisements

Although the advent of color photography has made enticing photos of food a marketing tool for modern cookbooks, Victorian charitable cookbooks contain few images, if any at all. This is in part because the cost of including images, photographs or otherwise, far exceeded that of printing text alone. Because “charities” were produced with the intention of raising funds to aid the congregation or local community, curbing printing expenses would have allowed for a higher profit margin. Some cookbooks recognize the significance of these contributions with statements like this one: “We would also like to acknowledge the help from the many business men and firms who have purchased advertising space herein.”⁵¹⁴

Despite sparse illustrations, the limited artwork in Victorian Methodist cookbooks nonetheless has a story to tell. While “charity” cookbook covers periodically included an illustration of some kind, these are very rare, and most texts are plain, with dark-colored covers adorned by simple lettering and occasionally a small ornamentation like a flower. Modest, and with little detail, these covers are at times not distinguishable from novel covers of the same period.

In a time in which middle-class families had the means for and access to an abundance of industrialized domestic products, women became “consumers of images as well as goods.”⁵¹⁵ Most of the images that one encounters inside of the cookbooks are in the context of advertisements. Cookbooks from the early nineteenth century tend to contain fewer ads, while later books sometimes include many. These ads are particularly valuable as sources for additional

in the mid-nineteenth century, cookbooks from other mainline denominations are sometimes equally useful in trying to understand what it meant to be a mainline Protestant in Victorian America.

⁵¹⁴ Women of Grace Church, Ishpeming, Michigan, *Superior Cook Book* (Ishpeming, Michigan: The Peninsular Record Publishing Co., Ltd., 1905), 8.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

historical information, reflecting the values and interests of their intended audience through images and text.

Because the majority of “charities” were being published for fundraising purposes, it only made sense for the ladies compiling the texts to ask for local businesses to contribute to the production cost of their volumes in exchange for advertisement space. Donations from advertisers would have offset printing costs, so that more of the funds raised by the sale of the cookbooks could go to the worthy causes that the compilers supported. At first glance these ads may seem insignificant, but on closer inspection they are often the most valuable sources for period information in the books. Advertisements in Victorian “charities” typically fall into one of three categories, reiterating Methodist sentiments about gendered ideals, religious ideals, and dietary ideals.

4.3.3.1 Gendered Ideals

In the first instance, advertisements remind readers that women’s appearances were outward expressions of their inward moral characters. As Ellen White and Catharine Beecher were apt to warn, a woman should take care of her appearance, but not “go to the extremes.”⁵¹⁶ Rather than striving to be fashionable, Methodist and Adventist women were encouraged to take a more holistic approach, making sure that their tidy, pure spirits were reflected in their external appearances.

⁵¹⁶ Catharine Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy: for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1845), 154.

This is depicted in an advertisement from the *Tried and Approved Recipes* cookbook by the Epworth League of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Barnesville, Ohio (1907).⁵¹⁷ (Figure 13) In this image one finds the idealized Victorian female: hair tidy and swept up, clothing neat and feminine, accessorized by a cross around her neck as an outward symbol of her Christian faith. This image serves as evidence of the Victorian woman's responsibility to let her moral, becoming inner self serve as an example for others.



Figure 13. Charitable church cookbooks were marketed to their readership with illustrations of a well-kept, stylish, Christian woman. Epworth League of the First M. E. Church of Barnesville, Ohio, *Tried and Approved Recipes*. Cincinnati: Monfort & Co., 1907. (VT)

While nineteenth-century “charities” presented an idealized Victorian female in their advertisements—images that sparked the dress reforms of Ellen White and Amelia Bloomer—this was also a social expectation created by male business owners. One can argue then that the female ideal presented in these advertisements was therefore, at least in part, constructed by men and upheld by women. This is an important reminder that women’s publications, despite female

⁵¹⁷ Epworth League of the First M. E. Church of Barnesville, Ohio, *Tried and Approved Recipes* (Cincinnati: Monfort & Co., 1907), 2. The Epworth league was founded in 1889 so that Methodist “young people [could have] an organization of their own in which to express their concerns” (Frederick A. Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974), 365).

authorship and readership, were not entirely their own. Prescribed templates and male editors and publishers were often a part of the process of publication, and undoubtedly had their influence on the content of the final versions of printed materials.

Gendered ideals are also present in advertisements and recipes that emphasize women's important work in the kitchen. One such preface to a section of pie recipes reads: "She may dress in silks, she may dress in satin/She may know the languages—Greek and Latin/May know fine art, may love and sigh/But she's no good if she can't make pie."⁵¹⁸ Poor cooking—as a flaw of feminine character and a threat to the peace and health of one's household—was to be avoided at all costs.

By the turn of the twentieth century, advances in technology also began to ease the burden of housework. This eventually led to a decreased need for additional hired domestic help, putting many ladies of the house back into their kitchens at least some of the time.⁵¹⁹ Advertisements for kitchen goods highlight this shift, promising to aid women in their culinary endeavors, should their cooking skills be lacking. One such ad for gas stoves reminded women that their power came from their importance in the kitchen, suggesting that the "modern woman['s]...most important right...to cook," was impossible without "the proper range."⁵²⁰ Other ads echo this sentiment, suggesting that a woman's culinary ability was dependent on her training, ability, and the proper kitchen equipment.⁵²¹ (*Figure 14*) If all else failed, convenient pre-packaged foods like Jello (1897) offered "modern" housewives a quick dessert that required no cooking.⁵²² (*Figure 15*)

⁵¹⁸ The Bertha McCready Flower Mission of the First Methodist Church, *The Blossom Cook Book: Good Things to Eat and How to Prepare Them* (Connersville, Indiana: The Mission, 1925(?)), 129.

⁵¹⁹ McFeely, *Can She Bake a Cherry Pie?*, 2.

⁵²⁰ Ladies' Aid Society of the Central Methodist Church, *Souvenir Cook Book* (Tacoma, Washington: National Print Co., 1910), 4.

⁵²¹ *The Table Queen*, 108.

⁵²² Ladies' Aid Society of the M.E. Church, Farwell, Pennsylvania, *The Pride of the Kitchen* (Williamsport, Pennsylvania: Scholl Lithographing Co., 1912), 57.



Figure 14. With the advent of new cooking technologies, having the right kitchen equipment became more important than previous generations' emphases on one's ability, or skills in the kitchen. Ladies' Aid Society of the First Methodist Episcopal Church. *The Table Queen Cook Book*. Pueblo, Colorado: Franklin Press, 1914. (JBL)



Figure 15. Convenience foods like Jello were marketed to women who wanted quick, easy foods to prepare. Ladies' Aid Society of the M.E. Church, Farwell, Pennsylvania. *The Pride of the Kitchen*. Williamsport, Pennsylvania: Scholl Lithographing Co., 1912. (JBL)

4.3.3.2 Religious Ideals

There has been considerable effort by historians who study this period to refute stereotypes about the social and religious expectations placed on Victorian women. However, when reading Victorian “charities,” generalizations about white, Protestant female life and behavior are upheld by the very populations that historians have tried to defend. The texts also reveal that female stereotypes and feminist interpretations of Victorian femininity do not need to be mutually exclusive when defining Victorian women’s lives.

In other words, Methodist Victorian women were not always the mythically depicted, slight pale women whose “obligation” it was to “uphold the pillars of the temple with [their] frail white hand[s].”⁵²³ Neither was there a definitive Victorian counter-ideal for what constituted a real women.⁵²⁴ Instead, middle-class communities of Methodist women tell a story in their domestic texts in which these disparate ideals for Christian womanhood were very much intertwined. Charitable church cookbooks reveal that in both instances such attributes were just that—*ideals*.

When reading advertisements in Victorian charitable church cookbooks, one also finds a unique perspective on Methodist spirituality. In these examples, qualities which would usually signify moral character are assigned to commodity goods in an effort to market to a moral, Christian, female audience. Advertisements like the one in Figure 16 for baker’s yeast emphasized strength and purity—attributes important to women who were encouraged to embrace their faith as “Christ’s wholesome, practical, yet blessedly spiritual religion of the soul”.⁵²⁵ (*Figure 16*) The

⁵²³ Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860,” *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1966), 152.

⁵²⁴ Frances B. Cogan, *All-American Girl: the Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 4.

⁵²⁵ Francis Willard, “Woman and Temperance; or, the Work and Workers of the Womans Christian Temperance Union, 1883,” in *The Methodist Experience in America, A Sourcebook, Vol. II*, eds. Russell E. Richey, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000), 413 and Ladies of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *Echoes from Many Kitchens, Methodist Cook Book* (Greenville, Illinois: The Church, 1912), 116.

implication of such advertisements is that if one cooks with and ingests such products they will in turn embody the same characteristics. Advertisements like this one may also have had the secondary effect of appealing to a woman's desires to meet the normative gendered expectations of middle-class Victorian Protestant society if she wasn't already striving to maintain them.

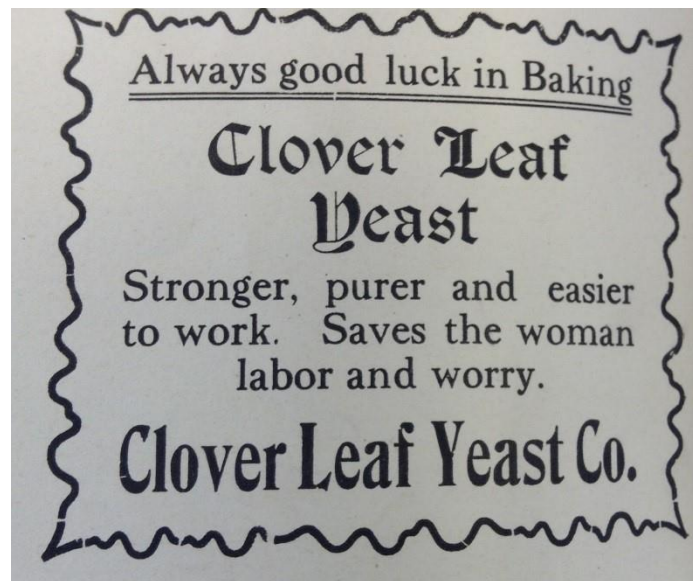


Figure 16. Advertisements used language like “pure” and “strong” to appeal to the sensibilities of Christian women, while also promising to alleviate some of the burdens of cooking, like failed recipes. *Ladies of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Echoes from Many Kitchens, Methodist Cook Book.* Greenville, Illinois: The Church, 1912. (JBL)

4.3.3.3 Dietary Ideals

The domestic and religious information shared among women in “charities” was to be applied, “to the table, to church worship, and to church observances,” so that all aspects of female moral cultivation were deeply connected to women’s work with food.⁵²⁶ This acknowledgement of the

⁵²⁶ Methodist Episcopal Church Society, *The Ladies' Handbook and Household Assistant: A Manual of Religious and Table Etiquette; a Selection of Choice Recipes for Plain and Fancy Cooking and a Compend of Rules, Tables, and Suggestions of Infinite Value in Every Household* (Claremont, New Hampshire: Co-Operative Publishing Co., 1886), 3.

important connection between women's Methodist faith and culinary work is also mirrored by the advertisements in Victorian "charities."

Although meat, coffee, and tea appeared on the menu for church socials, pure, plain foods were still considered to be best for digestion and well-being.⁵²⁷ For late Victorian Americans, "pure" foods were those that had been prepared with an eye toward scientific understandings about food sanitation and safety, rather than spiritual perfection as they had been for early Wesleyans, and continued to be for Adventists. It is possible that patrons seeking out "pure" foods could have had some familiarity with Graham's teachings earlier in the century, or had perhaps even visited White's Sanitarium. Ads like this one promoting "pure foods" suggest that purity applied to foods "NOT dried with chemicals," and made with whole grains to ensure that "they have NOT been processed to improve their looks at expense of their food value."⁵²⁸ (*Figure 17*)

Advertisements in "charities" merge this more secular understanding of pure diet with religious language to create a hybridization of food and religion echoing Wesley's earlier teachings. This ad for a grocer, appearing in a Methodist cookbook from Indiana, exemplifies the use of advertising to market goods to a Christian audience. (*Figure 18*) Patrons are enticed by a "gospel" of "pure foods" and the promise of a local grocer who understands that good customer service should depend on "the golden rule."⁵²⁹ The language of the ad is also geared toward a demographic of middle-class shoppers who would appreciate the store's efforts to be "first class"

⁵²⁷ Inasmuch Circle King's Daughters of the Congregational Church, Wakefield, Massachusetts, *Look before You Cook* (Malden, MA: Geo. E. Dunbar, 1909), 78.

