



2011

Abstention to Consumption: The Development of American Vegetarianism, 1817-1917

Adam Daniel Shprintzen
Loyola University Chicago

Recommended Citation

Shprintzen, Adam Daniel, "Abstention to Consumption: The Development of American Vegetarianism, 1817-1917" (2011).
Dissertations. Paper 75.
http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/75

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/).
Copyright © 2011 Adam Daniel Shprintzen

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

ABSTENTION TO CONSUMPTION:
THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN
VEGETARIANISM, 1817-1917

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN HISTORY

BY

ADAM D. SHPRINTZEN

CHICAGO, IL

MAY 2011

Copyright by Adam D. Shprintzen, 2011
All rights reserved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The process of writing a dissertation is the culmination and direct result of the support, encouragement and guidance from innumerable family members, friends, mentors and colleagues along the way. I am indebted to everyone who has taken the time, effort and care to help.

I would like to thank Loyola University Chicago for awarding me funding necessary to complete my research and writing. An Advanced Doctoral Fellowship during the 2009-2010 school year allowed me to make considerable progress researching and begin early ventures in writing. An Arthur J. Schmidt Dissertation Fellowship for the 2010-2011 academic year allowed the proper time and attention for dedicated writing.

The History Department at Loyola has been a constant source of support and inspiration. The dedication and direction of Tim Gilfoyle has illustrated to me what it truly means to be a dedicated mentor and academic. I am indebted to Dr. Gilfoyle for his advice, effort and hard work in helping me get to this point. Further I am immensely grateful for the assistance and counsel of Susan Hirsch and Harold Platt, both of whom provided invaluable advice and direction while serving as members of my dissertation committee. My unending gratitude also belongs to the members of the History Dissertation Writing Group whose feedback, suggestions and support helped shape and greatly improve my final product.

I have been unendingly fortunate to have always had the enthusiastic support of my family in my academic pursuits. My parents have always gone out of their way to encourage and foster critical thought and creativity, qualities that have served me well in my graduate studies. Most importantly, they have always been there to let me know that everything works out for the best; to them I truly owe everything. My sister Jodi, brother-in-law Evan, mother-in-law Jane, grandparents Milton, Florence, Shirley and Jesse, and my in-laws from the Hakimian family have all been constant sources of support and motivation throughout the dissertation process and I am forever indebted to them.

Most importantly, I would not have gotten to the conclusion of this dissertation without the love, support and patience of my wife Rachel. When we first met this project was just a small research paper for a graduate seminar. Its growth has corresponded to the growth of our life together, through our wedding and beyond. Rachel's smile, humor and support made the dissertation process infinitely more manageable. I look forward to the day in the future when we can look back, laugh and reminisce about the "old days" in our tiny apartment in West Rogers Park, filled with old vegetarian cookbooks, excitement, laughter, hope and anticipation.

For Rachel...

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: THE RISE OF DIETARY REFORM	11
CHAPTER TWO: NEW IDENTITIES/NEW ORGANIZATIONS	62
CHAPTER THREE: THE AMERICAN VEGETARIAN SOCIETY	93
CHAPTER FOUR: FREE SOIL, FREE LABOR, FREE VEGETARIANISM	134
CHAPTER FIVE: VEGETARIANISM AND CONSUMPTION	171
CHAPTER SIX: WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE A SUCCESSFUL VEGETARIAN?	219
CHAPTER SEVEN: PHYSICAL CULTURE AND VEGETARIANISM	265
CONCLUSION	324
BIBLIOGRAPHY	334
VITA	358

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	“The Great Republican Reform Party, Calling on Their Candidate” (New York: Currier & Ives, 1856).	117

ABSTRACT

The history of vegetarianism in the United States has long been shrouded in myth, assumption and obfuscation. Vegetarianism as a vital ideological and political movement has often been presented—even by its proponents—as a product of twentieth century modernism, reflecting a rise in ethical consumer awareness. The historical record of the nineteenth century, however, tells a very different story. The notion that dietary choices could be connected with larger social and political goals was formulated during, and changed dramatically in the nineteenth century. This dissertation charts the rise and evolution of vegetarianism in the United States from 1817 until 1917.

This project will present the first complete analysis of vegetarian activities in the United States during this time period. Through analysis of health and reform journals, personal papers, vegetarian society administrative papers, newspaper accounts and popular culture references, it is possible to chart distinct changes in the ways that vegetarians reacted to rapid socio-political change. Dividing the vegetarian movement in the United States into two distinct time periods gives insight into the changing nature of reform, gender roles, health care, consumerism and individualism. During this time period vegetarianism shifted from a method aimed at conquering social ills and injustice, to a path for personal strength and success in a newly individualistic, consumption-driven economy.

INTRODUCTION

Writing to *Vanity Fair* magazine in the fall of 1860 under the pseudonym “Julia Befeeter,” a Brooklyn woman complained about the perils of her current existence and the challenges facing her life. Rather than focus on the burgeoning sectional crises that threatened the Union, the author of the letter—writing under a thinly veiled alias—launched an invective against a dietary civil war taking place in her own household. The writer explained that she was tormented by “infections heaped on my plate three times a day by my cabbage headed husband.” As a result “Befeeter” had written to the magazine for advice on how to best deal with her husband’s dietary choices. She explained that her husband had traveled to “that wretched Philadelphia” on what he claimed was a business trip. However, she learned the truth. Instead, he had visited in order to “attend The Eleventh Anniversary of the American Vegetarian Society” where he would suffer the fate of having his head crammed “with nonsensical ideas about beans, and potatoes, and cold water.”

The letter concluded with a warning of a vegetarian diet’s potential effect on the couple’s marriage. “I will sue for a divorce from this garden bed and vegetable life,” she exclaimed, threatening her own personal secession. The writer was so physically weak that she had to sit down to even write her letter, and the cause was her husband’s “odious vegetarian diet” that was more “fit for an old cow, instead of the graceful but half

starved.”¹ In its vociferous opposition the letter accurately illustrated popular fears of the growing vegetarian reform movement. But what about this new identity was so threatening and objectionable?

Abstention from meat was utilized as a vital ideological and political movement dating back to the early years of the nineteenth century and changed significantly over time. But all too often vegetarianism in the United States has been presented—even by its proponents—as a product of twentieth-century modernism, reflecting a rise in ethical consumer awareness.² Dietary choices regarding meat consumption were, in fact, connected with larger nutritional, social and political goals formulated during the nineteenth and twentieth century. Vegetarians were the first group of American reformers to explicitly state that dietary choices had larger political and social implications.

Julia Befeeter’s desperate plea reflected the radical nature of vegetarianism as a burgeoning social reform movement in the United States during the middle of the nineteenth century. However, within just thirty years from the time of Befeeter’s published appeal, vegetarianism’s perception and place amongst reform movements shifted significantly. The diet and identity lost its politicized, communal goals, embraced by mainstream society for its ideological connection to notions of individual success.

¹ Julia Befeeter, “The Vegetarians,” *Vanity Fair* (6 October 1860): 172.

² A similar point is made in Colin Spencer, *Vegetarianism: A History* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002), x. For examples of vegetarian publications illustrating historical amnesia of the movement, see Dudley Giehl, *Vegetarianism, A Way of Life* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979); Reed Mangels, Virginia Messina, Mark Messina, *The Dietitian's Guide to Vegetarian Diets: Issues and Application* (Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett Learning, 2004), 3; Heather Gorn, “25 Years of Vegetarianism and a Look into the Future,” *Vegetarian Journal* 26 no. 3 (2007): 6-13.

From 1817 until 1917, vegetarianism shifted from a method aimed at conquering social ills and injustice to a path for personal strength and success in a newly individualistic, consumption-driven economy. Until the Civil War vegetarianism was utilized as part of a radical critique of social, economic, gendered and racial structures in the United States. In the postbellum years through the Progressive Era individuals embraced the lifestyle in order to successfully compete in a new society of consumption and individual triumph. How did this shift occur? What were the implications of these changes? And what does this development ultimately say about the nature of American reform in the nineteenth and early twentieth century?

While the history of vegetarianism as a movement and distinct identity in the United States can be traced to 1817, proto-vegetarian groups (individuals who became involved in the formation of a vegetarian identity and national movement) were not the first who considered the implications of meat consumption on moral and physical health. Native American tribes such as the Osage acknowledged their roots as being based in peaceful, agricultural farmers who ate no flesh.³ In addition some early European migrants to North America followed meatless dietetics. In Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, German immigrant Johann Conrad Beissel led a group of followers in 1721 living in a meatless community as a means for spiritual and moral cleansing.⁴ William Dorrell—a former British soldier who fought for the crown during the American Revolution—repatriated in Vermont after the war and began a settlement of religious

³ Jon Ewbank Manchip White, *Everyday Life of the North American Indian* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2003): 107

⁴ E.G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 66.

perfectionists who refused to utilize animal products in food, dress or labor.⁵ Some members of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia—commonly known as the Quakers—practiced a meatless diet as a means to respect the souls of animals who they believed, like humans, would become liberated from their bodies at the time of ultimate judgment.⁶

In Great Britain meatless dietetics had deep roots as well in the eighteenth century. Swedenborgian churches popped up throughout London in the 1770s and 1780s, preaching Christian mysticism through meat abstinence.⁷ The Swedenborgians eventually gave birth to the movement that led British dietary reformers to the United States. Further, British medical care began flirting with meatless dietetics as a means to cure patients, led by physician William Lambe in the 1790s.⁸ The famed, romantic British poet Percy Bysshe Shelley speculated in 1813 on the coming of an age of peace, where humans would no longer give into their violent desires for flesh foods.⁹ Meat abstinence as a large-scale movement found its way to the United States by 1817 and while a trans-Atlantic exchange often occurred between the two groups, American vegetarianism diverged significantly from their British counterparts in terms of demographics, goals and methods.

⁵ John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 132; Michael A. Bellesiles, *Revolutionary Outlaws: Ethan Allen and the Struggle for Independence on the Early American Frontier* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 221.

⁶ Stuart, 36.

⁷ Spencer, 239-40.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁹ Percy Bysshe Shelley, "Queen Mab: A Philosophical Poem," *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley Volume 1*, ed. George Edward Woodberry (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1892), 73.

A theoretical framework is necessary to approach the topic of American vegetarianism in order to delineate the individuals and groups necessary to study. Not every person who abstained from meat was a vegetarian; some ate a meatless diet for stretches of time out of pure economic necessity but did not embrace the identity. The concept of constructed identities can be utilized to try to understand how a vegetarian identity was built and changed over time. Identity construction is particularly important to note for this study, as the concept of vegetarianism as a political subjectivity gave rise to the term vegetarian in the United States in 1850. In previous decades meat abstainers were referred to as following a “natural diet,” being a “Grahamite,” “herbivorous,” or “frugivorous” if one was particularly inclined to eating fruit. In some instances adherents to a vegetable-based diet were known as “Pythagoreans” as a result of the ancient philosopher’s fusion of ethics and a meat-free diet.¹⁰ By 1850 the term vegetarian had become triumphant and was attached to a distinct identity—one shaped by both meat eaters and abstainers alike. This new identity was recognized amongst the great reform movements of the age and changed significantly over a relatively short period of time.

Since the very identity of “vegetarian-ness” is constructed it is important to trace its evolution over time. As post-structuralist scholars have pointed out in their studies of gender, sexuality and other identities, labels inherently shape, influence and bring meaning to identities and lived experiences.¹¹ Vegetarian identity shifted over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century according to differing social conditions,

¹⁰ Spencer, 218-219.

¹¹ See, for example, Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1989); for an example of identity construction applied by a historian, see Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.)

inter-personal and inter-specie relationships. While vegetarians were individuals who abstained from eating animal flesh, for the purposes of this study they were something more. Rather, vegetarians were individuals or a group of individuals actively involved in creating or shaping a distinct identity associated with a diet that excluded the consumption of flesh foods.

Scholars have written on the history of vegetarianism in the United States, though frequently as a derivative of religious movements.¹² While religion was one motivation for the reasons for the development of vegetarianism, in order to fully understand meatless dietary reform and its relationship to American society it is necessary to explore the movement through a larger historical framework of changing ideas of social reform. Vegetarians interacted with large-scale social, economic and political changes, utilizing their lifestyle at first as a means to criticize and change society, and eventually as a way

¹² Historians have considered American vegetarian history, though frequently as a secondary concern for reformers or as an illustration of the proliferation of a wide range of supposedly odd or fraudulent ideas that cropped up in the nineteenth century's marketplace of ideas. The full scope of the role of vegetarians' activities in the nineteenth and early twentieth century has, as a result, often been overlooked or obscured in the historiography of the changing nature of reform. Scholars that have studied vegetarianism's development have added much to the general historical understanding of the development of the diet as a lifestyle choice, though primarily outside of the United States. Studies have illustrated the international reach of fleshless dietetics, explaining how the Hindu notion of ahimsa (the preservation of all life) encountered by British colonists in the Indian subcontinent helped the ideology gain a footing in the United Kingdom. These works have emphasized vegetarianism's spread as an expression of varying religious ideals (including Hinduism, Judaism, Islam and Christianity). For examples, see Tristram Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2008); Colin Spencer *Vegetarianism: A History* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002). Other monographs have highlighted the role of vegetarians in nineteenth-century England, focusing on the movement's connections with a variety of social, political and religious groups. However, placing vegetarianism within a rubric of reifying Victorian social norms is one that will not suffice in studying American vegetarianism. In the United States the movement changed greatly over time, starting as a communal radical critique of the status quo, evolving into an advocate for modern, apolitical individualism. See James Gregory, *Of Victorians and Vegetarians* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007).

to succeed as individuals and support a new commercialized country by the start of the twentieth century.¹³

Vegetarians have also often faced the stigma of being labeled faddists.¹⁴ In fact, the prevailing image of nineteenth-century vegetarians as eccentric because of their perspectives regarding sexuality even resonates within modern popular literature.¹⁵ Sexuality, however, represents only one framework for understanding nineteenth-century vegetarianism. Indeed, the connection of vegetarianism with notions of sexuality disappeared by 1850 with the rise of the American Vegetarian Society. This shift away from the specter of well-known health reformer Sylvester Graham was fundamental to the rise of a distinct ideology known as vegetarianism in the late antebellum era.¹⁶

¹³ Historians that have discussed vegetarianism in larger works on the nineteenth century have described the diet as a result of, rather than as a catalyst for notions of reform. These works often emphasize the anti-sexual nature of many early vegetarians and ignore the implications of the development of the diet and movement itself. Most notably, in regards to vegetarianism's exclusion, current historiography presents vegetarian history in the nineteenth as finite, its influence ending upon the death of reformer Sylvester Graham. See Stephen Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles Over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002), 96; and Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 246-9. Scholars have also approached vegetarianism from a macro-historical standpoint, tracing large-scale cultural and religious developments within the vegetarian movement, documenting a history of ideas stretching from ancient Greece to the American counterculture of the 1960s. The best examples are Rod Preece, *Sins of the Flesh: A History of Ethical Vegetarian Thought* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008); Colin Spencer, *Vegetarianism: A History* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002).

¹⁴ The best example is Ronald M. Deutsch, *The Nuts Among the Berries* (Ballantine Books: New York, 1967).

¹⁵ Chuck Klosterman, "Lady or the Tiger" in *Sex, Drugs and Cocoa Puffs: A Low Culture Manifesto* (New York: Scribner, 2004), 119. Klosterman refers to Sylvester Graham as a "so-called philosopher and nutrition crusader," and "a forward-thinking wackmobile" concluding that "Graham's career was in shambles" by 1840.

¹⁶ Other scholars have departed from emphasizing sexuality and framed vegetarianism within strictly scientific terms, arguing that it was a means to establish personal hygiene based on the principles of rationality. However much this perspective has added to the understanding of vegetarianism's scientific rationale, the insight into the movement is mitigated based on the assumption that vegetarianism dissipated by the 1850s. See, James Whorton, "'Tempest in a Flesh-Pot': The Formulation of a Physiological

Vegetarian identity and culture evolved throughout the nineteenth century but gained its greatest recognition and popularity from normative culture by the twentieth century with an embrace of consumer consumption. Understanding how vegetarianism changed during the Progressive Era is critical in explaining the full nature of vegetarianism's shift by the turn of the twentieth century. Vegetarianism became intertwined with the burgeoning movements of Progressivism, muscular masculinity, athletics and health advocacy, in each instance connecting these ideologies with the power of product consumption. While vegetarians' worst fears regarding meat often came to fruition during health epidemics, their larger ideology was a response to a newly mature, capitalistic society focused on individualized success.¹⁷

American vegetarianism's history during its formative years can be split into two stages in order to organize its larger development and contrast its changes. The first period of American meatless dietary reform and vegetarianism (1817-1860) covers the activities of the Bible Christian Church, Sylvester Graham, the American Vegetarian Society (AVS) and the Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company. Antebellum vegetarianism was utilized as a method for total social reform, including the emancipation of slaves, suffrage of women and the end of oppressive economics.

Rationale for Vegetarianism," *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the History of Medicine and Public Health*, ed. Judith Walzer Leavitt and Ronald L. Numbers. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 313, 315.

¹⁷ Robert Wiebe's influential *The Search for Order* explores the relationship between a rising "new" middle class that saw opportunities within a nascent social order based in functionality, rationality and bureaucratic order. This approach helps frame the basis of Progressive Era vegetarianism, a middle-class ideology supported by a new ethos of marketing, product consumption and the printed word. See, Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967). James Whorton's *Crusaders for Fitness* adds an important framework in analyzing health and diet reformers within the shadow of Progressive Era reform. Whorton, however, emphasizes Progressive Era dietary reform as being a result of developments in the fields of biology and bacteriology. See, James C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

This period was marked by the rise of the power of personal choices for society's benefit at large; reformers viewed their diets as a catalyst for significant communal change. Vegetarian reform was very similar to abolitionism: radical in nature and calling for significant changes in American culture and society. The movement was communal in its goals and activities. Ultimately, however, with the dissolution of the AVS and the failure of the Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company, the vegetarian movement lost its focus on social reform. Given the radical nature of vegetarians' aims during this time period, the movement met significant resistance as the popular media presented vegetarians as frail, weak and sexually impotent. The organizational failures of the AVS and unsuccessful attempt at colonization left vegetarianism without a coherent national ideology and the process of de-politicization began.

From 1861 through 1917, vegetarianism fractured even further. Vegetarians' goals became personal and individualistic, part of a larger trend towards conservative reform during the Progressive Era. The movement emphasized individual dietary choices as part of a healthy and vital lifestyle connected with strength, fitness, athletics, individualism and masculinity. By the turn of the twentieth century, a vegetable-based diet had shifted from a source of radical critiques of social injustice to an advocate for "the strenuous life" described by Theodore Roosevelt as a means to ensure American strength at home and abroad.¹⁸

Vegetarianism emerged as a way to build individual character and personal health in order to succeed in a society driven by personal gain and monetary advancement. The purported benefits of a vegetarian lifestyle were connected to physical strength, muscular

¹⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (New York: Century Co., 1902), 1-9, 16-21.

physiques, personal health and vitality from the Progressive Era onwards. Not coincidentally vegetarianism also became a growing commercial venture during this period as well. Food products, vegetarian restaurants and other vegetarian equipment were marketed to consumers interested in purchasing the promise of health, happiness and strength. During the final stage of development the popular press extolled the virtues of vegetarianism in living healthy, successful lives aimed at personal development. Charting the vegetarian movement's shift gives significant insight into the evolving nature of reform from the early nineteenth century into the burgeoning years of the twentieth century.

Vegetarianism changed significantly in the first one hundred years of its development in the United States, moving from an identity connected to radicalized political reform to one that was commercialized and focused primarily on the benefits for individuals. Vegetarians witnessed significant changes in American society. For a long period of time the group fought against mainstream social norms. Later in the group's history individuals embraced the identity as a means for cultural acceptance. In the process the group shifted away from one based on an obsession with abstention to an ideology preoccupied with consumption.

CHAPTER ONE

THE RISE OF DIETARY REFORM

And the cow and the bear shall feed: their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.

—Isaiah 11, Chapter 7

It was the early morning of March 29, 1817. A cool breeze wafted through the foggy, Liverpool-air along with an over-riding sense of excitement, fear and anticipation. The Reverends William Metcalfe and James Clarke gazed out upon their gathered flock, surveying the situation before them. Inspired by the providential timing—it was, after all, near the time of the year when the ancient Israelites’ made their Exodus from Egypt—forty-one followers of the Bible Christian Church trepidatiously boarded the *Liverpool Packet*, a majestic sailboat preparing for its voyage across the Atlantic Ocean for Philadelphia.¹ For months church members had discussed rumors of religious freedom and abundant providence in the new American Republic. With a radical religious and political spirit that had led to isolation and intimidation in England, Bible Christians saw the nascent American experiment as fertile ground for the independence

¹ Maintenance Committee, Bible Christian Church, *History of the Philadelphia Bible-Christian Church for The First Century of its Existence* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1922), 8. This history includes a detailed listing of all adult migrants, numbered at twenty-two. The migrant church members traveled to the United States with nineteen children in tow. See also John Thomas Scharf, Westcott Thompson, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884, Vol. 2* (Philadelphia: L.H Everts and Company, 884), 1404 and James Clarke, *Memorials of the Clarke Family: Formerly of the County of Northampton, in Great Britain their Immigration to Shelby County, Ind.* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Publishing and Printing House, 1845), 24-5. Clarke places the number at 39, but admits that his estimation is based on “so far as I can recollect.”

needed to live their particular lifestyle. The fear of political persecution combined with a newly burgeoning industrial society pushed Bible Christians westwards, with the full support of the movement's founder William Cowherd.

Cowherd had, for years, preached that it was only possible to live an authentic religious life in an agricultural society.² By 1793 he was tired of the sectarian quibbles and professional jealousies that seemed to pervade mainstream Anglicanism. Fed up with the state of mainstream English Christianity, Cowherd left his pulpit, became the spiritual leader of the Swedenborgian New Jerusalem Church in Manchester, and embraced the radical politics of the movement: Christian spiritualism, meatless diet and pacifist worldview. Cowherd, however, quickly realized that even the Swedenborgians were afflicted by interpersonal conflict and power plays. Influenced by the radical politics of both Thomas Paine and William Godwin, Cowherd decided that it was time to start his own, distinct movement placing loyalty to scripture over the vanity of humanity.³ At the heart of this new Bible Christian Church would be three main principles: temperance, pacifism and a meatless diet.

In the early years of the nineteenth century Cowherd's church grew significantly in size and influence, drawing throngs of Manchester's working class with the promise of salvation to save their soul and free vegetable soup to nourish their stomachs. The church's activities attracted the attention of William Metcalfe, a fellow former

² James Clarke, *Memorials of the Clarke Family: Formerly of the County of Northampton, in Great Britain, Their Immigration to Shelby County, Ind.* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Publishing and Printing House, 1845), 9.