⁵²⁸ Mothers' Guild of St. John Episcopal Church, *The Household Digest and Directory* (Waterbury, Connecticut: Mothers' Guild, St. John Episcopal Church, 1925(?)), 56.

⁵²⁹ *The Blossom Cook Book*, 36.

and “up-to-date.”⁵³⁰ If all else fails, patrons are promised that the items sold by the store will at least be “good...to eat.”⁵³¹

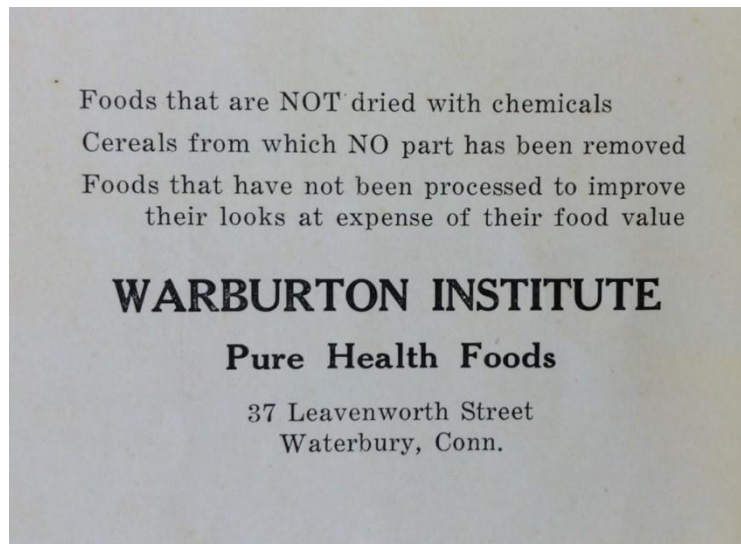


Figure 17. Ads like this one present an alternative view of “pure” foods, compared with the use of the term “purity” to describe nutritiously empty products like white flour and sugar at the time. Inasmuch Circle King’s Daughters of the Congregational Church, Wakefield, Massachusetts. *Look before You Cook*. Malden, MA: Geo. E. Dunbar, 1909. (JBL)

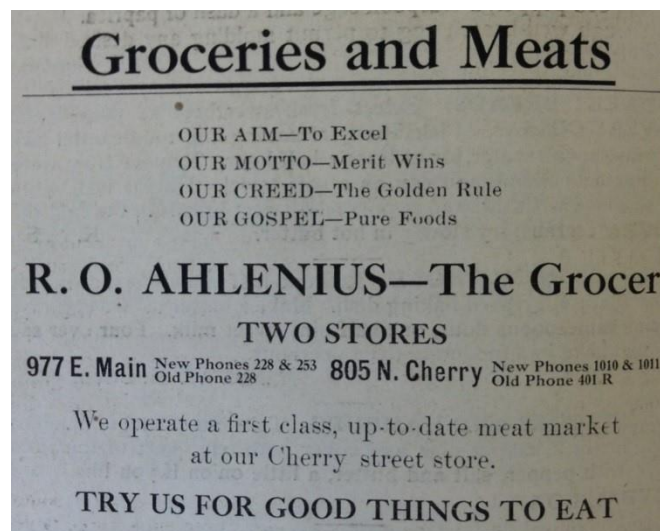


Figure 18. This ad from the same cookbook uses religious language like “creed,” “gospel,” and “the golden rule,” to advertise to a Christian audience of potential customers. (JBL)

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Ibid.

One also finds that Methodist cookbooks contain recipes harkening back to earlier dietary reforms, which show the lasting effects of Graham's movement and the widespread popularity of the Battle Creek Sanitarium. For instance, in *The Reliable Cook Book* self-published by a Methodist Ladies' aid society in 1916, recipes for "Cornflake kisses" and "Graham cookies" are listed back-to-back.⁵³² Although late nineteenth and early twentieth-century American health consciousness was mostly non-denominational, the presence of such recipes is significant in that they represent a continuum of dietary consciousness.

4.3.4 Life Recipes

During the Victorian era domestic work became "both an *extension* of a woman's role in nurturing her family and a *vehicle* for it."⁵³³ Despite the many comforts that an increasingly secure middle-class existence afforded many women, everyday life was beset by many challenges. Among these hurdles, Methodist women cited the burden of running an efficient household. Although the ideal for Victorian motherhood was one of infinite patience, frugality, selfless labor, and moral perfection, the reality of women's lives was decidedly not so ideal.

As evangelical wives and mothers, women were charged with their family's well-being, morality, and salvation. With infant and childhood mortality rates still relatively high, fears about disease were likely unending, as mothers were typically charged with the care of family members in times of sickness.⁵³⁴ Through what I have come to call "life recipes," local and extended

⁵³² Ladies' Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *The Reliable Cook Book* (Naugatuck, Connecticut: Ladies' Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1916), 35.

⁵³³ Green, *The Light of the Home*, 59.

⁵³⁴ Most "charities" include sections of recipes for homemade medicines to treat everything from colds to typhoid. "Sick room" diets were usually prescribed to be "liquid, soft, and regular" (Ladies of the South Side Presbyterian Church, *A Book of Practical Recipes* (Pittsburg, Pennsylvania: Meyers-Standfast Co., 1907), 186).

communities of women showed support and empathy for one another in the face of the similar domestic and religious trials that they encountered. These “recipes” are most often interspersed with recipes for food, sharing their traditional recipe format (though they are not usually attributed to specific authors like most food recipes are).

Life recipes such as “An Old Fashioned Recipe for Home Comfort” exemplify this collective effort toward mutual understanding. The recipe reads:

Take of thought of self one part,
two parts of thought for family,
equal parts of common sense and broad intelligence;
a large part of the sense of the fitness of things,
a heaping measure of living above what your neighbors think of you,
twice the quantity of keeping within your income,
a sprinkling of what tends to refinement and beauty,
stirred thick with Christian principle of the true brand and set to rise.”⁵³⁵

This recipe reminds women of the selflessness, wisdom, and cultivation of personal character required of them so that they could best serve their families as good, Christian women.

There are also life recipes that contain advice for marital equilibrium, childrearing, and home care. A popular one included in several texts from the period is a list of instructions for how one can “preserve a husband.” (*Figure 19*) Among the components in this recipe, one finds advice on how to select the best ingredients, “not...too young, and take only such varieties as have been reared in a good, moral atmosphere.”⁵³⁶ It is suggested that an unsatisfied wife need only to “garnish” her husband “with patience, well sweetened with smiles,” to “wrap [him] well in a mantle of charity, and to keep [him] warm with a steady fire of domestic devotion.”⁵³⁷

⁵³⁵ *Echoes from Many Kitchens*, frontpiece.

⁵³⁶ *The Prairie City Cook Book*, 73.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*

“HOW TO PRESERVE A HUSBAND.”

“Be careful in your selection. Do not choose too young, and take only such varieties as have been reared in a good moral atmosphere. When once decided upon and selected, let that part remain forever settled, and give your entire thought to preparation for domestic use. Some insist on keeping them in a pickle while others are constantly getting them into hot water. Even poor varieties may be made sweet, tender and good by garnishing them with patience, well sweetened with smiles and flavored with kisses. Then wrap well in a mantle of charity, keep warm with a steady fire of domestic devotion and serve with peaches and cream. When thus prepared they will keep for years.”

Figure 19. “Life recipes” in “charities” took the form of traditional food recipes, offering women instructions for how to improve their marriages, homes, and lives. Ladies of the Centenary M.E. Church. *The Prairie City Cook Book: A Collection of Five Hundred Tested Recipes for the Preparation of Daily and Occasional Dishes*. Terre Haute, Indiana: Moore & Langen, Printers and Book Binders, 1891. (JBL).

Similarly, one finds “recipes” for things like “Marriage Cake” and “A Happy Day.” These recipes include Victorian Christian values like faithfulness, patience, industry, purity, cheerfulness, happiness and common sense. “A Recipe for a Happy Day” reflects these values, instructing women to: “Take a little dash of water cold/And a little leaven of prayer,” to which should be added “A thought for kith and kin/And then as your prime ingredient/A plenty of work thrown in.”⁵³⁸ Love and a “little whiff of play” are the final ingredients of the “recipe,” which ends with a reminder to “Let a wise old book and a glance above/Complete the well-made day.”⁵³⁹

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 125.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

4.3.5 Religious Recipes

While such “recipes” are amusing and clever, women also used them to share practical advice with one another. All of these moral “recipes” emphasized that women could overcome the domestic challenges that they faced through a process of self-cultivation. As paratexts, they also serve as reminders of the social pressures on Victorian Christian women to serve their families as “icons of divine love and constraint,” so that husbands, children, and even their communities would follow by example.⁵⁴⁰ While Victorian wives and mothers are sometimes presumed to have embodied this status as passive, “‘natural’ symbol[s] of religion and domesticity,” the life and religious recipes in charitable church cookbooks tell an alternate story of constant female striving to reach those ideals.⁵⁴¹

Religiously inspired recipes in the cookbooks echo women’s desire for moral perfectionism, with some even being presented in scripture-like formats. One of the most popular from this period, which has persisted in some church community cookbooks to this day, is that for “Bible” or “Scripture” cake—a recipe for food, and a Bible lesson in one. The recipe typically takes one of two forms. In the first, all parts of the recipe are written out for the baker: “one cupful of butter...Judges 5:25, 3 ½ cups of flour...I Kings 4:22, and so on.”⁵⁴² (*Figure 20*) In the second instance, the woman baking is expected to be more familiar with the Bible, and is simply instructed to use 1 cup of Judges 5:25, 3 ½ cups of I Kings 4:22, and so forth.⁵⁴³ (*Figure 21*) In both versions of the recipe, the purpose of the format is twofold: to prepare a cake while also using one’s time

⁵⁴⁰ A. Gregory Schneider, *The Way of the Cross Leads Home: the Domestication of American Methodism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 178.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁵⁴² *The Table Queen*, 28.

⁵⁴³ *A Book of Practical Recipes*, 112.

in the kitchen to engage in scriptural study. In a denominational culture in which the Bible was central to one's Christian practice and religious understanding, this recipe for "Scripture" cake was both clever and practical, giving women the opportunity to cultivate and utilize their stores of religious knowledge.

SCRIPTURE CAKE	
Mrs. Edwin S. Card	
1 cup butter.....	Judges, 5:25
3 ½ cups flour.....	1 Kings, 4:22
2 cups sugar.....	Jeremiah, 6:20
2 cups raisins.....	1 Samuel, 30:12
2 cups figs.....	1 Samuel, 30:12
1 cup water.....	Genesis, 24:17
1 cup almonds.....	Genesis, 43:11
6 eggs.....	Isiah, 10:14
1 tablespoon honey.....	Exodus, 16:31
Pinch of salt.....	Leviticus, 2:13
Spices to taste.....	1 Kings, 10:10
2 teaspoons baking powder.....	1 Corinthians, 5:6
Follow Solomon's advice for making good boys and you will have a good cake. Proverbs, 23:14.	

Figure 20. This recipe for "Scripture" cake by Mrs. Edwin Clark in a Methodist cookbook from 1914 reminded women of the ingredients named in corresponding biblical passages. Ladies' Aid Society of the First Methodist Episcopal Church. *The Table Queen Cook Book*. Pueblo, Colorado: Franklin Press, 1914. (JBL)

SCRIPTURE CAKE.	
Four and one-half cups of I. Kings, iv., 22; 1 cup of Judges, v., 25, last clause; 2 cups of Jeremiah, vi., 20; 2 cups of I. Samuel, xxx., 12; 2 cups of Nahum, iii., 12; 2 cups Numbers, xvii., 8; 2 tablespoonfuls of I. Samuel, xiv., 25; a pinch of Leviticus, ii., 13; 6 cups of Jeremiah, xvii., 11; ½ cup of Judges, iv., 19, last clause; 2 teaspoonfuls of Amos, iv., 5. Season to taste of II. Chronicles, ix., 9. Mrs. J. P. Kerr.	

Figure 21. This recipe for "Scripture" cake assumes that the baker is more familiar with scripture, or has her Bible close at hand. Ladies of the South Side Presbyterian Church. *A Book of Practical Recipes*. Pittsburg, Pennsylvania: Meyers-Standfast Co., 1907. (JBL)

There are also recipes included in the books for days when life presented challenges, reminding women to rest on their faith when weary or concerned. In a recipe called a “Remedy for Trouble,” biblical passages are offered as places that women can turn to in their trials.⁵⁴⁴ (Figure 22) Probable challenging scenarios, from being concerned about expenses, to losing domestic help when kitchen equipment fails, are countered with scripture to remind sapped housewives that their faith could be turned to for solace and strength.

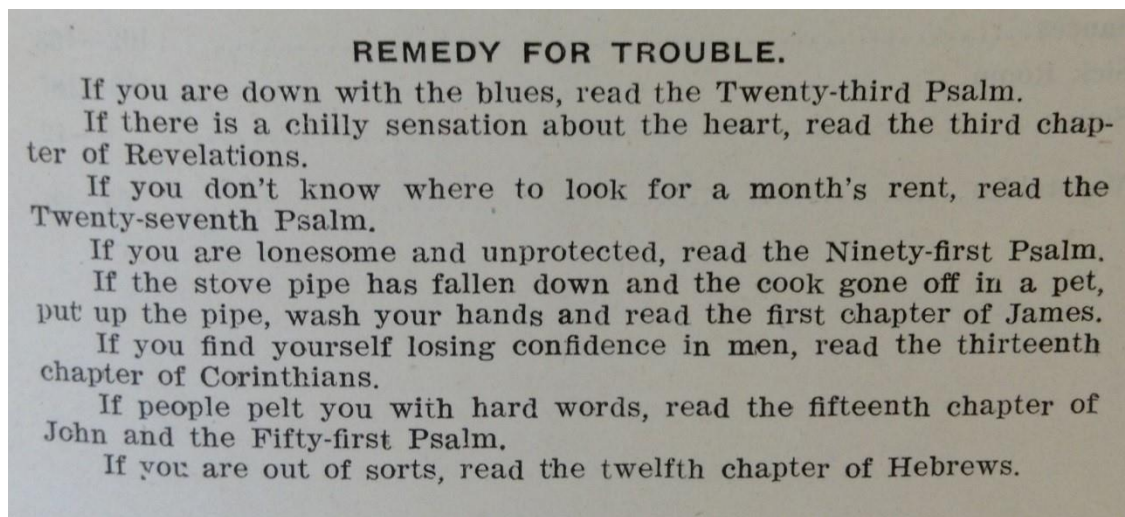


Figure 22. This “life recipe” in the same cookbook offers readers scriptural passages to turn to in their day-to-day trials. (JBL)

4.3.6 Additional Paratexts

As historical documents, “charities” serve as “maps of the social and cultural world” in which they were created.⁵⁴⁵ In addition to advertisements and life and religious recipes, the books contain further paratexts that can be analyzed for an even clearer picture of what domestic life was like for Victorian Methodist women in America. These include the stains and marginalia created by the

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., 186.

⁵⁴⁵ Theophano, *Eat My Words*, 13.

women who owned the books. Each of these additional paratexts serves as a further threshold between the main body of recipes in the books and the women who composed them, raising a new set of historical questions. For instance, in the rare instance that directions for winemaking (and stains) appear in the texts, were the recipes intended for medicinal purposes? Why would such recipes be included in the cookbooks of temperate Methodist ladies, who were apt to view wine more as a “cup of devils,” than the “fruit of the vine”?⁵⁴⁶ The inclusion of such incongruities offer deeper insights into the realities of Methodist women’s domestic and religious lives.

Marginalia in the texts similarly offer glimpses into the private lives of the women who owned the cookbooks. Blank pages in “charities” gave women space to write everything from additional handwritten recipes and shopping lists, to detailed daily weather reports. Notes in the books are sometimes also reminders of the time and political environment in which they were purchased.

One example of this that I encountered in my archival work was American Civil War enlistment information that a woman recorded in the back of her cookbook. The owner of the book listed the dates of a soldier’s (her father’s? her husband’s? a brother’s?) injury, discharge information, and contact information for a pension agent. Below this appears a handwritten note and recipe with the title “food for invalids,” presumably intended for the wounded soldier now under her care.⁵⁴⁷ Notes like this one are stark reminders of the realities of American women’s lives even decades after the Civil War had ended. Periodicals like the *Ladies’ Repository*, and

⁵⁴⁶ Betty A. O’Brien, “The Lord’s Supper: Fruit of the Vine or Cup of Devils?” *Methodist History* 31, no. 4 (1993): 203-223. The Methodist influence on the American Temperance movement was significant, with Francis Willard and Bishop James Cannon, Jr., “the dry Messiah,” at the forefront of the cause.

⁵⁴⁷ Ladies of the Presbyterian Church, *Our Cook Book* (Maywood, Illinois: Ladies of the Presbyterian Church, 1891), back notes (JBL).

active church involvement would have helped to “keep spirits up” and instill “proper” Christian inspiration even in women’s darkest hours.”⁵⁴⁸

4.4 CONCLUSIONS

It must be emphasized that the ideals for female morality espoused in the *Ladies’ Repository* and Methodist charitable cookbooks were in many ways the product of a wide variety of influences on Victorian American women. From popular magazines to domestically-oriented volumes like those produced by the Beecher sisters, expectations for female decorum filled literature by women for other women. This suggests that the majority of middle-class Methodist women endeavored toward “patterns of normative domesticity.”⁵⁴⁹

As autobiographical sources, the *Ladies’ Repository* and “charities” provide a more intimate window into the lives of Victorian Methodist women and the challenges that they confronted during the religiously and culturally mutable period between the American Civil War and First World War. Where the *Ladies’ Repository* left off after decreased circulation and funds ended publication in the years following the Civil War, the “charities” pick up, continuing the historical narrative left by Victorian Methodist women.⁵⁵⁰

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mainstream American cooking and approaches to diet became increasingly scientific, in many ways like the Adventist views espoused

⁵⁴⁸ Kathleen L. Endres, “A Voice for the Christian Family: the Methodist Episcopal *Ladies’ Repository* in the Civil War,” *Methodist History* 33, no. 2 (1995): 84.

⁵⁴⁹ Nicole Tonkovich, *Domesticity with a Difference: the Nonfiction of Catharine Beecher, Sarah J. Hale, Fanny Fern, and Margaret Fuller* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997), 173.

⁵⁵⁰ Endres, “A Voice for the Christian Family,” 97.

by White and John Harvey Kellogg. Views of the kitchen shifted to those of “a laboratory where the record of experiments [were] kept,” though the intended outcome of cooking was still aimed toward the “health and spirits of the family.”⁵⁵¹ When fortunate enough to attend college, even a woman’s education was focused on the maintenance of her future household. Domestic science departments and cooking schools promised young ladies the training that would help them to be successful in their kitchens and homes, through the most up-to-date scientific theories about cooking and household management. (*Figure 23*)

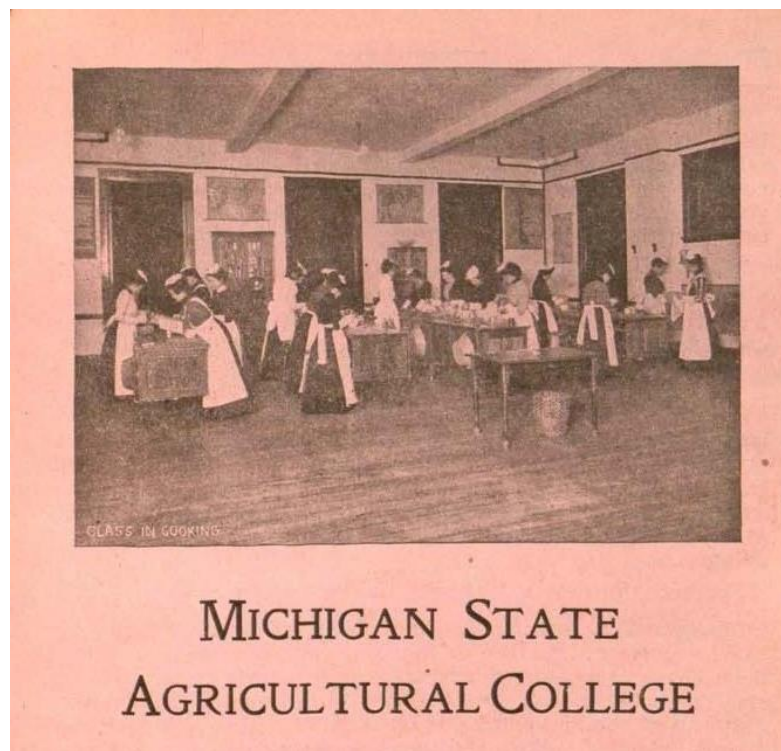


Figure 23. This advertisement from a turn-of-the-century cookbook depicts young women learning the domestic arts in a laboratory, illustrating increasing scientific attitudes toward caring for the home. Ladies of the Pilgrim Congregational Church Cook Book, 2nd Ed. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1901. (FAP)

⁵⁵¹ *The Old Mission Congregational Church Cook Book*, 9.

Fannie Farmer also helped to bring science to the kitchen. One of her most notable efforts was to create standard methods for measurements in recipes in order to help women's cooking to be more consistently successful.⁵⁵² Like Beecher's instructions for the home, Farmer's writings helped young women to get ready for their work in the kitchen as "domiologists" when it came time for marriage and children.⁵⁵³ Farmer particularly dedicated her work to easing the burden of "domestic drudgery," in the area of food preparation, giving women the opportunity to engage in scientific advancements, while maintaining their pious, domestic roles.⁵⁵⁴

By the first half of the twentieth-century, mass-marketed cookbooks, planned communities, and women entering the workforce led to a situation in which women were distanced from the communities of their childhood and their families in an unprecedented way.⁵⁵⁵ Because of these social changes, the responsibility of teaching a woman to keep a home shifted from previous generations of moral matriarchs and local church communities to more public—and sometimes commercialized—motherly figures. Like compilers of community cookbooks from the past, "Betty Crocker" (1921) and other fictionalized female role models began to impart domestic advice to the next generation of housewives.⁵⁵⁶ The path that allowed women to remain central to home life, while also becoming more publicly active, would emerge as a result of the reforms of the Progressive Era in the early twentieth century. For this new generation of women, Christian

⁵⁵² Ann Cooper, *A Woman's Place is in the Kitchen: the Evolution of Women Chefs* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1998), 15.

⁵⁵³ Leavitt, *From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart*, 42.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ladies' Repository*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (January 1841), 3.

⁵⁵⁵ McFeely, *Can She Bake a Cherry Pie?*, 95.

⁵⁵⁶ The Betty Crocker character became so real to readers that marketers gave her a physical likeness in order to make "her" advice (and *products*) more familiar and appealing to female consumers. Her picture is one that has changed through the years in an effort to keep her appearance relevant for the women who buy products from the brand.

approaches to food and eating especially took on new meaning in social reforms and war-era rationing.