³ For a summary of the intersections and differences between these two radical thinkers, see Jane Hodson, *Language and Revolution in Burke, Wollstonecraft, Paine, and Godwin* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2007).

Swedenborgian dissatisfied with the movement; Metcalfe had already adopted a meat-free diet in 1810, viewing it as the most natural of human states. Many of Metcalfe's friends and colleagues certainly disagreed, urging him to "lay aside my foolish notions of a vegetable diet" fearing for his strength and general well being.⁴ To the contrary, Metcalfe pointed out; the effects of a vegetarian diet had quickly led to a gain in weight and strength, rather than a path to the cemetery as many of his friends claimed.⁵ Things were looking up considerably. With his health in tact, Metcalfe even met a bride; something he felt was highly unlikely just a few years earlier.

One year later in 1811 Metcalfe was ordained a minister in the Bible Christian Church. He immediately looked towards the United States as a new potential home for the group. As an increasingly oppressive political environment in England sought to quell radical reformers at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Bible Christians—sympathetic to the Luddite spirit of the times—were often seen as being "obnoxious not only to the hired minions of power, but also to our relatives."⁶ Metcalfe explained to a colleague that the notion of emigrating enjoyed significant support amongst church members who frequently discussed "The civil and religious freedom of the people of the United States...."⁷ What better place than America, Metcalfe argued, to present a nascent, radical religion? With the decision to migrate to the United States the Bible Christians

⁴ Maintenance Committee, Bible Christian Church, *History of the Philadelphia Bible-Christian Church for The First Century of its Existence* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1922.), 24.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Clarke, 23. See also, John E. Archer, *Social Unrest and Popular Protest in England, 1780-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁷ C.W. Forward, *Fifty Years of Food Reform: A History of the Vegetarian Movement in England* (London: Ideal Publishing Union, 1898), 13.

laid the groundwork for the first American organization that placed meatless diet at the center of their ideology. Unbeknownst at the time, the Bible Christians also helped initiate the process that would ultimately create a distinct American vegetarian identity.

Early American meatless dietary reform identity began with the Bible Christians' arrival in the United States. The group was the first to simultaneously adopt meatless dietetics at the center of their life while also advocating for the lifestyle outside the boundaries of their small community and into American society at large. The early years of meatless dietary reform were marked by outreach to meat eaters through speeches, publications, newspapers and public meetings in order to illustrate that dietary choices had larger social and political implications. These early developments set the stage for a larger dietary reform movement to mature outside the walls of the Bible Christian Church, and led to further explorations of the ways in which meat abstention communally benefitted society at large.

Under the guidance of Metcalfe and Clarke, the Bible Christian migrants arrived on the shores of the United States on June 14, 1817. The group survived a difficult seventy-nine day voyage at sea, presumably made even more objectionable by the liberal consumption of meat and alcohol by the ship's crew, non-Bible Christian passengers and even by a few renegade church members.⁸ Yet the group arrived in Philadelphia well funded and determined to "Stand still and do good" with faith in the notion that "verily thou shalt be fed."⁹

⁸ Clarke, 25-30, 34.

⁹ William Metcalfe, "History of the Bible-Christians" *History of All the Religious Denominations in the United States*, ed. Israel Daniel Rupp (Harrisburg, PA: John Winebrenner, V.D.M., 1849), 125. Here

Immediately, however, the group split along ideological lines; Clarke and his followers viewed agriculture as the key to the growth of the church. Metcalfe—cosmopolitan and decidedly more modernist—saw the city as the location with the greatest potential for success. In August of 1817 Clarke and his family settled in Elkland Township, Pennsylvania, establishing a small church and Sunday school based on the principles of akreophagy, the habitual abstention from meat eating. The group placed this principle at the center of their daily life. However, the agricultural life would not lead to the growth of the Bible Christians as Clarke and Cowherd planned; by 1823 Clarke and his family—having lost the few followers they had accrued—settled in Shelby County, Indiana, living out their days disconnected from the Bible Christians, tilling their farm.¹⁰

William Metcalfe and his followers' path differed significantly from that of the Clarke family. Philadelphia attracted the group because of its available land and promise of passable roads connecting the church to the rest of the city.¹¹ Philadelphia was the country's second most populous city, making it an ideal location to gain converts and appeal to a growing urban, reform spirit.¹² In July 1817 the Bible Christians established a day school and informal church, inviting Philadelphia's church-going public to join.

Metcalfe is referencing Psalm 37, verse 3. For a full translation of the Psalm, see FTP Address: <http://etext.virginia.edu/etcbin/toccer-new2?id=KjvPsal.sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public&part=37&division=div1>. It does seem, however that the group was already somewhat splintered and aggravated; passage for the whole group of migrants was primarily paid for by five families. See Clarke, 25.

¹⁰ Clarke, 54 & Scharf and Thompson, 1404.

¹¹ Clarke, 35.

¹² Sam Bass Warner, Jr. *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 70-4.

Though Metcalfe was establishing a new organization, his entreaties to join the Bible Christians were based on the desire to “not form a sectarian church, deriving their doctrines from human creeds.” Instead, the Bible Christians promised to “become more efficiently edified in Bible Truths” and “the literal expressions of Sacred Scripture.”¹³ A meatless lifestyle, it was argued, was the true heavenly-inspired diet, present in the Garden of Eden and promised during the coming Messianic Era.

The group rented a back room in a schoolhouse at 10 North Front Street, providing daily schooling along with Sabbath morning services that heavily emphasized intensive text study. Though patronized by “some of the wealthiest families of the city,” the church’s space became cost-prohibitive, particularly once a handful of founding members perished during a yellow fever epidemic in the fall of 1818. Facing dwindling numbers, and armed with an unpopular philosophy of meat and alcohol abstention, Metcalfe sought to reinvent the Bible Christian Church, while holding onto its core principles of pacifism and meatless living.¹⁴

The Spread of Bible Christianity

By 1820 Metcalfe began the process of trying to appeal to the masses, utilizing the growth of the printed word while connecting the ideas of the Bible Christian Church with those of a variety of reform movements. Writing in Philadelphia’s *Freeman’s Journal*, Metcalfe explained the ten prevailing principles of the Bible Christian sect, emphasizing the real world applications possible in living a biblical life. While existing biblical interpretations were invaluable and even prophetic, Bible Christians argued that

¹³ Metcalfe, “History of the Bible Christians,” 125.

¹⁴ *History of the Philadelphia Bible-Christian Church*, 27.

continued study and interpretation was necessary to avoid the pitfalls of narrow, sect-driven loyalties. The Bible, when approached with an open, scientific mind would continue to reveal the secrets to healthy, ethical living. The Bible Christians sought to emphasize loyalty to revelation through concerted study, rather than to individual religious leaders or sects. Meat abstention, temperance and moral living served to transform people “conjoined to the Lord, and the Lord to him.” Thus believers had the capacity to be reformed, regenerated, and finally saved.¹⁵

The Bible Christians argued that religion, like science, could be rationally understood—emphasizing the power of individual, lay study over bombastic sermonizing. The group downplayed the idea of heavenly revelation in favor of learned epiphany, even questioning the ultimate divinity of Jesus Christ in favor of strict monotheism. Claiming that “Man is endowed with Freedom of Will,” Bible Christians emphasized that right living in body, mind and soul ensured salvation for the individual as well as the community at large. When properly applied the words of the Bible “revealed in the Divine Word” clearly called for the “abstinence from the flesh of animals as food, from all intoxicating liquors as beverages, and from war, capital punishment and slavery.”¹⁶ The second coming of the messiah was not a literal, physical event, but rather the personal attainment of “the power and spirit of the Lord’s own Divine Truth. It is

¹⁵ Ibid., 32.

¹⁶ Ibid., 33.

now, and ever has been, coming to every willing mind that attains to the knowledge of Heavenly Truth.”¹⁷

There were, of course, ironies within the principles of Bible Christianity. At the same time that the Bible Christians criticized established churches, cults of personality and biblical interpretation, the group was led by a vocal, gregarious personality who put forth a worldview that emphasized the power of dietary choices, all the while building institutions that sought legitimacy. No matter how radical the religious and political views of the Bible Christian Church were the group was decidedly conservative in their structure and notion of self-righteousness. This seeming conundrum speaks to the Bible Christians’ own sense of confidence in their cause, no matter how unpopular it may have been to the average Philadelphian.

Metcalf’s attacks garnered harsh responses amongst Philadelphia’s established religious elite. Warning of the dangers of “wolves in sheep’s clothing,” one Philadelphia religious body accused the Bible Christians of having “attacked the most plain and important doctrines of our holy religion” while seeking to “impose their own creed upon mankind, and take away from us the doctrines for which martyrs bled.” Bible Christians were often met in the streets with cries of “heretic” and “infidel.”¹⁸ It seemed apparent to the Bible Christians that meat did, in fact, stir up animalistic responses in its consumers.

The church and its number of followers continued to grow, thanks in part to a series of articles published in *The Rural Magazine and Literary Evening Friend*, an

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 34-5.

agricultural and literary themed periodical headquartered in Philadelphia.¹⁹ In a series of “Letters on Religious Subjects” published throughout 1820 and 1821, Metcalfe expanded on a variety of reformist ideals, connecting them with religious justifications and explanations. In “The Duty of Abstinence from All Intoxicating Drinks,” Metcalfe offered one of the first arguments for total avoidance of alcohol in the United States.

Metcalfe followed his pro-temperance essay in 1821 with his work “Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals,” his first piece explaining the moral and health benefits of a meatless diet.²⁰ At the heart of Metcalfe’s argument was the notion that the commandment against killing applied to all living creatures. Metcalfe explained that it was possible to “reasonably believe that its application was benevolently intended to reach the animal creation,” and the fact that it had not been understood as such was proof of humanity’s cruelty.²¹ Meat consumption was equated with violent, cruel tendencies, appealing to the most uncontrolled whims of human aggression. Even more than alcoholic spirits, a carnivorous diet was deemed deleterious to the soul an affront to the natural forces of life.

Metcalfe’s pamphlet was the first published creed in favor of a vegetable diet available to the general public in the United States, placing dietary choice amongst a variety of reform principles. Those who were unexposed to the ideals of the Bible Christian Church via the pamphlet enjoyed the opportunity to read Metcalfe’s anti-meat

¹⁹ Metcalfe also was the editor of this publication in 1820.

²⁰ William Metcalfe, *Bible Testimony, On Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals as Food; Being an Address Delivered to the Bible Christian Church* (Philadelphia: J. Metcalfe & Company, 1840).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

arguments in such mainstream publications as the *Saturday Evening Post*, *The American Sentinel*, *Philadelphia Gazette* and the *United States' Gazette*.²² Metcalfe even became actively involved in local ward politics, serving as the recording secretary of the Third Ward Democratic Whigs beginning in 1837.²³ Though seemingly fundamentalist in his religious outlook, Metcalfe utilized modern technologies and an Enlightenment-inspired emphasis on rational study to spread the word of his group. What started as a group of twenty families had nearly doubled by 1825, while also attracting the attention of Philadelphia's growing reform class.²⁴

The Bible Christians came to the United States as a largely working-class group, drawn towards a meatless diet in cities like Liverpool and Manchester because of its affordability. While the group advocated for dietary reform while in England, it did little to reach out beyond its own small community.²⁵ However, once in the United States Bible Christians began the process of branching outwards, attempting to appeal to a growing reform class. While many of the Bible Christians' original settlers left the church upon arriving in Philadelphia, the group's reform-oriented ethos appealed to the city's growing middle class.

Spurred by Metcalfe's growing visibility, and despite the group's decidedly anti-sectarian principles, the Bible Christians began the process of formalizing their

²² *History of the Philadelphia Bible Christian Church*, 39; Scharf and Thompson, *History of Philadelphia*, 1404.

²³ "Third Ward Kensington" in *Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier* 76, Col. G, Sept. 28, 1837.

²⁴ See *History of Bible Christian Church*, 7-14.

²⁵ Tristram Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution: A Cultural History of Vegetarianism from 1600 to Modern Times* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2008), 422-3.

organization. In May of 1823 a plot of land was purchased in Philadelphia's Kensington neighborhood on the north side of the city. On December 21, the Bible Christian Church opened its doors for the first time as a formalized body on North Third Street and Girard Avenue. With a new, more visible presence the group continued to grow, welcoming in a combination of converts and recently arrived British Bible Christian migrants. Metcalfe's growing public presence helped spread the vegetable diet gospel outside of the Bible Christians, introducing the notion to a general public that was becoming increasingly more interested in reform. With a tradition of an evangelical, reformist spirit, and exposure to meat abstention through the presence of Quakerism, Philadelphia was the perfect city for the Bible Christians to attempt their experiment in meatless living.²⁶ The notoriety of the Bible Christians continued to grow, attracting attention even outside of Philadelphia.

Sylvester Graham and the Rise of Grahamism

At the same time that the Bible Christians established themselves as the first American organization opposed to meat consumption, the young Presbyterian minister Sylvester Graham began his career as a lecturer, health advocate and religious reformer. Graham was born in Suffield, Connecticut in 1794, the youngest of seventeen children. His childhood was filled with strife, instability and illness. At the time of Graham's birth

²⁶ See Arouna P. Ouédraogo, "The Social Genesis of Western Vegetarianism to 1859" in *Food, Power and Community: Essays in the History of Food and Drink* (Adelaide, Australia: Wakefield Press, 1999), 163.

his father the Reverend John Graham, Jr. was already seventy years old, suffering from poor health.²⁷ Just two years later John Graham passed away.²⁸

The discord apparent early in Sylvester's life, however, did not end with his father's death. Graham's mother Ruth—John's second wife and mother to seven of his children—was wracked with debt, unable to access funds from the Graham estate for lack of a will. Under the pressure of raising seven children on her own, and with little support or income, an unknown mental illness overcame Ruth Graham. At age three Graham was sent to live with a neighboring family and continued to bounce around amongst various community households. In 1799, Graham became seriously ill and spent the next two years living under the care of one of his married half-sisters.²⁹

In 1801 the tattered remnants of Graham's family structure fell apart as the county probate court of Suffield deemed Ruth to have been "in a deranged state of mind" and incapable of caring for her children.³⁰ Ruth spent the remainder of her years in and out of various mental asylums throughout the northeast. The court's ruling also placed Sylvester in the hands of a local farmer. Graham bounced around from home to home switching hands between various relatives and complete strangers, all the while battling crippling physical ailments and the throes of mental dissatisfaction.

²⁷ A reference to the Graham family and their life in Suffield can be found at National Archives and Records Administration. "First Census of the United States, 1790." M637, RG 29, 12 rolls. (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.).

²⁸ For more on Graham's father, an important figure in local history, see Helen Graham Carpenter, *The Rev. John Graham of Woodbury, Connecticut and His Descendants* (Chicago: Monastery Hill Press, 1942).

²⁹ Stephen Nissenbaum, "Sylvester Graham and Health Reform," *A Place Called Paradise: Culture and Community in Northampton, Massachusetts* (Northampton, MA: Historic Northampton Museum and Education Center, 2004), 288-9.

³⁰ Quoted in *Ibid.*

By the age of twenty it was clear that Sylvester Graham—having already survived a harsh childhood and adolescence—was different. Constantly fighting a variety of illnesses, Graham shunned the routine alcohol consumption that was a nearly unavoidable fact of life in the early American republic.³¹ Viewed as odd, feeble and preachy by many of his peers, Graham managed to pull his life together working through a variety of farming and teaching jobs through his mid-twenties. In 1823 at the late age of twenty-nine, Graham entered Amherst College, intent on studying to become a minister, continuing the tradition of both his father and grandfather. Yet, as happened in his early life, Graham's trajectory would not be so simple or straightforward. After just one semester at Amherst, Graham dropped out suffering from exhaustion and a nervous breakdown. Despite this seeming low point, this time of transition became a catalyst for a life change. Graham married one of his caretakers Sarah Earle in September of 1826, all the while studying for and receiving ordination as a Presbyterian minister. With a new family to support Graham became a full-time minister in Bound Brook, part of the Presbytery of Newark in New Jersey's Berkshire Valley.³²

Motivated by his own health issues, Graham—much like the Bible Christians in Philadelphia—believed in an ardent connection between physical and moral health. But through the 1820s Graham was little focused on meat consumption; instead, he preached about the evils of alcohol abuse. This war on alcohol led Graham to venture outside of the walls of his church and the safe protection of his community in New Jersey. A gifted

³¹ For more on the omnipresence of alcohol in the early republic, see Mark Edward Lender, *Drinking in America: A History* (New York: The Free Press, 1987) and WJ Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

³² Randall Balmer and John R. Fitzimer, *The Presbyterians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 165.

public speaker, Graham decided that his talents were best utilized as a champion for reform, rather than as a congregational leader. Just as William Metcalfe moved outside of the church pulpit in order to spread his message of healthy living, Sylvester Graham entered the realms of print and public lecturing in order to gain converts to his cause.

Unsatisfied by the restraints of church life, Sylvester Graham began the process of building a public life by enlisting in the burgeoning temperance movement. In early 1830, he became a General Agent for the Pennsylvania Society for Discouraging the Use of Ardent Spirits. Originally propagated primarily by local clergy, the temperance movement began the process of formalized organization, culminating in the founding of the American Temperance Society (ATS) in 1826. Based out of Boston, the ATS—under the guidance of its founder Lyman Beecher—pressed for the voluntary suppression of alcohol, encouraging its members to sign pledges to abstain from the use of demon rum.³³ In addition to printing pamphlets and statistical studies highlighting the malevolent effects of alcohol, the ATS created a network of localized affiliated societies who utilized the lecture circuit to spread its message of abstinence. Just three years later the ATS had grown to include 229 affiliated, local temperance societies, adding another thousand by 1830.³⁴

³³ Iain Gately, *Drink: A Cultural History of Alcohol* (New York: Gotham Books, 2008), 257-62; Thomas R. Pegram, *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800-1933* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1999), 19-32.

³⁴ Michael P. Young, *Bearing Witness Against Sin: The Evangelical Birth of the American Social Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 121.

Within this growing temperance environment the Pennsylvania Society for Discouraging the Use of Ardent Spirits was founded in 1827.³⁵ The name of the organization says much about its methodologies, attempting to discourage the use of alcohol through lectures, pamphlets and education, rather than advocating for the ban of spirits through legislation. The fear of alcohol abuse, including its medical, spiritual and social effects were widespread within Philadelphia's medical elite, blaming the abuse of spirits as the "principal cause of mortality" and "the principle cause of poverty" in the 1820s and 1830s.³⁶ Though reticent to legislate absolute prohibition, the society worked with local magistrates to prosecute public drunkenness, gambling and Sabbath violations, all the while warning against the destructive lives of both the "habitual drunkard" as well as the "occasional drunkard."³⁷ The society advocated for stiff punishments under existing laws combined with attempts to reform alcohol abuse with internment in hospitals, almshouses and prisons.³⁸ In addition to its published reports, the Pennsylvania Society aimed to tackle the issue of alcohol consumption through a network of agents and lecturers sent out to spread the gospel of the holy trinity of sobriety, temperance and clean living.

³⁵ The organization eventually changed its name to the Pennsylvania Temperance Society in 1832. For the first reference to the name change, see "Philadelphia Temperance Society Report," *The Journal of Health* 4, no. 4 (1832): 123.

³⁶ Matthew Warner Osborn, "A Detestable Shrine: Alcohol Abuse in Antebellum Philadelphia," *Journal of the Early Republic* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 105, 111-12.

³⁷ Pennsylvania Society for Discouraging the Use of Ardent Spirits. *Report of a committee appointed by the Pennsylvania Society, for discouraging the use of ardent spirits, to examine and report what amendments ought to be made in the laws of the said state, for the suppression of vice and immorality, particularly those against gaming* (Philadelphia: Atkinson and Alexander, 1828).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

In June of 1830 Sylvester Graham set out to reach the masses, lecturing throughout Pennsylvania connecting alcohol consumption with both physical and spiritual debasement. Graham peppered his speeches with compelling evidence, anecdotes and scientific reasoning, all under the umbrella of religious imagery. This methodology was part of Graham's attempt to avoid "mere declamation against drunkenness" favoring instead to provide his audiences with "the reasons why they should not use intoxicating drinks."³⁹ During this time period Graham became fascinated with studying human physiology, connecting physical health with ethical development. Not surprisingly, Graham eventually turned his attention to dietary habits given his existing preoccupation with the connections between alcohol and physiology.

As Graham lectured throughout Philadelphia in 1830 he was introduced to members of the Bible Christian Church, beginning a letter writing correspondence with William Metcalfe that continued for most of their lives.⁴⁰ While Graham later claimed that his dietary decisions were "neither...founded on, nor suggested by, the opinions of others who have taught that vegetable food is the proper aliment of the human species," it is no coincidence that Graham adopted a meat-free diet at the same time that he became familiar with the Bible Christians.⁴¹ However, Graham's seemingly specious claim that

³⁹ Sylvester Graham, *Lectures on the Science of Human Life* (Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon and Webb, 1849), ii.

⁴⁰ *History of the Philadelphia Bible-Christian Church*, 40. Unfortunately these letters apparently have not survived.

⁴¹ Some works have overstated Graham's relationship with Metcalfe, referring to Graham as a Metcalfe protégé, and even inferring that Graham joined the Bible Christian Church. However, Graham was an ardent Presbyterian, never leaving the church. The Pennsylvania Temperance Society, in fact, was led by prominent Presbyterian leaders and was aligned with the church. It is, however, safe to say that Graham was greatly influenced and impressed by Metcalfe's writings on vegetable diets. The two worked together

his vegetable diet was based purely on experimentation reflects his methods as a lecturer, emphasizing that rational science was at the base of his diet, rather than loyalty to a mere philosophy.