5.0 EPILOGUE

By the 1880s there were nearly 500,000 immigrants arriving to America each year, with most settling in urban areas in the East and expanding cities in the Midwest. At the same time, Progressive Era (1890s-1920s) social reforms began to overshadow Gilded Age (1870-1900) abundance, as many Americans pushed against the social Darwinism of the Reconstruction era. Although progressives and their platforms were not representative of the majority, mainline Protestants like the Methodists were swept into the fold of some social reforms, intervening on behalf of those whom they believed to be victims of anti-immigration sentiments, child labor, and racism.

The dramatic shift of the American population from agricultural to urban environments also had a significant impact on the types of foods that people ate, and the ways in which they procured them. By the end of the nineteenth century, most families purchased fresh and processed food goods from local shops and markets. By the turn of the twentieth century, plain, simple diets and self-sufficiency had gone by the wayside, as middle-class palates were introduced to restaurants, foreign foods, and out-of-season produce efficiently transported by rail. Canned goods and pre-packaged manufactured foods were convenient to prepare, and were marketed to busy modern women as the quickest way to get meals onto their families' tables. With such abundance in middle-class kitchens, the focus of what should constitute a Christian diet shifted again—this time to frugality in a time of extravagancy.

By the 1890s the Methodist population experienced its first decline in growth since its introduction to America in the late eighteenth century. In response to the expansion of other denominations—especially Catholicism, the Baptist Church, and Lutheranism—the American

Methodist church “made strong efforts to abandon [its] sectarian origins” once and for all in order to retain and gain followers.⁵⁵⁷ While food reforms remained central to the “lived” practice of Seventh-day Adventists, by the turn of the twentieth century, American Methodist women had turned their religious attention on food to their benevolent work.

This charitable work was rooted in Wesley’s earlier teachings, in which “*how* one was doing internally (in one’s soul) was directly connected to *what* one did, or how one lived out the Christian life externally (in one’s actions).”⁵⁵⁸ The spirit of self-sacrifice and Christian charity that Wesley emphasized as significant to moral perfectionism was engrained in the idea that Methodists should regularly perform “works of mercy,” which took the form in the twentieth century of answering New Testament supplications to feed the hungry and clothe the poor.⁵⁵⁹ This spirit of self-sacrifice was adopted by many women, making their role as nurturers more public through organizations like the Methodist Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Ladies’ Aid Society, and Methodist chapters of the Ladies’ Red Cross.

5.1 PROGRESSIVE ERA FOOD POLITICS

Gilded Age access to a variety and abundance of foods became “a matter of national pride” for generations of middle-class Americans whose ancestors, like many later immigrants, came to America with virtually nothing.⁵⁶⁰ By the turn of the twentieth century, however, “many feared

⁵⁵⁷ Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 158.

⁵⁵⁸ David Werner, “John Wesley’s Question: ‘How is Your Doing?,’” *The Asbury Journal* 65, no. 2 (2010): 68.

⁵⁵⁹ Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, *Canadian Methodist Women, 1766-1925: Marys, Marthas, Mothers in Israel* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 101.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

that the excesses generated by the market revolution were undermining the virtue” and Christian morality of America—an attitude that would eventually lead to the social reforms of the Progressive Era.⁵⁶¹ Large quantities of rich foods were no longer viewed as heralds of hospitality and good will, which led mainline churches to regard food and diet in terms of self-denial, rather than self-fulfillment.

The American capitalist market economy became a topic of scrutiny for those who wished to initiate social reforms, as was evidenced in Andrew Carnegie’s *Gospel of Wealth* (1889) and Charles Monroe Sheldon’s *In His Steps: What Would Jesus Do?* (1896). From a Christian perspective, it was sinful not to share excess wealth, and reforms were focused on making America a place where values and morality would guide economic and social changes. The “voluntaryism” that became significant to American Christian life in the twentieth century would in many ways “disregard...denominational boundaries in quest of common goals”—especially in light of benevolent work.⁵⁶²

Methodists, however, were viewed as being especially equipped for the task, as Walter Rauschenbusch noted in his *Christianizing the Social Order* (1912): “the Methodists are likely to play a very important role in the social awakening of American churches,” he wrote, because “their field has always been among the plain people...They have rarely backed away from a fight when the issue was clearly drawn between Jehovah and Diabolus...Their leaders are fully determined to form their *battalions* on this new line of battle, and when they march, the ground will shake.”⁵⁶³ The Social Gospel movement that applied Christian morality to social concerns “put Methodists

⁵⁶¹ Susan Williams, *Food in the United States, 1820s-1890* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006), 193.

⁵⁶² Jonathan M. Butler, “The Making of a New Order,” in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 191.

⁵⁶³ Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianizing the Social Order* (New York: McMillan, 1926), 23-24.

on the front lines in a battle to save America from social sin, fighting for temperance reform, the abolition of child labor, combating urban poverty, and championing the rights of labor.”⁵⁶⁴

Where earlier Victorian Methodist and Adventist reformers used diet as a means for spiritual perfection and salvation, the Progressive reforms of Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), and Jane Addams (1860-1935) emphasized food charity as the moral imperative for Americans. Settlement houses, like Addams’ Hull House (1889-2012) in Chicago, were communities of and for women that provided residents (often immigrant women and their children) “a substitute for family life” while they assimilated into the American workforce—typically as factory workers.⁵⁶⁵ While the settlement movement was primarily secular, religious organizations like the YMCA, and even the Methodist Episcopal Church South (which was the result of the 1844 split in the church over the issue of slavery), created settlement houses as extensions of their Christian ministry.⁵⁶⁶

The goal of assimilation in the eyes of reformers was to help poor immigrant women emulate the characteristics of middle-class American life.⁵⁶⁷ Teas, bake sales, and church suppers were organized by volunteers to raise funds for those less fortunate, akin to the intentions of charitable church cookbook production. Minister’s wives, both Methodist and Adventist, were often at the helm of these efforts, helping to direct women’s charitable work to aid those in need.

⁵⁶⁴ Christopher H. Evans, “From Militant Methodism to Secular Christianity: the Social Gospel in American Methodist Historical Narratives,” *Methodist History* 38, no. 3 (2000): 150.

⁵⁶⁵ Kathryn Kish Sklar, “Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 10, no. 4 (1985): 660.

⁵⁶⁶ Harvard University Library Open Collections Program, “Settlement House Movement,” *Aspiration, Acculturation, and Impact: Immigration to the United States 1789-1930*.

<http://ocp.hul.harvard.edu/immigration/settlement.html> [accessed March 6, 2015]

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

5.2 IMMIGRATION, ASSIMILATION, AND ACCULTURATION

Immigrants to late Victorian America arrived in a country where religious freedoms were, theoretically if not in practice, upheld and where food was abundant when one could afford it. The “competition” that these groups faced in a continuously expanding religious free market resulted in almost constant conflict between the mainline and “rival groups, including non-evangelical Protestants, Roman Catholics, Jews, and others who refused to bow to the majority.”⁵⁶⁸

Nineteenth and early twentieth-century immigrant populations were also “subject to pressures to change their ways,” including their foodways, by a process of “Americanization” that happened in “schools, the media, and in the course of daily life.”⁵⁶⁹ The demand of new jobs and the desires and influences of their children led to an even “great[er] pressure” to adjust lifestyle, diet, and even religion away from “older, imported standards.”⁵⁷⁰

Because middle-class women were generally removed from the workforce and secular life to a greater degree than lower-class working women, they possessed the means and leisure time to take up Victorian social causes like abolition, temperance, women’s suffrage, and social reforms. For many new immigrants, food acted as a “normalize[r]” during periods of change and transition, becoming both a means for assimilation, and a way to maintain cultural and ethnic identity.⁵⁷¹ In other words, diet was used both for acculturation—to “ease the shock” of entering American culture by adapting to its cuisine, and as a way to help maintain an ethnic or religious group’s

⁵⁶⁸ Grant Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 11.

⁵⁶⁹ Sidney Mintz, “Eating American,” in *Food in the USA: A Reader*, ed. Carole M. Counihan (New York: Routledge, 2002): 26.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Susan Williams, *Food in the United States*, 3.

identity and culture in a new land.⁵⁷² Cooking classes were offered in settlement houses and by corporations hiring large immigrant populations to learn “practical housekeeping” skills like “cooking,” “care of babies,” “dressmaking,” and “even the proper methods of making beds.”⁵⁷³

In this way food represented social inclusion, exclusion, and—in the case of Christian women’s benevolent food work—an implied social hierarchy. Despite volunteer’s best intentions, efforts to “Americanize” recent immigrants often resulted in the “impos[ition]” of “a normative New England-type of cuisine,” and mainline Protestantism on new arrivals to America.⁵⁷⁴ Perhaps as a reaction to this push for assimilation, many immigrant women continued to prepare and share their traditional recipes and foods within their ethnic and religious communities, while also trying to adopt and adapt American foods.⁵⁷⁵ Immigration and the new American diet were also challenged and effected by America’s involvement in the First World War (1914-1918).

5.3 ADVENTISM

As “conscientious cooperators” Adventists received religious exemptions from being sent to the battlefield, while “retain[ing]...their historicist premillennialism and their claim on unique and

⁵⁷² Susan Kalčik, “Ethnic Foodways in America: Symbol and the Performance of Identity,” in *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: the Performance of Group Identity*, eds. Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984): 50 and 45.

⁵⁷³ United States Steel Corporation Bureau of Safety-Sanitation and Welfare, *Bulletin No. 7* (December 1918): 34.

⁵⁷⁴ Jessamyn Neuhaus, *Manly Meals and Mom’s Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 19.

⁵⁷⁵ By the 1900s many cookbooks were also written for immigrant women to ease the process of dietary assimilation. For instance, Lizzie Black Kander’s (1858-1940) *The Settlement Cook Book* (1901), which was written by Jewish American women for immigrants to help them to adapt their traditional Jewish diets with “American” ingredients.

decisive significance in the culmination of God's plan for history."⁵⁷⁶ Unlike the majority of Methodists, who had abandoned dietary reforms for the purposes of personal sanctification, many Adventists continued to adhere to Ellen White's vision for health reform through the early twentieth century.⁵⁷⁷ The holistic connections between body and spirit were still of vital importance as Adventists waited for Christ's return, and served followers well, as they were better equipped to deal with war-time food rationing.

Substitute meat products were introduced at Battle Creek Sanitarium in the 1890s and gained popularity because of federal food restriction mandates during both world wars. Despite widespread regard for the Battle Creek Sanitarium and Adventist health food companies, Adventists continued to view their dietary practices as being "an independently acquired body of knowledge" when compared with secular dietary reforms—"not discovered by clumsy human probing, but revealed by the Creator of laws of hygiene himself."⁵⁷⁸

Moreover, White's visions for health reform continue to act as guiding principles for modern-day Adventists. Nearly 35% of Adventists practice strict vegetarianism, and most avoid caffeine, alcohol, and tobacco. From the perspective of outsiders, Adventist health practices are attractive for their measurable health benefits. In a 2005 *National Geographic* study, Adventist church members were found to live four to ten years longer than non-Adventists because of their

⁵⁷⁶ Douglas Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic: the Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 82.

⁵⁷⁷ This strong support for White's movement may be attributed to her continued active presence in the church until her death in 1915. The Holiness movement that emerged out of Methodism led to the formation of Pentecostal-Holiness in the early twentieth century, and maintained that bodies were important for salvation. The "muscular" Christianity and "clean living" movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries carried on the tradition of health-reforms, but were not embraced by many traditional Protestant mainliners (Ruth Clifford Engs, *The Progressive Era's Health Reform Movement: A Historical Dictionary* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003), ix).

⁵⁷⁸ James C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness: the History of American Health Reformers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 201.

attention to physical well-being as individuals and as a community.⁵⁷⁹ The Protestant mainline, however, took a different stance on the ways in which food could be used to aid the war effort.

5.4 “FOOD WILL WIN THE WAR”

Women’s roles, whether secular or religious, were more socially pronounced during periods of conflict, shifting the balance of labor in domestic economies. When husbands and fathers were taken away from the home for extended periods of time, women’s responsibilities, work, and influence stretched beyond domestic life. The power that Protestant women achieved as moral and domestic authorities in the nineteenth century was transformed by U.S. involvement in the First World War (1914-1918). Through their efforts “the germ-free modern kitchen,” became “the cure,” not just for individuals, but for “the nation’s ills.”⁵⁸⁰

In 1917 the United States Food Administration was developed by President Woodrow Wilson, who appointed future President Herbert Hoover (1874-1964) as director. The task of the new organization was two-fold: “to organize the service and self-denial of the American people so as to supply the Allies with foodstuffs during the war and all of Europe after the Armistice,” and “to control...the distribution of foodstuffs at home.”⁵⁸¹ The American people were called to be active participants in the movement, aiding the war effort and helping their allies by sharing America’s abundant foodstores.

⁵⁷⁹ Dan Buettner, “The Secrets of Long Life,” *National Geographic Magazine* (November 2005): 25. <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2005/11/longevity-secrets/buettner-text> [accessed July 2, 2013]

⁵⁸⁰ Celia Malone Kingsbury, *For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 30.

⁵⁸¹ William Clinton Mullendore, *History of the United States Food Administration, 1917-1919* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1941), 3-4.

This resulted in a collective effort by householders, farmers, and food trade companies to reduce waste and the overall consumption of food commodities like coffee, meat, and sugar so as to send those foods overseas where they were needed. Before being rebranded as the American Relief Administration in 1919, the organization helped to deliver more than 23 million metric tons of food to the countries ravaged by the war.⁵⁸²

Predominantly run by volunteers and a small support staff, the administration counted on the work done by committees—mostly female—that numbered some 750,000 individuals.⁵⁸³ Religious communities joined the effort from the start. The incentive was an opportunity to engage in Christian service. As a way to keep congregants mindful of what was being eaten at home, a system was implemented in which “weekly report cards” were completed by churches to show “the extent of [their] compliance with the conservation program by the[ir] members.”⁵⁸⁴

Although ministers preached the message of food conservation from the pulpit, Methodist “women’s societies were in most instances leaders” in “food-conservation endeavors.”⁵⁸⁵ This was mainly because “education in food needs [could] be traced” to the connection between domestic life and church life—thanks to women’s influence and authority in both.⁵⁸⁶ For women who published their domestic advice, like American writer Thetta Quay Franks (1866-1945), author of *The Margin of Happiness, the Reward of Thrift* (1917), the outcome of the war and the reputation of the nation as being Christian, frugal, and charitable lay on women’s shoulders.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸² Ibid., 41.

⁵⁸³ Ibid., 9.

⁵⁸⁴ Whiteley, *Canadian Methodist Women*, 94.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁷ Franks also argued that rising divorce rates in the early twentieth century could be attributed to poor housekeeping (Thetta Quay Franks, *The Margin of Happiness, the Reward of Thrift* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1917), 4).

In 1918 the new Food Administration collaborated with the non-denominational Christian Endeavor society to create the *Wartime Cook Book: Food Will Win the War*, from which all proceeds were used for “war-time need.”⁵⁸⁸ Christian kitchens became places where food was carefully chosen and prepared as an expression of patriotism. War-time ration-friendly recipes for “Hoover” cakes and “Old Glory Bread” were presented as women’s “national service,” as wives and mothers were called on to “protect...the food supply of the nation.”⁵⁸⁹ The book emphasized that female volunteerism with organizations like the Red Cross and Y.W.C.A., though commendable, was not sufficient. The war effort needed to happen, first, at home.

Meatless Mondays and Wheatless Wednesdays were encouraged, with food conservation schedules and poetry interspersed for inspiration. In one selection, titled “To the Housewife,” the significance of women’s participation on the domestic front through creative substitutions in meal preparation is highlighted:

You cannot fight across the seas?
Then organize a corps
Of those expert o’er gas and flame,
For food will win the war.

Your country needs your super-bit,
Receive a new commission—
Instead of meat six times a week,
More often go a-fishing.

Count sacrifice a privilege,
The Kaiser to dislodge;
And substitute for fat and oils,
Some form of camouflage.

⁵⁸⁸ U.S. Food Administration and C.E. Society, Church of the Covenant, *Wartime Cook Book: Food Will Win the War* (Washington, D.C.: Acme Printing Company, Inc., 1918), vi.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, ii.

Like Progressive Era frugality, this war-time Christian approach to dietary reform was one of self-sacrifice, in which Christian morality was enacted, rather than an attempt at physical purification or perfection. Nineteenth-century dietary reforms and recipes became useful tools for war-time efforts to reduce or eliminate the consumption of meat, oils, sugar, and wheat so that those commodities could be sent overseas for the troops fighting in the trenches. “Graham” bread, whole grains (less expensive to mill than highly processed white flour), and locally grown fresh foods replaced the convenient pre-packaged and canned foods on which so many families had come to rely. Corn meal—which had virtually disappeared from American tables with the shift to wheat flour in the nineteenth century—was reestablished as a staple in baking.

One of the most dramatic outcomes of the war on America in terms of food and diet was the realization that western white food systems were vulnerable.⁵⁹⁰ Because of this, food wasting was elevated to the level of being a moral issue, and rationing became a Christian duty. In addition to the *Wartime Cook Book*, the Food Administration issued several war posters to remind American women of the role that home economies could play in the outcome of the war. The posters were tangible and persuasive reminders about frugality and rationing as patriotic duties, and echoed the continuing sentiment that America was a Christian nation. In one example of such a poster, food wasting was called “the greatest crime in Christendom.”⁵⁹¹ (*Figure 24*) The consequences of wasting food were far-reaching, taking needed nourishment out of the mouths of the hungry soldiers fighting for their freedom, and from the “millions of starving people in Europe.”⁵⁹²

⁵⁹⁰ Helen Zoe Veit, *Modern Food, Moral Food: Self-Control, Science, and the Rise of Modern American Eating in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

⁵⁹¹ National Archive, <http://research.archives.gov/description/512530> [accessed June 24, 2014]

⁵⁹² Ibid.



Figure 24. The U.S. Food Administration reminded Christian women that wasting food was sinful, especially in war-time. National Archive. <http://research.archives.gov/description/512530>

Posters were also issued to appeal to the patriotic sentiments of new immigrants to America, regardless of their religious affiliation. One poster, printed in English, Italian, and Yiddish translations reminded immigrants that, “Food will win the war. You came here seeking Freedom. You must now help to preserve it. Wheat is needed for the allies. Waste Nothing.”⁵⁹³ (Figure 25) An elderly immigrant woman is depicted on the poster, holding a basket filled with food, which a young man appears to be imploring her to share as their ship passes the Statue of

⁵⁹³ Library of Congress, “A Century of Immigration, 1820-1924,” *From Haven to Home: 350 Years of Jewish Life in America*, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/haventohome/haven-century.html> [accessed March 7, 2015]

Liberty upon their arrival to America. Patriotism could thus be expressed by adhering to the Food Administration's regulations for food rationing.⁵⁹⁴



Figure 25. War-time posters were also printed to support patriotism among immigrant populations in America. Library of Congress, "A Century of Immigration, 1820-1924." *From Haven to Home: 350 Years of Jewish Life in America*. <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/haventohome/haven-century.html>

⁵⁹⁴ Efforts to include new immigrants in food relief efforts were not always executed in the most beneficial ways, however. For instance, when pledge cards for rationing were printed in Yiddish, "not only w[ere they] full of incorrect words and translations," but they "had the oath-taker promise to try to eat shellfish, a serious violation of the Orthodox dietary laws which most Yiddish-speakers followed" (Harvey A. Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: the Transformation of the American Diet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 143.)

American food assistance overseas continued well into the 1920s. After the war, food was shared with allied countries and central powers like Germany and Austria-Hungry. Many Christian's women's organizations continued to engage in these efforts, expressing their religiosity and benevolence by feeding those that had once been their enemies, reaffirming that, "it was in service to what they believed to be God's desires for holiness and love that the Methodists constructed the dialectic of social religion."⁵⁹⁵

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

For many middle-class Methodist women in the early twentieth century, "benevolence and reform activities became distinguishing characteristics of Christian virtue."⁵⁹⁶ Domestic science, immigration, and the First World War took women's perceived moral and domestic authority out of the home and into the public sphere as diet became a force for social good, rather than an individual practice of moral perfectionism.

With the influx of immigrants to America around the turn of the twentieth century, a "new 'creolized' food culture took shape through the fusion of [immigrant] food cultures and foodstuffs in the new land in a concrete manifestation of the meeting of cultures."⁵⁹⁷ Many middle-class women, who would have likely encountered and tried these new foods, reacted to the American

⁵⁹⁵ A. Gregory Schneider, *The Way of the Cross Leads Home: the Domestication of American Methodism*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 151.

⁵⁹⁶ Robert H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 188. Some argued that unmarried women were best suited for this type of work, because they had the time to "devote themselves, both physically and emotionally, to the needs of others" (Tiffany K. Wayne, *Women's Roles in Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2007), 6).

⁵⁹⁷ Nanumi Suzuki, "Popular Health Movements and Diet Reform in Nineteenth-Century America," *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 21 (2010): 111.

“melting pot” by endeavoring to preserve what they perceived to be the “American” diet. The result was an American culture in which some religious and ethnic groups preserved their communal identity through traditional recipes and foods, while at the same time embracing the foods of their adopted homeland.⁵⁹⁸

For some religious groups, like the Adventists, remaining outside of the parameters of what was considered to be “mainline” allowed for sustained dietary reforms and alternative roles when America entered the First World War. For the majority of mainline Christians, however, diet had become a means for wellness and an expression of non-denominational Christian charity, rather than a path toward salvation. The significance of Methodist women’s roles as wives and mothers, with foundations in Wesley’s early tradition, was not diminished, however, but extended to life outside of the home with the unique challenges of a new century.

These views of expanded, but still domestic roles for women is well represented in an address about social reforms given at the Methodist General Conference in 1908 by President Theodore Roosevelt, whose successful treatment for his own frail health as a young man made him the poster child of upper-class mainline Protestants, fixated on robust health and physical fitness. Invited because of his progressive views on social justice, and the Conference’s focus on the new Methodist “Social Creed” that was presented that year, Roosevelt highlighted the significance of women’s work in the home and community.⁵⁹⁹

In his speech at the meeting Roosevelt vowed, “There is one person who I put above the soldier, and that is the mother who has done her full duty...It is owing to her that the nation can go on—that it grows and not decays; so that in quality and in quantity the citizenship of the nation

⁵⁹⁸ Sidney Mintz suggests that this was because, in learning new ways of cooking and eating, people became “sociologically more alike,” but not necessarily “culturally more alike” (Sidney Mintz, “Eating American,” 27.)

⁵⁹⁹ Russell E. Richey, et al., *American Methodism: A Compact History* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2010), 141-142.

shall increase and not decrease...courage, unselfishness, common sense, devotion to high ideals, a proper care for things of the spirit—which does not in the least mean that there should not also be a proper care of the body—these are what we most need to see in our people.”⁶⁰⁰

Progressive Era politics came to an end by the close of the First World War, as many Americans associated President Wilson’s reforms with the conflict. The war had magnified the connections between food and morality for many Americans, but also ushered in a new era of “eating according to more rational criteria.”⁶⁰¹ Despite continuing food reform efforts on the part of sectarian groups like Adventists, the American diet became one in which there was more emphasis on the “moralization of self-control” in an effort to remain physically fit, as opposed to aspirations of moral perfectionism or food charity.⁶⁰² In many ways this shift in the perception of Americans in their approaches to food and eating marked the end of a long Victorian period of dietary morality and reform.

Even as the nation moved toward major social reforms, including women’s suffrage in 1920, motherhood and domesticity remained central to what had become normative gender in America through the efforts of a vast, white Protestant middle class. For Methodists, dietary morality was no longer a matter of food choice, but one of food charity and stewardship. For many Seventh-day Adventists, dietary reforms, including vegetarianism and the avoidance of alcohol and caffeine, remained central to a theology that continued to emphasize the importance of physical purification in preparation for Christ’s return.