The Science of Human Life

Graham's time working solely on temperance in Pennsylvania was short lived, and he resigned from his post after just six months. But the reformer's path as a public reformer and lecturer was established. By the spring of 1831 Graham began delivering a series of lectures at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia on what he labeled "the Science of Human Life" including instruction on meatless diet, temperance and the dangers of masturbation. Graham's philosophy of healthy living, however, hinged on the adoption of a meatless diet; of the twenty-four lectures included in the *Lectures on the Science of*

throughout the antebellum era, eventually serving as founders of the first vegetarian society in the United States (see Chapter Three). For works that have overstated the connection between the two leaders, see Ronald M. Deutsch, *The Nuts Among the Berries* (Ballantine Books: New York, 1967), 25; Donna Maurer, *Vegetarianism: Movement or Moment?* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002), 25. Deutsch notes that Metcalfe "met with and instructed" Graham on occasion and then speculates that these meetings prompted Graham's turn away from lecturing solely on alcohol temperance. Maurer goes even further, claiming that the Bible Christian Church hired Graham as a lecturer; however, Graham never embraced Bible Christianity as a doctrine, despite a shared interest in dietary reform. Graham was influenced by Metcalfe, though surely the relationship was reciprocal. Graham's dietary turn was a logical outgrowth of his connections to physiology, the science that already led him to abstain from alcohol. Unfortunately Deutsch's work includes no footnotes, so it is difficult to gauge where his claim came from. However, Deutsch's narrative of health reformers draws a fairly straight line from Graham to Kellogg as mere health faddists. See Deutsch, 88. The confusion surrounding the connection between Graham and Metcalfe seems to be based on the assertion by noted health reformer John Harvey Kellogg (see chapter five for more on Kellogg) who wrote in his 1919 work *The Natural Diet of Man* that Sylvester Graham was "converted to the practice of flesh-abstaining in 1830 by Mr. Metcalfe, a clergyman living in Philadelphia." John Harvey Kellogg, *The Natural Diet of Man* (Battle Creek, MI: Modern Medicine Publishing Company, 1919), 263. Further, the *History of the Philadelphia Bible-Christian Church* notes that in 1830 Graham was "employed as a temperance-lecturer, and was introduced to some members of the Bible Christian Church." The work clearly notes that Graham was employed separate from the Church, but perhaps it also helps explain the overstatement. Maurer's footnote references Jayme Sokolow, *Eros and Modernization: Sylvester Graham, Health Reform, and the Origins of Victorian Sexuality in America* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983), a book that was discredited because of plagiarism from Stephen Nissenbaum's doctoral dissertation on Sylvester Graham. See, Maurer, 163 and on Sokolow, see Thomas Mallon, *Stolen Words: The Classic Book of Plagiarism* (San Diego: Harcourt, 2001), 155.

Human Life, fourteen focused on food, digestion and the benefits of avoiding flesh.⁴²

At the core of this lecture series—which Graham delivered in New York City immediately upon completion in Philadelphia—was the notion that the human body could be controlled and maximized through the mechanism of deep self-awareness. In this sense Graham’s lectures offered a strongly populist notion of personal health care. It was the individual’s responsibility to understand how the human body functioned and to react by initiating the most advantageous path of living.

In these lectures Graham presented a vegetable diet as “*the* diet of man,” proven by a combination of anatomical and historical study.⁴³ The fact that most Americans lived omnivorous lives was not proof of its validity; rather it was reflective of a general disconnect between humans and their natural, physiological state. Graham recognized the potential controversial nature of his dietetics—the claims that Metcalfe and the Bible Christians were heretical must have been fresh in his mind. A vegetable diet was not anti-religious, Graham assured his audiences, but there was rather “the most entire harmony between the Sacred Scriptures, and the dietetic and other principles” that he advocated.⁴⁴

In the *Science of Human Life* lectures Graham presented the first unified theory of a meatless diet to mass audiences, expunging the notion from the purely religious and placing it within the temporal and physical. Even though Graham’s dietary principles were radical and controversial, they did offer practical advice and reasoning on how to

⁴² See Graham, *Lectures on the Science of Human Life*, 4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

improve day-to-day life. Connecting the benefits of a vegetable diet to a variety of social changes, Graham successfully exploited the burgeoning social reform spirit of the 1830s. Graham presented dietary choice in a far more palatable way than the Bible Christians, positioning it as a reform movement rather than merely a lifestyle change.

Graham's message arrived at the right historical moment to be embraced by mass converts. In the nineteenth century, ideals of republicanism congealed and political parties evolved, providing the opportunity for individual philosophies to coalesce into larger, political movements. Movements like abolitionism and women's suffrage in the 1830s were indicative of a larger shift in political consciousness in the United States. As the nation and industry expanded, personal choices—and the ethical and political implications of those choices—grew in importance.⁴⁵ With the physical growth of the nation also came an increased regional connectedness, more expansive food ways and a rise in social migration. Graham's dietary advice sought to relieve the tensions inherent within these changes, offering a seeming cure all for the fears and difficulties wrought by an increasingly urban, industrial society.

Graham's lectures emphasized the naturalness of a vegetable diet based on physiology, arguing that the human dental and alimentary systems were constructed to chew and digest only vegetable-based products. Carnivorous members of the animal kingdom had sharp, elongated teeth, perfect for chewing through flesh and sinew. Humans on the other hand were blessed with flat teeth, perfect for the grinding necessary

⁴⁵ For example, famed abolitionists Sarah and Angelina Grimké avoided using food products produced by the slave system in the United States, such as coffee, tea and sugar. See Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters From South Carolina: Pioneer for Women's Rights and Abolition*, 2nd Edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 179.

to break down fruits, vegetables and grains.⁴⁶ The goal of a meatless diet was a “more healthy, vigorous and long-lived” life, allowing for a “more active and powerful” intellect able to cultivate the most “moral faculties...rendered by suitable cultivation.”⁴⁷ A moral and intellectually driven individual would not debase him or herself with the evils of stimulants such as meat.

Graham, however, was not arguing from a conception of animal rights. In fact, Graham constantly referred to non-humans as “the lower animals” driven strictly by instinct, a quality to be managed and sublimated by humans.⁴⁸ Graham and his followers ultimately hoped to protect animals, but this was merely a secondary benefit of the diet. More importantly, meat abstainers feared humanity’s inclination to act like the rest of the animal world. Exposure to all kinds of sensory experiences—whether culinary, alcoholic or sexual—worried dietary reformers, fearing that Americans relinquished themselves to the most primal of animal urges. Early meat abstention identity, tied to Graham, put little emphasis on the effects of meat production on the animals themselves, focusing instead on human ethics and physical functions. History, Graham argued, pointed towards the benefits of a vegetable diet. Ancient Romans, Greeks, Phoenicians and Jews all expounded on the virtues of the “natural diet.” A vegetable diet worked for Plutarch, Ovid, Hesiod and Pythagoras; it was only logical that Americans, the torchbearers of modern republicanism should do the same.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Graham, *Lectures on the Science of Human Life*, 145.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 136.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 139.

The Cholera Epidemic and Personal Care

The concept of over-stimulation was at the center of Graham's anti-meat doctrine. Man's natural state—supported by a meatless diet—kept the body in a mode of regulated stasis. Substances such as meat, alcohol and spices served to throw off this natural balance, over-stimulating the human body, mind and soul. Doing so left the body open to any number of serious physical and moral maladies. In 1832 Graham's claims about the malevolent effects of meat and other stimulants gained more traction with the outbreak of a mass cholera epidemic. The simultaneous growth of American cities along with waves of new immigrants entering urban areas contributed to overcrowding, while lack of available municipal services ensured that in impoverished areas city streets remained dirty and disease-ridden.

By June of 1832 cholera appeared in North America in Quebec, Canada, quickly spreading to the United States before the month was over. In just two months nearly 3,500 New Yorkers—primarily working-class inhabitants of the crowded slums—died from the epidemic. Diarrhea, vomiting and intense stomach cramping culminated in the eventual collapsing of the circulation system. Cities throughout the east coast, both large and small, were gripped with fear and hysteria. Wealthy citizens fled to the countryside fearing the spread of the disease, leading one New York reporter to reflect that, “The roads, in all directions, were lined with well-filled stagecoaches, livery coaches, private vehicles and equestrians, all panic-struck, fleeing the city, as . . .the inhabitants of Pompeii fled when the red lava showered down upon their houses.”⁵⁰

⁵⁰ *New York Evening Post*, July 3, 1832.

The medical response to the epidemic was slow and usually ineffective. In a pre-germ theory generation cholera was not perceived as being communicable via interpersonal contact, but rather an airborne illness, apt to attack the physically and morally weakest of the cities.⁵¹ Mercury chloride was given out to those afflicted to serve as a strong purgative to induce purification, while laudanum—a strong opiate that includes opium and morphine—was administered in a glass of hot brandy to treat intense stomach pains. On a federal level all that could be offered by Congress was a call for a national day of fasting and prayer, spurred on by Senator Henry Clay’s hope for a providential cure.⁵²

As these treatments proved to be ineffective and Americans struggled to figure out the reasons for the epidemic, Sylvester Graham offered strikingly different advice on how to best treat and avoid the deadly disease. Graham argued that a combination of factors contributed to the cholera epidemic, placing diet and over-stimulation at the center of his explanation for the great scourge. Americans were detached and ignorant of the natural laws that regulated the human body, drunk off of a diet heavy in stimulants. Animal flesh was essentially rotting and inorganic, leading to impure blood and the draining of vital power in order to digest unnatural substances. Though alcohol and tobacco use contributed to the illness, Graham was clear in laying the blame squarely on meat eating, pointing towards “dietetic intemperance and lewdness” as the primary cause

⁵¹ For more on perceptions of cholera in 1832, see Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), 40-65.

⁵² For the more politicized reasons for Clay’s call for a national prayer day, see Adam Jortner, “Cholera, Christ, and Jackson: The Epidemic of 1832 and the Origins of Christian Politics in Antebellum America,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 27, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 233-264.

of the spread of cholera.⁵³ Only by adhering to natural laws—a flesh and alcohol free diet, cold, pure water, frequent bathing, exercise and fresh air—could one avoid contracting cholera.⁵⁴

Graham's medical guidance was not limited to the disease itself, decrying the efforts of medical practitioners who had created “medicines which are more to be dreaded than any pestilential cause of cholera.” Doctors and druggists caused an “arsenal of self-destruction” leading patients to “vomit out the lava of death.”⁵⁵ Whatever the faults of Graham's own dietary prescriptions, his attacks on the medical establishment were legitimate; increased vomiting caused by purgatives undoubtedly led to dehydration and increased death rates.⁵⁶ Graham pointed further towards emotional strength as a weapon in the fight against choleric agents. Fear of the disease only weakened the body's constitution, making it more apt to over tax itself.⁵⁷ Only through strength of mind, body and soul could individuals avoid the importation of impurities, offering a vision of preventative medical treatment. Through a vegetable diet and mastery over the laws of nature individuals could avoid the perils of illness.

The cholera lectures gained innumerable new converts to the cause of natural living and even garnered praise from some in the established medical profession. John

⁵³ Sylvester Graham, *A Lecture on Epidemic Diseases Generally, and Particularly the Spasmodic Cholera: Delivered in the City of New York, March, 1832, and Repeated June, 1832, and in Albany, July 4, 1832, and in New York, June, 1833: With an Appendix, Containing Several Testimonials, and a Review of Beaumont's Experiments on the Gastric Juice* (Boston: David Cambell, 1838), 49.

⁵⁴ Sylvester Graham, *A Lecture on Epidemic Diseases...*, 33.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁵⁶ For information on choleric dehydration and its effects, see Mayo Clinic Staff, *Cholera: Symptoms* FTP Address: <http://www.mayoclinic.com/health/cholera/DS00579/DSECTION=symptoms>.

⁵⁷ Sylvester Graham. *A Lecture on Epidemic Diseases...*, 36.

Bell, a Philadelphia medical doctor who later became a harsh critic, reported that Graham “speaks like a man who has earnestly and carefully examined his subject” while claiming to “known of no lecturer or writer out of the profession, who is, in the main, so well informed in physiology.”⁵⁸ A group of physicians in Maine reported that, “we entertain a high sense of our obligations to Mr. Graham for his Lectures on the Science of Human Life, in which the laws of the vital economy have been explained and elucidated by a great variety of original, striking and happy illustrations.”⁵⁹

Graham Bread and Bread Making

A key component of Graham’s meat-free diet was a re-evaluation of the bread consumed by Americans to accompany their meals. In the early nineteenth century bread was a staple component of nearly every meal. Most bread was baked at home and comprised of corn or rye meal.⁶⁰ However as decades progressed, cities grew and men and women joined the industrial workforce, more and more Americans purchased their daily bread from a local baker. Produced in mass batches this bread differed in composition as well, often whitened through the process of bolting which removed the outer casing from grains and with it much of the nutritive value. The bolting process often utilized chemicals such as chlorine in order to whiten the grains. White bread was less expensive and in greater abundance, particularly with the spread of large farms into

⁵⁸ “Lecture on Epidemic Diseases” in *The Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* (hereafter referenced as *GJHL*) 3, No. 3. (2 February 1839): 50.