⁶⁰⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, “President Theodore Roosevelt Addresses the General Conference on Social Reform,” in *The Methodist Experience in America, A Sourcebook, Vol. II*, eds. Russell E. Richey, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000): 472.

⁶⁰¹ Veit, *Modern Food, Moral Food*, 184.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 186.

In both traditions, Christian eating was defined in part by those with whom one ate, in addition to how food was shared with others. The Progressive Era that spanned the decades before and after the First World War was especially a time in which Protestant Americans became more aware of the social boundaries that not only defined class in America, but what one ate and the religious denomination to which one adhered. To decipher the resulting food practices and patterns of the nineteenth century is to acknowledge a dominant Protestant morality that spanned the years from Wesley's early Methodist movement to the 1920s, and a continued understanding that mother knew best.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations:

EGW- Ellen G. White Estate, Archives and Special Collections, Silver Spring, MD

FAP- “Feeding America”: the Historic Cookbook Project of Michigan State University

JBL- Janice Bluestein Longone Culinary Archive, Special Collections, University of Michigan

PHCC- Peacock-Harper Culinary Collection, Special Collections, Virginia Polytechnic and State University

SDL- Summon Drew Library, United Methodist Archives & History Center, Drew University

Primary Sources

The Dietary Program of Seventh-day Adventist Institutions and the Use of Flesh Meat, Tea, and Coffee: A Compilation from the Writings of Ellen G. White. Washington, D.C.: Ellen G. White Publications, General Conference, 1970.

“Ellen G. White: A Brief Biography.” *The Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.*, August 2000.
<http://www.whiteestate.org/about/#who> [accessed July 29, 2013]

Glenn Springs Hotel Advertisement. *The Watchman and Southron*, Sumter, S.C. June 27, 1894. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.*
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93067846/1894-06-27/ed-1/seq-10/> [accessed April 6, 2015]

Alcott, Louisa M. *Silver Pitchers and Independence*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1908.

Alcott, William A. *Tea and Coffee*. Boston: William A. Light, 1839.

-----, *Vegetable Diet Defended*. London: Concordia Press, 1844.

Asbury, Francis. “Letter to Mrs. Ann Willis,” in *The Methodist Experience in America, A Sourcebook, Vol. II*, eds. Russell E. Richey, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000): 181.

Barrows, John Henry, ed. *The World’s Parliament of Religions: an Illustrated and Popular Story of the World’s First Parliament of Religions, Held in Chicago in Connection with The Columbian Exposition of 1893, Vol. II*. Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Co., 1893.

Beecher, Catharine Ester. *Housekeeper and Healthkeeper: Containing Five Hundred Recipes for Economical and Healthful Cooking*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873.

----- . *Miss Beecher's Receipt Book, Designed as a Supplement to her Treatise on Domestic Economy*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1846.

----- . *A Treatise on Domestic Economy: for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1845.

Beecher, Catharine Ester and Harriet Beecher Stowe. *The American Woman's Home, or Principles of Domestic Science; being a Guide to the Formation and Maintenance of Economical, Healthful, Beautiful, and Christian Homes*. New York: Arno Press, 1971.

Bertha McCready Flower Mission of the First Methodist Church. *The Blossom Cook Book: Good Things to Eat and How to Prepare Them*. Connersville, Indiana: The Mission, 1925(?) (JBL)

Brown, John. *Christian Catechism for the Time*. Morris-town, New Jersey: Printed for Peter A. Johnson, 1818.

Carnegie, Andrew. *The Gospel of Wealth*. London: F.C. Hagen & Co., 1889.

Child, Lydia Maria. *The Frugal Housewife: Dedicated to Those Who Are Not Ashamed of Economy*. Boston: Carter, Hendee, and Babcock, 1831.

Douglass, Herbert E. *Messenger of the Lord: The Prophetic Ministry of Ellen G. White*. Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1998.

Eggleston, Edward. *The End of the World: A Love Story*. New York: O. Judd and Company, 1872.

Epworth League of the First M.E. Church of Barnesville, Ohio. *Tried and Approved Recipes*. Cincinnati: Monfort & Co., 1907. (PHCC)

Fisher, Mrs. Abby. *What Mrs. Fisher Knows About Old Southern Cooking*. San Francisco: Women's Co-operative Printing Office, 1881.

Flexner, Abraham. "Medical Education in America: Rethinking the Training of American Doctors," *The Atlantic Monthly* (June 1910): 798-814.

Franks, Thetta Quay. *The Margin of Happiness, the Reward of Thrift*. New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1917.

General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. "Food Industries."

<http://www.adventistdirectory.org/ViewAdmFieldSubEntities.aspx?&EntityType=F&AdmFieldID=GC> [accessed May 3, 2015]

Genesis 1:29. *The Oxford Study Bible, Revised English Bible with the Apocrypha*, eds. M. Jack Suggs, et al. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Godey's Lady's Book. 125, no. 748 (1892).

Graham, Sylvester. *A Treatise on Bread and Bread-Making*. Boston: Light & Stearns, 1837.

Hale, Sarah Josepha Buell. *The Good Housekeeper; or, The Way to Live Well and to be Well While We Live. Containing Directions for Choosing and Preparing Food, in Regard to Health, Economy and Taste*. Boston: Weeks Jordan, 1839.

Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins. "To Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe," in *A Brighter Day: A Frances Ellen Watkins Harper Reader*. New York: Feminist Press, 1990.

Inasmuch Circle King's Daughters of the Congregational Church, Wakefield, Massachusetts. *Look before You Cook*. Malden, MA: Geo. E. Dunbar, 1909. (JBL)

Jefferson, Thomas. "Virginia Statute on Religious Freedom," 1786.

Kander, Lizzie Black. *The Ways to a Man's Heart: "The Settlement" Cook Book*. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Milwaukee Settlement House, 1901.

Kellogg, Ella Eaton. *Science in the Kitchen: A Scientific Treatise on Food Substances and their Dietetic Properties, Together with a Practical Explanation of the Principles of Healthful Cookery, and a Large Number of Original, Palatable, and Wholesome Recipes*. Chicago: Modern Medicine Publishing Co., 1893. (FAP)

Kellogg, John Harvey. Letter to Ellen G. White, February 9, 1877. (EGW)

----- Letter to W.C. White, April 9, 1894. (EGW)

Kempis, Thomas à. *The Imitation of Christ: A New Reading of the 1441 Latin Manuscript by William C. Creasy*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2007.

Ladies' Aid Society. *The Old Mission Congregational Church Cook Book*. Traverse City, Michigan: Ebner Bros., 1922. (JBL)

Ladies' Aid Society of the Capitol Heights Presbyterian Church. *Our Best Recipes: the Most Successful Dishes of Successful Housewives*. Denver: Publishers' Press Room & Bindery Co., 1910. (JBL)

Ladies' Aid Society of the Central Methodist Church. *Souvenir Cook Book*. Tacoma, Washington: National Print Co., 1910. (JBL)

Ladies' Aid Society of the Congregational Church, Howard City, Michigan. *Twentieth Century Cook Book: A Feast of Good Things: A Careful Compilation of Tried and Approved Recipes*. Angola, Indiana: Lillian V. Wyrick 1913. (FAP)

Ladies' Aid Society of the First Methodist Episcopal Church. *The Table Queen Cook Book: A "Blue Book" of the Favorite Recipes of Pueblo's Most Famous Cooks*. Pueblo, Colorado: Franklin Press, 1914. (JBL)

Ladies' Aid Society of the M.E. Church, Farwell, Pennsylvania. *The Pride of the Kitchen*. Williamsport, Pennsylvania: Scholl Lithographing Co., 1912. (JBL)

Ladies' Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. *The Jubilee Cook Book: A Collection of Tested Recipes*. Ann Arbor: The Courier Steam Printing House, 1887. (FAP)

Ladies' Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. *The Reliable Cook Book*. Naugatuck, Connecticut: Ladies' Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1916. (JBL)

Ladies of the Broadway Presbyterian Church. *The Cook's Friend: A Collection of Valuable Recipes*. Logansport, Indiana: Journal Company Book and Job Print, 1878. (JBL)

Ladies of Centenary M.E. Church. *The Prairie City Cook Book: A Collection of Five Hundred Tested Recipes for the Preparation of Daily and Occasional Dishes*. Terre Haute, Indiana: Moore & Langen, Printers and Book Binders, 1891. (JBL)

Ladies of the Church of the Ascension. *Snap Shots at Cookery, Revised Edition*. Buffalo: Peter, Paul & Son, 1909. (PHCC)

Ladies of the Methodist Episcopal Church. *Echoes from Many Kitchens, Methodist Cook Book*. Greenville, Illinois: The Church, 1912. (JBL)

Ladies of Pilgrim Congregational Church. *The Pilgrim Cook Book, 2nd Edition*. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1901. (FAP)

Ladies of the Presbyterian Church. *Our Cook Book*. Maywood, Illinois: Ladies of the Presbyterian Church, 1891. (JBL)

Ladies of the South Side Presbyterian Church. *A Book of Practical Recipes*. Pittsburg, Pennsylvania: Meyers-Standfast Co., 1907. (JBL)

Ladies' Repository. Vol. I, No. 1. January 1841. (all *Ladies' Repository* selections are courtesy of SDL)

----- *Vol. 10, No. 1*. January 1850.

----- *Vol. 10, No. 6*. June 1850.

----- *Vol. 10, No. 7*. July 1850.

----- *Vol. 11, No. 1*. January 1851.

----- *Vol. 11, No. 9*. September 1851.

----- *Vol. 11, No. 10*. October 1851.

----- *Vol. 11, No. 11*. November 1851.

----- *Vol. 12, No. 1*. January 1852.

----- *Vol. 12, No. 5*. May 1852.

----- *Vol. 12, No. 8*. August 1852.

-----, *Vol. 12, No. 12*. December 1852.

-----, *Vol. 13, No. 4*. April 1853.

-----, *Vol. 13, No. 5*. May 1853.

-----, *Vol. 20, No. 3*. March 1860.

-----, *Vol. 20, No. 7*. July 1860.

Leech, John. "Pleasant," *John Leech's Pictures of Life and Character, from the Collection of Mr. Punch* (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co., 1886). Project Gutenberg.

<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/46349/46349-h/46349-h.htm> [accessed May 3, 2015]

Library of Congress. "A Century of Immigration, 1820-1924," *From Haven to Home: 350 Years of Jewish Life in America*. <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/haventohome/haven-century.html> [accessed March 7, 2015]

LLUMC Legacy: Daring to Care. "Whatever Happened to those Good Old Sanitariums?"

<http://www.llu.edu/info/legacy/appendix/> [accessed May 5, 2015]

Lummus, A. "Hebron Camp-Meetings," *Zion's Herald* 1, no. 24 (1823): 94.

Marietta Campmeeting. "History." <http://mariettacampmeeting.org/cm/content/history-camp-meeting-1837-present> [accessed April 30, 2015]

Matthews, Alfred. *History of Wayne, Pike, and Monroe Counties, Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: R.T. Peck & Company, 1886.

Mead, Stith, Preacher of the Gospel, M.E.C., *A General Selection of the Newest and Most Admired Hymns and Spiritual Songs Now in Use*. Richmond: Seaton Grantland, 1807.

Methodist Episcopal Church Society. *The Ladies' Handbook and Household Assistant: A Manual of Religious and Table Etiquette; a Selection of Choice Recipes for Plain and Fancy Cooking and a Compend of Rules, Tables, and Suggestions of Infinite Value in Every Household*. Claremont, New Hampshire: Co-Operative Publishing Co., 1886. (JBL)

Mothers' Guild of St. John Episcopal Church. *The Household Digest and Directory*. Waterbury, Connecticut: Mothers' Guild, St. John Episcopal Church, 1925(?) (JBL)

National Archive. <http://research.archives.gov/description/512530> [accessed June 24, 2014]

Nichol, Francis D. *Ellen G. White & Her Critics: An Answer to the Major Charges that Critics Have Brought Against Mrs. Ellen G. White*.

<http://www.whiteestate.org/books/egwhc/egwhctoc.html> [accessed May 5, 2015] (EGW)

O'Neill, Kathleen. "No Irish Need Apply," Philadelphia: J.H. Johnson, Stationer & Printer, 1892(?). Library of Congress, American Memory, "American Singing: Nineteenth-Century Song Sheets." <http://www.loc.gov/item/amss002378/> [accessed May 2, 2015]

- Onstott, Mrs. Daniel. "The Wesley Teapot and its History," *Western Christian Advocate*, Cincinnati 77, no. 50 (1911): 30-31.
- Owen, Robert Dale. *Moral Physiology; or, A Brief Plain Treatise on the Population Question*, 2nd Edition. New York: Wright & Owen, 1831.
- Rauschenbusch, Walter. *Christianizing the Social Order*. New York: McMillan, 1926.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. "President Theodore Roosevelt Addresses the General Conference on Social Reform," in *The Methodist Experience in America, A Sourcebook, Vol. II*, eds. Russell E. Richey, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000): 469-472.
- Seventh-day Adventist Church. "Beliefs." <http://www.adventist.org/beliefs/> [accessed April 14, 2015]
- Sheldon, Charles M. *In His Steps*. Philadelphia: H. Altemus, 1889.
- Shew, Dr. Joel. *The Hydropathic Family Physician: A Ready Prescriber and Hygienic Advisor*. New York: Fowler & Wells, 1857.
- Stead, W.T. "The Progress of the World," *The Review of Reviews* 45, no. 268 (1912): 337-350.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or, Life among the Lowly*. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1852.
- "Suffragette Madonna." Dunston-Weiler Lithograph Company, 1909. Catherine H. Palczewski, Postcard Archive. University of Northern Iowa. Cedar Falls, Iowa.
<http://www.uni.edu/palczews/NEW%20postcard%20webpage/Dunston%20Weiler.html>
[accessed May 20, 2015]
- Taylor, Jeremy. *Holy Living*. London: Printed for Richard Royston, 1650.
- . The Rule & Exercises of Holy Dying. London: Printed for Richard Royston, 1651.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*, transl. Henry Reeve. State College, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University, 2002.
- Trall, R.T. *The New Hydropathic Cook Book*. New York: Fowler & Wells, 1857.
- United States Steel Corporation Bureau of Safety-Sanitation and Welfare. *Bulletin No, 7* (December 1918).
- U.S. Food Administration and C.E. Society, Church of the Covenant. *Wartime Cook Book: Food Will Win the War*. Washington, D.C.: Acme Printing Company, Inc., 1918.
- Wesley, Charles. "The Horrible Decree, 1741," in *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love*, 34.
https://divinity.duke.edu/sites/divinity.duke.edu/files/documents/cswt/07_Hymns_on_God%27s_Everlasting_Love_%281741%29.pdf [accessed May 20, 2015]

Wesley, John. *Advices with Respect to Health, Extracted from a Late Author, 4th Edition*. London: printed and sold at the New-Chapel, City-Road; and at the Rev. Mr. Wesley's preaching-houses in town and country, 1789.

-----. *The Complete Works of John Wesley, Volume 10: Letters, Essays, Dialogues, and Addresses*. Albany: Books for the Ages, 1997.

-----. *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as Believed and Taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, from the year 1725, to the year 1765*. Bristol: William Pine, 1770.

-----. *A Plain Account of the People Called Methodists*. Bristol: London: J. Paramore at the Foundry, 1749.

-----. *Primitive Physic, or An Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases*. London: J. Paramore at the Foundry, 1785.

-----. "Sermon 58, On Predestination," June 5, 1773. <http://wesley.nnu.edu/john-wesley/the-sermons-of-john-wesley-1872-edition/sermon-58-on-predestination/> [accessed February 15, 2015]

-----. "Sermon 137, On the Resurrection of the Dead," 1732. Northwest Nazarene University <http://wesley.nnu.edu/john-wesley/the-sermons-of-john-wesley-1872-edition/sermon-137-on-the-resurrection-of-the-dead/> [accessed April 30, 2015]

-----. "Sermon 141, The Image of God, 1730" in *The Works of John Wesley, Vol. 4, Sermons 115-151*, ed. Albert C. Outler (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987): 292-303.

Wesley, Susanna. *Susanna Wesley: The Complete Writings*, ed. Charles Wallace, Jr. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

-----. Letter to Samuel Wesley, February 6, 1712 in *Susanna Wesley: the Complete Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997): 79.

White, Ellen G. *Adventist Home: Counsels to Seventh-day Adventist Families as Set Forth in the Writings of Ellen G. White*. Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1952.

-----. *Counsels on Diet and Foods*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946.

-----. *Daughters of God: Messages Especially for Women*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing, 1998.

-----. *The Dress Reform*, pamphlet. Battle Creek, Michigan: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868. (EGW)

-----. "God's Design in Our Sanitariums," in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 6*. Oakland, California: Pacific Press, 1901. (EGW)

-----. *The Faith I Live By*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing, 1958.

- . “Go Forward,” *Bible Training School* 1, no. 2 (1902): 27-28. (EGW)
- . “The Health Institute,” in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 3*. Battle Creek, Michigan: Review and Herald Publishing, 1872. (EGW)
- . “The Health Reform,” in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 1, 4th Edition*. Oakland, California: Pacific Press, 1948. (EGW)
- . “Lessons from the Third Chapter of Revelation: A Form of Godliness without Power,” *Manuscript 50* (May 21, 1904). (EGW)
- . Letter, July 15, 1901. (EGW)
- . Letter to Brother and Sister Kress, March 11, 1903. (EGW)
- . Letter to Brother and Sister Kress, June 24, 1903. (EGW)
- . Letter to Brother and Sister Kress, January 18, 1904. (EGW)
- . Letter to James Edson White, May 25, 1869. (EGW)
- . Letter to John Harvey Kellogg, December 30, 1886 (K-6-1886). (EGW)
- . Letter to John Harvey Kellogg, May 15, 1891 (K-10-1891). (EGW)
- . Letter to John Harvey Kellogg, August 5, 1892 (K-19-1892). (EGW)
- . Letter to Mary Loughborough, June 6, 1861. (EGW)
- . Letter to a physician, St. Helena Sanitarium, August 12, 1896. (EGW)
- . “Manual Training,” in *Education*. Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1903. (EGW)
- . *Manuscript Releases, Vol. 5*. Silver Spring, Maryland: Ellen G. White Estate, 1990. (EGW)
- . *The Ministry of Healing*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1905. (EGW)
- . “Perilous Times,” in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 1, 4th Edition*. Oakland, California: Pacific Press, 1948.
- . “Position and Work of the Sanitarium, 1881” in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 4*. Battle Creek, Michigan: Review and Herald, 1881. (EGW)
- . “Preserve the Body Temple,” in *Our Father Cares: Devotional Readings for 1992*. Hagerstown, Maryland: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1991.
- . *Reflecting Christ*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1985.
- . “Reform in Dress,” in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 1, 4th Edition*. Oakland, California: Pacific Press, 1948. (EGW)

- . *Sermons and Talks, Vol. I.* Silver Spring, Maryland: Ellen G. White Estate, 1990.
- . *Spalding and Magan's Unpublished Manuscript Testimonies by Ellen G. White.* <http://egwtext.whiteestate.org/publication.php?pubtype=Book&bookCode=SpM&lang=en&page number=394&m=1> [accessed February 20, 2015] (EGW)
- . "Sunnyside," *Manuscript 29* (1897). (EGW)
- . *Testimony Studies on Diet and Foods.* Loma Linda, CA: College of Medical Evangelists, 1926. (EGW)
- . "Wives of Ministers," in *Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 1, 4th Edition.* Oakland, California: Pacific Press, 1948. (EGW)
- White, Ellen G. and Eld. James White. *Christian Temperance and Bible Hygiene.* Battle Creek, Michigan: Good Health Publishing Co., 1890. (EGW)
- White, James. "The Temperance Movement," *The Review and Herald* 50, no. 2 (1877): 12. (EGW)
- Willard, Francis. "Woman and Temperance; or, the Work and Workers of the Womans Christian Temperance Union, 1883," in *The Methodist Experience in America, A Sourcebook, Vol. II,* eds. Russell E. Richey, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000): 413-415.
- Women of Grace Church, Ishpeming, Michigan. *Superior Cook Book.* Ishpeming, Michigan: The Peninsular Record Publishing Co., Ltd., 1905. (MSU)

Secondary Sources

- Abzug, Robert H. *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.
- Allen, L. Dean. *Rise Up O Men of God: the Men and Religion Forward Movement and Promise Keepers.* Macon: Mercer University Press, 2002.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* New York: Verso, 1983.
- Anderson, Godfrey T. "Sectarianism and Organization, 1846-1864," in *Adventism in America,* ed. Gary Land. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1986): 36-66.
- Arnott, Teresa and Julie Matthaei. *Race, Gender, and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States.* Boston: South End Press, 1991.
- Behling, Laura L. *The Masculine Woman in America, 1890-1935.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

- Belasco, Warren. *Food: the Key Concepts*. New York: Berg, 2008.
- Benstock, Shari, ed. *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.
- Blumin, Stuart M. *The Emergence of the Middle-Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1730-1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Bose, Christine E. *Women in 1900: Gateway to the Political Economy of the 20th Century*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.
- Bower, Anne, ed. *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.
- Braude, Ann. *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.
- , "Women's History IS American Religious History," in *Retelling U.S. Religious History*, ed. Thomas A. Tweed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997): 87-107.
- Brekus, Catherine A. *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- Brown, Candy Gunther. "Healing," in *The Cambridge Companion to Methodism*, ed. Jason E. Vickers. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 227-242.
- Brown, Eleanor. *Culinary Americana: Cookbooks Published in the Cities and Towns of the United States of America during the years from 1860 through 1960*. New York: Roving Press, 1961.
- Brown, Matthew P. *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- Bruce, Dickson D. *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974.
- Buettner, Dan. "The Secrets of Long Life," *National Geographic Magazine* (November 2005): 2-27.
- Bull, Malcolm and Keith Lockhart. *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream, 2nd Edition*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Butler, Jonathan M. "The Making of a New Order," in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 189-208.
- , "Portrait," in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 1-29.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.

- Butler, Mary, et al. *The Battle Creek Idea: Dr. John Harvey Kellogg and the Battle Creek Sanitarium*. Jacksonville, Florida: Heritage Publishing, 1994.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Carnes, Mark C. *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Carson, Gerald. *Cornflake Crusade: From the Pulpit to the Breakfast Table*. New York: Rinehart & Company, 1957.
- Center for the Study of Egodocuments and History. <http://www.egodocument.net/egodocument/> [accessed August 5, 2015]
- Chilcote, Paul W. *She Offered them Christ: the Legacy of Women Preachers in Early Methodism*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993.
- Clark, Jr., Clifford E. "The Vision of the Dining Room: Plan Book Dreams and Middle-Class Realities," in *Dining in America, 1850-1900*, ed. Kathryn Grover (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987): 142-172.
- Cogan, Frances B. *All-American Girl: the Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.
- Conkin, Paul. K. *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Connell, R.W. *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987.
- Connell, R.W. and James W. Messerschmidt. "Hegemonic Masculinity," in *Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics, 4th Edition*, ed. Judith Lorber (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 218-225.
- Cooper, Ann. *A Woman's Place is in the Kitchen: the Evolution of Women Chefs*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1998.
- Cowan, Ruth Schwartz. *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1991): 1241-1299.
- Curran, Patricia. *Grace Before Meals: Food Ritual and Body Disciplines in Convent Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- Cutler, David and Grant Miller. "The Role of Public Health Improvements in Health Advances: The Twentieth-Century United States," *Demography* 42, no. 1 (2005): 1-22.

Davis, Ellen F. *Scripture, Culture, and Agriculture: An Agrarian Reading of the Bible*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Diner, Hasia. *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Dodson, Jualynne E. and Cheryl Townsend Gilkes. "There's Nothing Like Church Food: Food and the U.S. Afro-Christian Tradition: Re-Membering Community and Feeding the Embodied S/spirit(s)," *Journal for the American Academy of Religion* 63, no. 3 (1995): 519-538.