⁵⁹ Sylvester Graham, *A Defence of the Graham System of Living: or, Remarks on Diet and Regimen. Dedicated to the Rising Generation* (New York: W. Applegate Publisher, 1835), iii.

⁶⁰ See Susan Williams, *Food in the United States 1820s-1890* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 18-20.

western New York and the Midwest that provided cheaper, abundant wheat.⁶¹ As Americans were starting the shift from producer to consumer, Sylvester Graham offered a populist critique of the increasing disconnect between individuals and their food sources.

With a heavy dose of nostalgic yearning, Graham hearkened back to “those blessed days of New England’s prosperity and happiness when our good mothers used to make the family bread.”⁶² Bread baked at home was crafted with care and control over its ingredients, while the wheat used to make bakers’ white bread was inferior, aimed at maximizing profits rather than physiological excellence. These principles led to the development of what became known as Graham bread, “coarse wheaten bread” that was “the least removed from the natural state of food” and “best adapted to fulfill the laws of constitution and relation.”⁶³

Beginning with his cholera lectures in 1832 Graham labeled bread as “the most important article of artificially prepared food used by civilized man,” warning of “The pernicious effects of superfine flour bread.” Graham pointed to the greedy motives of bakers who “make bread and sell it for the profits of the business, and not for the sake of promoting your health.”⁶⁴ When it came to bread and diet in general, individuals had a responsibility to control their own bodies by taking control over what it was ingesting. Graham’s attacks on bread offered a harsh critique of the rise of industrial capitalism in the United States, warning against the profit-driven motives of bakers and farmers,

⁶¹ Ibid., 20; John Steele Gordon, *An Empire of Wealth: The Epic History of American Economic Power* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004), 39-42.

⁶² Sylvester Graham, *A Treatise on Bread and Bread-Making* (Boston: Light and Stearns, 1837), 92.

⁶³ Ibid., 16-7.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

looking to “extort from those acres the greatest amount of produce, with the least expense of tillage, and with little or no regard to the quality of that produce in relation to the physiological interests of man.”⁶⁵

While Graham first advocated for wheat bread while serving as a pulpit minister in New Jersey, the population at large began to become aware of its existence as his activities expanded. As early as July 1832, *Atkinson’s Casket*—a humor magazine published in Philadelphia—mocked Graham bread as indigestible and hard enough to break a window.⁶⁶ Though the journal ridiculed Graham bread, its use of the term without a precise definition illustrates that the bread was already known in some circles. An advertisement for Graham bread appeared in *New-York As It Is*, a manual and guide to living in New York City. The guide pointed interested parties to Pierce and Luke, bakers that sold the bread at their bakery located at the intersection of Broadway and Leonard Street.⁶⁷ The first appearance of a published recipe for Graham bread occurred in 1835, emphasizing the use of finely ground, pure wheat meal.⁶⁸ In that same year the Minnesota Farmers’ Institutes’ *Annual* reported on the differences between Graham and white bread, recommending “the use of some graham bread in families of growing

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁶⁶ “Wit and Sentiment,” *Atkinson’s Casket* 7 (Philadelphia: Samuel C. Atkinson, 1832): 431.

⁶⁷ “Bakers,” *New-York As It Is*, ed. Edwin Williams (New York: J. Disturnell, 1834), 226.

⁶⁸ Asenath Nicholson, *Nature’s Own Book* (New York: Wilbur & Whipple, 1835), 42. A follower of Graham wrote this recipe. However, its appearance does illustrate public awareness of the bread, as well as the fact that the recipe was starting to become diffused in print form.

children,” though warning that the bran in the bread could be “irritating to a delicate digestive system.”⁶⁹

In 1835 Graham furthered his development of a unified theory of diet, publishing *A Defence of the Graham System of Living*. Poor diet was endemic, a result of the malevolent effects of “Luxury, soft enervating Luxury” that had “lulled her victims into a fatal security” that would ultimately lead to self-destruction. Graham warned that the effects of a pernicious diet went further than just the individual. The nation itself was at risk of becoming degraded by its economic growth, noting that luxury had “destroyed our health, perverted our morals, debased our intellects, and, in its prevalence. . .may foresee the downfall of a people, once famed for their intelligence, their virtue, and their freedom.”⁷⁰ American opulence created moral and social ills, including “our diseases, our deformities, our poverty, and our slavery.”⁷¹

The city and its disconnection from natural living had brought forth “the noxious effects of impure air, sedentary habits, and unwholesome employments” all of which pulled individuals further away from physical and mental health. The growing metropolises of antebellum America were filled with a variety of urban amusements that Graham viewed as threatening vices. Saloons, brothels and dining establishments all

⁶⁹ “Household Department: Bread,” *Minnesota Farmers' Institute Annual* (Minneapolis: Tribune Job Printing Co., 1835): 263.

⁷⁰ Sylvester Graham, *A Defence of the Graham System of Living: or, Remarks on Diet and Regimen. Dedicated to the Rising Generation* (New York: W. Applegate Publisher, 1835), 9-11.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

provided services that Graham specifically lectured against as causing moral and physical failure—alcohol, sex for gratification and overly taxing foods.⁷²

Graham's attacks resonated in a burgeoning industrial capitalist society in the Northeast that freed individuals from the rigors of farm life, yet at the same time destabilized the very social structures that had previously provided stability and comfort. The ascendance of the self-made man was contrasted with the foppish aristocrat that many American leaders believed to define the European ruling class, described by John Adams in 1819 as "producing effeminacy, intoxication, extravagance, vice and folly."⁷³ Free individuals had the opportunity and ability to create their own identities and build their own lives; however with this freedom came the opportunity to both succeed and fail.⁷⁴

Animal foods were primarily to blame according to Graham, causing "a coarseness and ferocity of disposition" which rendered "the temper irritable and petulant; the passion of anger is either induced or strengthened by its use."⁷⁵ Meat consumption made humans no better than the violent members of the animal kingdom that fed on the flesh of other animals. Instinct and desire dictated the actions of these lower animals

⁷² On urban amusements, see Timothy Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992), 29-41; Patricia Cline Cohen, *The Murder of Helen Jewett* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 230-47.

⁷³ Quoted from a letter from Adams to Thomas Jefferson in John P. Diggins, *John Adams* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2003), 167.

⁷⁴ On the self-made man and the tumultuous implications thereof, see Scott A. Sandage, *Born Losers: A History of Failure in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 11-32.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 114.

rather than logic, rationale and self-control. Evils such as poverty and slavery could only exist in a society where such animalistic qualities were exhibited.

The Rise of the Grahamites

With the success of Graham's lectures on cholera and bread making came a legion of devoted minions dedicated to following the dietetic and scientific principles advocated in his speeches. By 1835 Graham was a well-known public figure, arousing equally passionate advocates and critics of his way of life. Detractors argued that Graham was anti-scientific, driven by his own pride and vanity, merely a demagogic speaker who offered little tangible proof while relying upon exaggeration and blustery language.⁷⁶ To his followers Graham was a prophet, offering practical advice for improved health, spirit and intellect.

By the mid-1830s a distinct identity formulated for adherents of Graham's diet, individuals who attempted to apply his dietetic principles to everyday life. These people were known as Grahamites, followers of Graham, but ostensibly identified because of their meat-free diet. Many simply applied Graham's principles to their own kitchens, baking Graham bread, drinking cold water and eating a vegetable diet, particularly in places like the South where few other Grahamites existed. Others—mainly urban and northeastern—solidified the Grahamite identity by building public institutions aimed at gaining converts and saving lost carnivores.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ "Mr. Bell's Prize Dissertation and Mr. Graham's Strictures," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 12, ed. J.V.C. Smith, M.D. (Boston: D. Clapp, Jr. Publisher, 1835), 379-81.

⁷⁷ The earliest mention of the term Grahamite can be found in 1833 in "Romance and Reality," *The Portland Magazine; Devoted to Literature* (1 November 1833): 33.

In this environment Asenath Nicholson—an abolitionist, writer and former teacher—opened the first Graham boarding house in New York City at 118 Williams Street in 1835, following it up three years later with another home at 21 Beekman Street.⁷⁸ The Temperance Boarding House offered Grahamites the basics of boarding house living—a place to sleep, three meals a day and social interaction—with the added accoutrements necessary to live the natural life. A vegetable diet was offered, serving breakfast, dinner and supper in a communal dining area. Cold baths, hard mattresses and Graham bread were mandated in order to encourage health, circulation and proper digestion.⁷⁹

Located in an area filled with reform organizations—the American Anti-Slavery Society’s offices were located down the block at 48 Beekman—Nicholson’s temperance house served as a central meeting point for New York’s reform-minded citizens.⁸⁰ While dietetics may have been a central fixation of the home’s residents, an all-encompassing attitude towards reform prevailed. As described by William Tyler, a professor of Latin and Greek at Amherst College and a tenant at the Graham House on William Street, “The Boarders in this establishment are not only Grahamites but Garrisonites—not only

⁷⁸ *Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register and City Directory for 1839* (New York: Thomas Longworth, 1839), 491. In addition to her reformist works in the United States, Nicholson traveled to Ireland from 1846 until 1848 as a Christian missionary, writing extensively documenting the destitution and famine that she witnessed. See Asenath Nicholson, *Annals of the Famine in Ireland* (New York: E. French, 1851).

⁷⁹ Asenath Nicholson, *Nature's Own Book* (New York: Wilbur & Whipple, 1835), 15.

⁸⁰ Also located nearby were the offices of the Temperance Union, American Tract Society—an evangelical temperance group—and New York Foreign Missionary Society. See Asenath Nicholson, *Annals of the Famine in Ireland*, ed. Maureen Murphy (Dublin, Ireland: The Lilliput Press, 1998), 9.

reformers in diet, but radicalists in Politics. Such a knot of Abolitionists I never before fell in with.”⁸¹

Most importantly the Grahamite boarding house was a public display of dietary identity as vegetable eaters staked a visible claim to their place in the city’s landscape. Grahamites were no longer content to share their dietary theories solely in lecture halls; they desired permanence and stability in the urban landscape, which Nicholson’s boarding house offered. This new environment also ensured interaction between Grahamites, shared experiences, meals and ideologies. The boarding house served as a central location for Grahamite reform activities, as inhabitants discussed the important issues of the day—dietetics, slavery, suffrage and temperance. The growing Grahamite movement was evolving into an identity.

Sylvester Graham himself was not directly involved in the founding or functioning of the boarding houses he inspired. As much as Graham was responsible for the spreading of early vegetarian identity, it is important to stress that individuals morphed the ideology into a variety of life experiences. The Grahamite identity, and by extension early vegetarian identity—though inspired by Graham and his principles—were driven by and evolved as a result of the full spectrum of meatless lifestyles. As Nicholson herself noted, while Graham served as an inspiration, his lectures and writings

⁸¹ William S. Tyler to Edward Tyler, Amherst College, 10 October 1833, published in Thomas H. Le Duc, “Grahamites and Garrisonites,” *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* (1939): 189-191. Tyler was the author of a history of Amherst College written in 1873. See W.S. Tyler, *History of Amherst College During its First Half Century, 1821-1871* (Holyoke, Mass.: C. W. Bryan, 1873). Amherst’s website has detailed information about its nineteenth century alumni, including Tyler. See FTP Address: <http://www.amherst.edu/~rjyanco94/genealogy/acbiorecord/1830.html#tyler-ws>. Tyler, however, was not one of Sylvester Graham’s professors, as Graham left Amherst in 1823, four years before Tyler began teaching at the college.

were merely “a starting point to be enlarged and improved as practice might suggest.”⁸² Graham’s dietary principles served as the backbone for boarding house life—how these ideals were enacted depended upon a variety of localized forces including geography, economics and demographics. However, during the 1830s and 40s meat abstainers were largely labeled Grahamites, both through self and external identification.