Dorsey, Bruce. *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Doubleday, 1977.

Douglas, Mary. "The Forbidden Animals in Leviticus," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 18, no. 59 (1993): 3-23.

Dudden, Faye E. *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America*. Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1983.

Durkheim, Émile. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, transl. Carol Cosman. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Ehrlich, Elizabeth. *Miriam's Kitchen: a Memoir*. New York: Viking, 1997.

Epstein, Barbara. *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1981.

Endres, Kathleen L. "A Voice for the Christian Family: the Methodist Episcopal Ladies' Repository in the Civil War," *Methodist History* 33, no. 2 (1995): 84-97.

Engs, Ruth Clifford. *The Progressive Era's Health Reform Movement: A Historical Dictionary*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003.

Evans, Christopher H. "From Militant Methodism to Secular Christianity: the Social Gospel in American Methodist Historical Narratives," *Methodist History* 38, no. 3 (2000): 147-159.

Fackler, Mark P. and Charles H. Lippy, eds. *Popular Religious Magazines of the United States*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995.

Felleman, Laura Bartels. "A Necessary Relationship: John Wesley and the Body-Soul Connection," in *"Inward and Outward Health": John Wesley's Holistic Concept of Medical Science, the Environment, and Holy Living*, ed. Deborah Madden (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2008): 140-168.

Fick, Gary W. *Food, Farming, and Faith*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008.

Finke, Roger and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

- Flint, Kate. *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Foner, Philip Sheldon. *Women and the American Labor Movement: From the First Trade Unions through the Present*. New York: Free Press, 1982.
- Frederick, John T. "Hawthorne's Scribbling Women," *The New England Quarterly* 48 (1975): 231-240.
- Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: Norton, 1963.
- Fuller, Robert C. *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Grammer, Elizabeth Elkin. *Some Wild Visions: Autobiographies by Female Itinerant Evangelists in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Graybill, Ronald. "Prophet," in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 74-90.
- Green, Harvey. *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.
- , *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.
- Greven, Philip. *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Griffith, R. Marie. *Born Again Bodies: Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Gutjahr, Paul C. *American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777-1880*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Halberstam, Judith. *Female Masculinity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Harvard University Library Open Collections Program. "Settlement House Movement," *Aspiration, Acculturation, and Impact: Immigration to the United States 1789-1930*. <http://ocp.hul.harvard.edu/immigration/settlement.html> [accessed March 6, 2015]
- Haskins, James. *The Methodists*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1992.
- Hayden, Dolores. *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981.
- Hempton, David. *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

- , *The Religion of the People: Methodism and Popular Religion c. 1750-1900*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Heneghan, Bridget T. *Whitewashing America: Material Culture and Race in the Antebellum Imagination*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2003.
- Inness, Sherrie A., ed. *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Jester, Susan. *A Mighty Baptism: Race, Gender, and the Creation of American Protestantism*. Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Kalčík, Susan. "Ethnic Foodways in America: Symbol and the Performance of Identity," in *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: the Performance of Group Identity*, eds. Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984): 37-65.
- Katzman, David M. *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Kelley, Mary. *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Kern, Kathi. *Mrs. Stanton's Bible*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Kingsbury, Celia Malone. *For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Kitchen Judaism," in *Getting Comfortable in New York: the American Jewish Home, 1880-1950*, eds. Jenna Weissman Joselit and Susan L. Braunstein (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991): 77-105.
- Langland, Elizabeth. "Nobody's Angels: Domestic Ideology and Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Novel," *PMLA* 107 (1992): 290-304.
- LaCombe, Michael A. "Subject or Signifier?: Food and the History of Early North America," *History Compass* 11, no.10 (2013): 859-868.
- Lears, T.J. Jackson. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.
- Leavitt, Sarah A. *From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart: A Cultural History of Domestic Advice*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Levenstein, Harvey A. *Revolution at the Table: the Transformation of the American Diet*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Lindenauer, Leslie J. *Piety and Power: Gender and Religious Culture in the American Colonies, 1630-1700*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Logan, Shirley Wilson. *"We Are Coming": The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women*. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999.

Longone, Janice Bluestein. "Early Black-Authored American Cookbooks," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 1, no. 1 (2001): 96-99.

-----, "'Tried Receipts': An Overview of America's Charitable Cookbooks," in *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, ed. Anne Bower. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997): 17-28.

Lorber, Judith, ed. *Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics, 5th Edition*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Lynch-Brennan, Margaret. *The Irish Bridget: Irish Immigrant Women in Domestic Service in America, 1840-1930*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009.

Lyons, Martyn. "New Readers in the Nineteenth Century: Women, Children, Workers," in *A History of Reading in the West*, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003): 313-344.

Maddox, Randy L. "'Celebrating the Whole Wesley': A Legacy for Contemporary Wesleyans," *Methodist History* 43, no. 2 (2005): 74-88.

-----, "John Wesley on Holistic Health and Healing," *Methodist History* 46, no. 1 (2007): 4-33.

Marty, Martin E. *Righteous Empire: the Protestant Experience in America*. New York: Dial Press, 1970.

McDannell, Colleen. *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

-----, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

-----, "Parlor Piety: The Home as Sacred Space in Protestant America," in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: a Social History of Spaces and Services*, eds. Jessica H. Foy and Thomas J. Schlereth (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992): 162-189.

McFeely, Mary Drake. *Can She Bake a Cherry Pie? American Women and the Kitchen in the Twentieth Century*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.

McGuire, Meredith B. *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

McIntosh, Elaine N. *American Food Habits in Historical Perspective*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1995.

- McIntosh, William Alexander. *Sociologies of Food and Nutrition*. New York: Peplum Press, 1996.
- McKie, Linda, et al., eds. *Gender, Power, and the Household*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- McLoughlin, William G. *The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900: An Anthology*. New York: Harper, 1968.
- Messenger, Troy. *Holy Leisure and God's Square Mile*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990.
- Michigan State University. "Feeding America: the Historic American Cookbook Project." http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/books/book_68.cfm [accessed July 9, 2013]
- Mintz, Sidney. "Eating American," in *Food in the USA: A Reader*, ed. Carole M. Counihan (New York: Routledge, 2002): 23-34.
- , *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1986.
- , *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1996.
- Morgan, Douglas. *Adventism and the American Republic: the Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001.
- Mountford, Roxanne. *The Gendered Pulpit: Preaching in American Protestant Spaces*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003.
- Mullendore, William Clinton. *History of the United States Food Administration, 1917-1919*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1941.
- Neuhaus, Jessamyn. *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Nissenbaum, Stephen. *Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980.
- Noll, Mark A. *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1992.
- Nord, David Paul. *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Norwood, Frederick A. *The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974.
- Numbers, Ronald L. *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2008.

- Numbers, Ronald L. and Rennie B. Schoepflin. "Ministries of Healing: Mary Baker Eddy, Ellen G. White, and the Religion of Health," in *Women and Health in America: Historical Readings, 2nd Edition*, ed. Judith Walzer Leavitt (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999): 579-595.
- O'Brien, Betty A. "The Lord's Supper: Fruit of the Vine or Cup of Devils?," *Methodist History* 31, no. 4 (1993): 203-223.
- Ott, Philip W. "John Wesley on Health: A Word for Sensible Regimen," *Methodist History* 18, no.2 (1980): 193-204.
- Patrick, Arthur. "Author," in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 91-109.
- Promey, Sally M. *Spiritual Spectacles: Vision and Image in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Shakerism* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.
- Rawlyk, George A. and Mark A. Noll, eds. *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States*. Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Rea, Walter T. *The White Lie*. Turlock, California: M & R Publications, 1982.
- Reid, George W. *A Sound of Trumpets: Americans, Adventists, and Health Reform*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1982.
- Richey, Russell E., et al. *American Methodism: A Compact History*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2010.
- Ross, Alice. "Health and Diet in 19th-century America: A Food Historian's Point of View," *Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (1993): 42-56.
- Ryan, Mary P. *The Empire of the Mother: American Writing about Domesticity, 1830-1860*. New York: Haworth Press, 1982.
- Sack, Daniel. *Whitebread Protestants: Food and Religion in American Culture*. New York: PALGRAVE, 2000.
- Satter, Beryl. *Each Mind a Kingdom: American Women, Sexual Purity, and the New Thought Movement, 1875-1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Schmidt, Leigh Eric. *Holy Friars: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Schreier Barbara A. *Becoming American Women: Clothing and the Jewish Immigrant Experience, 1880-1920*. Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1994.
- Schneider, A. Gregory. *The Way of the Cross Leads Home: the Domestication of American Methodism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.
- Schultze, Quentin J. *Christianity and the Mass Media in America*. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2003.

- Shaver, Lisa J. *Beyond the Pulpit: Women's Rhetorical Roles in the Antebellum Religious Press*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012.
- Sklar, Kathryn Kish. "Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 10, No. 4 (1985): 658-677.
- Smith, Laura. "'Don't Be Too Careful of Your Silks and Rags': Domesticity and Race in 19th-Century American Literature," *Literature Compass* 9, no. 5 (2012): 343-356.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Steinberg, Stephen. *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001.
- Suggs, M. Jack, et al., eds. *The Oxford Study Bible, Revised English Bible with the Apocrypha*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Suzuki, Nanumi. "Popular Health Movements and Diet Reform in Nineteenth-Century America," *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 21 (2010): 111-137.
- Tait, Jennifer L. Woodruff. *The Poisoned Chalice: Eucharistic Grape Juice and Common-Sense Realism in Victorian Methodism*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011.
- Taves, Ann. "Visions," in *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, eds. Terrie Dopp Aamodt, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 30-51.
- Theophano, Janet. *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks they Wrote*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.
- Thompkins, Kyla Wazana. *Racial Ingestion: Eating Bodies in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: New York University Press, 2012.
- Thompson, Andrew C. "The General Means of Grace," *Methodist History* 51, no. 4 (2013): 249-257.
- Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1964.
- Tonkovich, Nicole. *Domesticity with a Difference: the Nonfiction of Catharine Beecher, Sarah J. Hale, Fanny Fern and Margaret Fuller*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997.
- Vande Vere, Emmett K. "Years of Expansion, 1865-1885," in *Adventism in America: A History*, ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1986): 66-95.
- Veit, Helen Zoe. *Modern Food, Moral Food: Self-Control, Science, and the Rise of Modern American Eating in the Early Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.

- Vickers, Jason E. "American Methodism: a Theological Tradition," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Methodism*, ed. Jason E. Vickers (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 9-43.
- Wacker, Grant. *Religion in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Warner, Lacey C. "American Methodist Women: Roles and Contribution," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Methodism*, ed. Jason E. Vickers (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 316-334.
- Wayne, Tiffany K. *Women's Roles in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2007.
- Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1966): 151-174.
- Werner, David. "John Wesley's Question: 'How is Your Doing?,'" *The Asbury Journal* 65, no. 2 (2010): 68-93.
- West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman. "Doing Gender," *Gender and Society* 1, no. 2 (1987): 125-151.
- Whiteley, Marilyn Färdig. *Canadian Methodist Women, 1766-1925: Marys, Marthas, Mothers in Israel*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005.
- Whorton, James C. *Crusaders for Fitness: the History of American Health Reformers*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Wilcox, William Bradford. *Soft Patriarchs, New Men: How Christianity Shapes Fathers and Husbands*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Williams, Peter W. *America's Religions: Traditions and Cultures*. New York: MacMillan, 1990.
- , *Popular Religion in America: Symbolic Change and the Modernization Process in Historical Perspective*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- Williams, Susan. *Food in the United States, 1820s-1890*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006.
- , *Savory Suppers and Fashionable Feasts: Dining in Victorian America*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.
- Wilson, John F. *Religion and the American Nation: Historiography and History*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003.
- Yrigoyen, Jr., Charles and Susan E. Warrick, eds. *Historical Dictionary of Methodism, 3rd Edition*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2013.