But why live the Graham lifestyle, particularly in a city boarding house? Urban areas, stricken with perceived vice and degradation were seen as both morally and physically dangerous by reformers. New York City, with its commercial sex districts and visible brothels was seen as particularly threatening to the young, male, middle-class denizens living on their own, renting rooms throughout the city.⁸³ Nicholson recognized the existence of these threats, hoping that a Graham lifestyle provided moral clarity to her boarders. Noting that “flesh-eating produces a moral obtuseness and irritableness of spirit,” Nicholson offered Graham bread, fresh vegetables and cold baths in order to produce a “firmness of nerve, and clearness of intellect” to better prepare her residents for the dangers of city life.⁸⁴ The proof of the diet’s success was in the level of health of the houses’ residents who did not exhibit “Not a shadow of cholera...and the prevailing influenza, which has taken the lives of many.” With a proper, natural diet and a little

⁸² Nicholson, 1.

⁸³ On commercialized sex in New York, see Gilfoyle, 29-35; on the young, middle-class males living throughout New York City, see Cline Cohen, 230-47.

⁸⁴ Nicholson, 28-9.

exercise and fresh air, boarding house residents were able to overcome any illnesses that may have appeared.⁸⁵

All boarding houses had regulations outlining day-to-day house rules such as meal times, visitor policies and cost.⁸⁶ But Nicholson's Grahamite home was guided by a litany of rules, thirteen principles of the natural life inspired by Graham and his lectures. Visitors agreed to abide by these rules in order to remain in good standing as residents of the boarding house. Democratic principles allowed for some amendment of the regulations, calling for boarder votes in order to change proscribed dinner and supper times.⁸⁷ Feather mattresses were banned as Graham lectured that soft beds diminished "our physiological powers" because of their overly indulgent qualities.⁸⁸ Exercise was mandated for residents, either a thirty to sixty minute walk or slow horse ride, encouraging residents to avoid "all violence and excess." Lastly, during a time when regular bathing was rare, residents were required to take a daily sponge bath and at least one full bath per week.⁸⁹ Similar rules prevailed—though without the flexibility of

⁸⁵ Nicholson, 11.

⁸⁶ For more on boarding house rules see Wendy Gamber, *The Boardinghouse in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 45.

⁸⁷ Nicholson, 14. Unanimous consent was necessary to change the established dinnertime of 1:00, while a three-fourths majority would determine suppertime.

⁸⁸ Graham, *Lectures on the Science of Human Life*, 626.

⁸⁹ Nicholson, 20-21. Regular bathing was commonplace amongst the upper classes that could afford indoor plumbing, but was rare amongst the masses. See Sullen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 12-15.

democratic decision-making for meal times—at Boston’s first Grahamite boarding house, which opened at 23 Brattle Street, near Harvard Square, in April 1837.⁹⁰

Animal flesh was barred from the home, as were other stimulants such as tea, coffee and alcohol. Toasted, stale Graham bread brewed with water was offered as a coffee substitute for those who missed a cup of morning brew.⁹¹ Simple meals were furnished, emphasizing the use of vegetables and whole grains. Breakfast consisted of the omnipresent Graham bread, along with a variety of fresh fruits including apples, peaches, cherries and strawberries.

Interestingly, eggs *were* allowed at the breakfast table, and were even considered an important component of Grahamite meatless diets despite being animal-based. Eggs were not directly connected to death or suffering, as a result Grahamites found them to be an important source of protein and acceptable for consumption.⁹² Dinner—served in the afternoon and the largest meal of the day—consisted primarily of hominy, rice, porridge and a variety of seasonal vegetables including beets, potatoes, carrots, turnips and squash. Supper was a more simple meal, consisting of Graham bread, milk, oatmeal, hominy, barley gruel or mashed cornmeal.⁹³ The ideological dedication of Grahamites to live a meat-free lifestyle is particularly striking given the simple, plain nature of the food available.

⁹⁰ “Rules of a Graham House” in *GJHL* 1, no. 6 (9 May 1837): 47.

⁹¹ Nicholson, 48.

⁹² The issue of eggs and their acceptance within American vegetarian identity will be considered in chapter two of this work.

⁹³ Nicholson, 16-18.

Grahamite Demographics

But who precisely were the Grahamites? What demographic portions of society did the group represent? In order to answer this question it is important to analyze the demographic evidence from two perspectives; first, understand who was actually involved, and second determine how the group portrayed itself to the public at large in order to understand who the Grahamites were most interested in converting.

Grahamites represented a cross-section of moral and scientific reformers in the United States. The group was active in all regions of the United States. The Grahamite message reached as far as the South and West, as illustrated by letters and articles in the *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity*.⁹⁴ However, Grahamism was most organized and numerous throughout the northeast, the location of Grahamite boarding houses. The doctrine appealed to both men and women, reflecting Graham's own methodology of lecturing to both sexes on the particular benefits of his dietary system. Women, in fact, were a vitally important component in the growth of the Grahamite ideology and movement.

The American Physiological Society (APS)—a Boston-based group founded in 1837—had a membership of 206, nearly forty percent of whom were women.⁹⁵ The organization advocated for physiological study as a means to understand the “influence of temperature, air, cleanliness, exercise, sleep, food, drink, medicine. . . on human health

⁹⁴ John P. Coleman, “Casting Bread on Troubled Waters: Grahamism and the West,” *Journal of American Culture* 9, no. 2 (February 1986): 1-8; “Acclimation in the West” in *GJHL* 3, no. 7 (30 March 1839): 113; “A Voice from the South,” in *Library Of Health* 5 (1841): 294.

⁹⁵ Margaret Puskar-Pasewicz. “For the Good of the Whole”: Vegetarianism in Nineteenth-Century America,” Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 2004, 36. The APS membership in 1840 included 128 men and 78 women.

and longevity.”⁹⁶ The group’s membership also included a large proportion of Grahamite reformers, already interested in the notion of physiological study. Most importantly, the APS further moved meat abstention away from religious, doctrinal structures and placed it firmly within the realm of scientific study.

The large presence of women within such organizations, while challenging some existing social structures in terms of promoting scientific knowledge, also reflected predominant notions of food and family. Women were, after all, most often in charge of crafting family diets.⁹⁷ As such, the APS also included a Ladies Physiological Society that met separately from the larger group throughout the organization’s three-year existence. The group organized public lectures while also meeting regularly to discuss meatless living, building a small community of like-minded reformers who wrestled with the best ways to actually live a reform lifestyle.

Grahamite publications included testimonials from both women and men, and prominent female reformers such as Mary Gove Nichols, Abbey Kelly Foster and Angelina Grimké all advocated for the Grahamite lifestyle. Asenath Nicholson’s Graham boarding homes attracted both men and women—one of these homes, in fact, was populated by more women than men, according to the 1840 United States census.⁹⁸ Part of Grahamism’s popular appeal and a component of its threats to normative society was the public nature of its appeal to women. During Graham’s lecture tours of the northeast

⁹⁶ *Constitution of the American Physiological Society: With a Catalogue of its Members and Officers* (Boston: Marsh, Capen & Lyon, 1837), 6-7.

⁹⁷ Williams, 83.

⁹⁸ Year: 1840; Census Place: New York Ward 14, New York, New York; Roll 307; Page: 413; Image: 837; Family History Library Film: 0017197. The census lists just one male resident, along with four female residents between the ages of twenty and thirty.

he often spoke in front of all-female audiences, what he advertised as a “lecture to mothers.” Graham’s lectures often touched on taboo topics in public; even if he was condemning the immorality of masturbation, he was still speaking about it to large, all-female audiences. These lectures were often met by male protests and riots, fearing Graham to be a “mass seducer” of women, despite the distinctly anti-sexual nature of his screeds. Women, however, ignored these protests and still attended Graham’s lectures, a means of asserting their independence and dedication to reform.⁹⁹ The nature of Graham’s lectures and the audiences—no matter what the actual content was—exposed masculine fears of empowered women seeking to gain knowledge of their own bodies.

Grahamite boarding houses attracted prominent members of the urban, reform class. The boarding house on Beekman Street, for example, included such well-known New York reformists as *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley, pacifist Henry Clarke Wright, abolitionist Lewis Tappan and future president of the American Anti-Slavery Society Arthur Tappan. The Grahamite boarding house at 63 Barclay Street in Manhattan—opened in 1840 by abolitionist Roswell Goss—drew a variety of reformers and even housed William Lloyd Garrison during a trip to New York in the summer of 1846.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ The dichotomy of Graham’s exhortations against masturbation as a public spectacle is part of a movement that sprouted in the 1830s of reformers engaging in a dialogue about sex. On Graham in this movement, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 94-9. On Grahamism as an empowering, female-centered movement, see April Haynes, “Riotous Flesh: Gender, Physiology, and the Solitary Vice,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2009.

¹⁰⁰ “Letter from William Lloyd Garrison to James Miller McKim,” *Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, Vol. 3*, ed. Walter M. Merrill (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1979), 337.

Boston's Grahamite boarding house purportedly drew a mixed crowd, ranging from "the most laborious to the most sedentary," and the permanent to "transient or occasional." Since its establishment in 1833, the home reported housing between twenty and thirty permanent at a time. However, advocates for the Boston house emphasized that it sought to draw healthy, vigorous, individuals already acclimated to the Graham diet, rather than "invalids" who were "pale and sickly." Places that drew such boarders had another name, one that Grahamites wanted to avoid being connected with—the hospital.¹⁰¹ Boston's Grahamite boarding house also attached itself to the larger dietary reform of the time, serving as a meeting place for the Ladies Physiological Society.¹⁰²

The Graham house on Barclay Street advertised itself as being perfect for "Gentlemen visiting New York, either transiently or for a considerable time who have no partiality for an atmosphere reeking with the fumes of alcohol and tobacco." The home was "near the centre of business, and within a few minutes' walk of all the Steamboat Landings" indicating that the owners sought to draw members of New York's burgeoning business class. The home was described as "spacious, and commodious" assuring potential boarders that the "fare, though vegetable" was "found acceptable and embracing every variety desired by the undepraved appetite."¹⁰³ While the home was founded on the basis of temperate living, boarders were assured that a meatless lifestyle did not need to be bereft of flavor and enjoyment. Much like Asenath Nicholson, Goss' boarding

¹⁰¹ "History of a Graham Boarding House," in *GJHL* 3, no. 25 (14 December 1839): 398.

¹⁰² *GJHL* 3, no. 16 (3 August 1839).

¹⁰³ "Boarding in New York," *A.E. Wright's Boston, New York, Philadelphia & Baltimore, Commercial Directory* (New York: A.E. Wright, 1840), 28.

house sought to serve as a location of moral control and guidance for the young, male urban denizens tempted by the distractions offered by the city.

Grahamite boarding houses—common to boarding houses throughout urban areas—allowed boarders to create a sense of home, one that functioned primarily based on the principles of Grahamism. The boarding house—unlike private dwellings however—connected living spaces to the growing market economy, a business arrangement in and of itself. This arrangement was only more pronounced in the case of the Grahamite homes, where proprietors would not only provide meals, laundry and other domestic help, but all of the qualities of a Grahamite lifestyle—the food, cold baths and hard mattresses.¹⁰⁴

Boarding houses also had to walk a thin line between their Grahamism and the desire for respectability. The structure of the homes, mixing together unwed, white-collar males, single working women, transient individuals and recently wed couples already raised the eyebrows of moral reformers who emphasized the necessity of the single family home. Grahamism as well was often met with skepticism, even violent protests. The combination of both led to cries of “wild fanaticism” and fears of “knavery” where individuals were seduced by “spiritual charlatany.”¹⁰⁵ To counter such attacks, Grahamite boarding houses emphasized their healthy, industrious residents, productive, respectable members of society

¹⁰⁴ On boarding houses, see Wendy Gamber, *The Boardinghouse in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 1-59; Kenneth Scherzer, *The Unbounded Community: Neighborhood Life and Social Structure in New York* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), 97-110.

¹⁰⁵ “Men of Sense,” *The Hesperian* 3, no. 4 (September 1893): 293.

Nineteenth Century American Food Culture

The radicalism of Graham's diet can only be understood in the larger context of American culinary culture of the antebellum period, particularly the elements that meat abstention opposed. Specifically, the fundamental dynamics of the food industry changed as American society shifted from primarily agricultural and localized to more industrial and urbanized the nature of food acquisition changed as well. Trade systems crossed state boundaries as individuals with surplus goods exchanged their wares under the assistance and direction of local grocers. Markets and cities grew, as did the physical distance between producer and consumer.¹⁰⁶ Convenience most often dictated family diets as food had to be stretched for its highest economic advantages. Catharine Beecher, an influential antebellum cookbook author and dietary educator, advised her readers on the methods of restoring spoiled meat and tainted butter in order to maximize its longevity.¹⁰⁷

American food culture of the early nineteenth century reflected commonalities with British culinary traditions. More specifically meat stood at the center of the American diet. Mary Randolph's *The Virginia House Wife*, a cookbook published in 1824, divided the American diet into thirteen categories, seven of which were meat.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ See Thomas Dublin, "Women and Outwork in a Nineteenth-Century New England Town: Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, 1830-1850," in *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America*, ed. Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 51-69.

¹⁰⁷ Catherine Esther Beecher, *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book: Designed As A Supplement To Her Treatise On Domestic Economy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846), 30-1, 286.

¹⁰⁸ Mary Randolph, *The Virginia House-Wife*, ed. Karen Hess (reprint, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), iii-viii. The categories listed in the cookbook were: soup, beef, veal, lamb, mutton, pork, fish, poultry, sauces, vegetables, pickling, cordials and dishes for lent.

The French philosopher C.F. Volney reflected on his dietary experiences traveling in the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century, explaining that “if a prize were proposed for the scheme of a regimen most calculated to injure the stomach, the teeth, and the health in general, no better could be invented than that of the Americans.”

Volney described American breakfasts as including “cheese of the fattest kind, slices of salt or hung beef” while dinner was marked by “turnips and potatoes” that “swim in lard, butter or fat” along with “roasted beef” and “boiled pastes...the fattest are esteemed the most delicious.”¹⁰⁹

Americans consumed a variety of meats, ranging from steaks to pork, poultry to specialized meats such as sausages and sweetbreads, particularly with the arrival of increased numbers of immigrants in the 1830s.¹¹⁰ Writing while visiting the United States, Charles Dickens reflected that “breakfast would have been no breakfast unless the principal dish were a deformed beef-steak...swimming in hot butter, and sprinkled with the very blackest of all possible pepper.” The Boz further observed that dinners consisted primarily of “tea, coffee, bread, butter, salmon, shad, liver, potatoes, pickles, ham, chops, black puddings, and sausages.”¹¹¹ With advances in the development of commercial tin canning, Americans diets became more diverse, extravagant and carnivorous.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ “A Frenchman’s Opinion,” in *GJHL* (18 April 1837): 22.

¹¹⁰ For a full account of the types of meats consumed in the United States, see Williams, 29-33 and Richard J. Hooker, *Food and Drink in America: A History* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1981), 227.

¹¹¹ Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 70, 167.

¹¹² Dorothy Denneen Volo and James M. Volo, *The Antebellum Period* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 167-68.

The Graham Diet Conversion Narrative

In an environment where logistical issues often guided individuals' dietary choices, Grahamites decided what to and not to eat based strictly upon ideological convictions. A common narrative thread unified the Grahamite lifestyle, helping the new identity to further congeal and unite diverse experiences. The success of Graham's lectures on cholera earned him a strong following of dedicated practitioners who were convinced that his diet had saved their lives, particularly as cholera continued to be a seasonal difficulty. Just as Graham claimed that the proof of a vegetable diet was scientifically observable, his new followers attested to the benefits of the natural life in avoiding disease. These stories—often similar to Graham's own account of moral and physical ascension—presented common narratives of the evolution from darkness to light, all thanks to a meatless diet. Grahamite conversion narratives contained common qualities with the conversion stories of born-again, evangelicals of the time period swept up in the growing revivalism of the Second Great Awakening.¹¹³ However, even though Grahamites often utilized religious language and imagery, their conversions occurred at the table, rather than at a revival meeting or church.

A timeline of sickness, transformation and finally conversion lead the individual to advocate for a Grahamite diet. Nicholas Van Heyniger, a promoter of Grahamism, explained that, "For some time previous to my adopting your plan of living, my health was a good deal impaired; and I was afflicted with many bodily pains; and particularly troubled with impaired sight." In these conversion stories any number of physical

¹¹³ Robert Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 66-73; Nancy F. Cott, "Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England," *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 1/2 (Autumn, 1975): 15-29.

maladies were connected with meat consumption, while a meat free diet lead to instantaneous improvements. Van Heyniger adopted a Graham diet and reported that, “all my bodily pains are gone, and my sight is perfectly restored, so that I can read all the evening without the least inconvenience.”¹¹⁴

Asenath Nicholson, owner of the first Grahamite boarding house, had her own conversion story, claiming that until sixteen she consumed tea, coffee, meat and alcohol to the extent that her “nerves became so completely unstrung that the sight of a book put me in an universal tremor.”¹¹⁵ Nicholson attended a Graham lecture and was overcome by a spiritual rapture, reflecting that, “I heard and trembled: the torrent of truth poured upon me, effectually convinced my judgment, and made me a thorough convert.” A regimen of fresh air, Graham bread and vegetables cured Nicholson, making her “entirely exempt from pain or weakness.” In the process everything from her sleep to singing voice improved. Nicholson believed her life was saved, explaining that “Nearly four years have passed, and not the slightest indisposition, except a trifling cold, has ever returned, to remind me I was mortal. Good bread, pure water, ripe fruit and vegetables are my meat and drink exclusively.”¹¹⁶

Conversion narratives were often re-printed in published volumes of Graham’s writings, proof that his regimen worked while adding legitimacy to the words contained within. In the closing pages of *A Defence of the Graham System of Living*, a series of

¹¹⁴ “Early Testimonials in Favor of the Graham System,” *GJHL* 3, no. 3 (2 February 1839): 45. While this was included in an issue of the Graham journal from 1839, the letter is originally dated from March 21, 1833, and connected to the cholera epidemic.

¹¹⁵ Nicholson, 52.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 52-56

testimonials from “respectable individuals” was offered, all following the pattern of the conversion narrative. Years of abuse and woe were followed by multiple visits to doctors who did little to alleviate their suffering. But the adoption of a Graham diet cured all ills. Lavinia Wright, a resident in New York’s rough Bowery neighborhood, reported the end of “physical and mental lethargy” caused by “the injustice and cruelty of destroying animal existence” and “the injurious effects produced by the undue stimulation resulting from the use of animal food.”¹¹⁷

Amos Pollard, a medical doctor, explained that after living meatless for five years “my health is much better, and my strength far greater, than when I used a mixture of animal food.” Pollard used his personal example to encourage the universal adoption of a vegetable diet to benefit all of mankind. William Goodell, an influential abolitionist, suffragist and early temperance reformer claimed a vegetable diet cured him from chronic diarrhea that no doctor ever alleviated. Goodell also explained that his “wife is relieved from her headaches, my child from summer complaints, and all of us in a good degree, from nervous irritability.”¹¹⁸ An early testimonial from December 13, 1834 called for “a total abstinence from all artificial stimuli. . .the general adoption of a vegetable diet would tend, in a remarkable degree to meliorate the condition of mankind, both physical and moral.” Included within the group of thirty-one co-signatories was Horace Greeley

¹¹⁷ Graham, *A Defence of...*, 196.

¹¹⁸ Nicholson, 60.

who that year met his wife Mary Chency while living in New York's Grahamite boarding house.¹¹⁹

While much changed about vegetarian identity during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, one constant feature was the use of the conversion narrative in order to justify the diet. In one sense this speaks to the uphill battle that Grahamites and other meat abstainers faced in attempting to gain new adherents to an inherently radical, unpopular sub-culture. The conversion narrative also reflected the dedication and self-righteousness felt by Grahamites, compelled to share their personal stories of change. This confidence perhaps was not entirely misplaced either. Simply by cutting out meat, alcohol and tobacco, Grahamites lived healthier lives than most other Americans. But the proliferation of the conversion narrative reveals even more about the construction of Grahamite identity. Vegetable diet enthusiasts crafted common narratives, often mimicking Graham's own story of ascension from sickness. Though confident in their cause, Grahamites also faced external social forces that reinforced feelings of inferiority, forcing meat abstainers to justify their life choices in order to gain credibility.

The competing forces of self-rectitude and external mockery pushed Grahamites to seek each other out, build communities and in the process formulate a common identity around meat abstention. With boarding houses in place in New York, Boston and Philadelphia, Grahamites crafted localized, supportive communities.¹²⁰ It was the

¹¹⁹ Graham, *A Defence of...*, 197-198. Greeley was not a lifelong vegetarian, but was a follower of Graham's in the 1830s. The implications of his association with a vegetable diet will be considered in the fourth chapter of this work. See Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York: J.B. Ford and Company, 1868), 103-4.

¹²⁰ "Rules of a Graham House," *GJHL* 1, no. 6 (9 May 1837): 47.

printed word, however, that expanded the community of Grahamites beyond the local, and into a larger identity throughout the United States.

The Graham Journal of Health and Longevity

In April of 1837 the first issue of *The Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* appeared at the price of three cents per issue, or one dollar for a year's subscription paid in advance.¹²¹ The journal itself represented a significant departure point for the development of Grahamite identity in the United States, though dichotomously. The new journal promoted Sylvester Graham's diet as well as his various writings, lecture tours and other public appearances. Graham regularly contributed to the journal, providing both new essays as well as excerpts from his previously published books and pamphlets. However, the Graham journal—despite bearing the name of the movement's founder—was published independently of Sylvester Graham who was not involved in the production of the periodical. Thus while the *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* helped expose the masses to Sylvester Graham and his ideology, it also further placed the development of the identity that bore his name into the hands of other writers, editors and reformers.

David Cambell, a prominent abolitionist and owner of the Graham boarding house in Boston, published the new journal, which quickly spread its reach throughout the United States.¹²² During the first three months of publication only thirty-eight local

¹²¹ *GJHL* 1, no. 1 (4 April 1837): 1.

¹²² See Roger G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815-1860* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1997), 153-4.

agents were listed as selling the publication in twelve states.¹²³ By October of the same year, 108 agents were selling the Graham journal in fifteen states, as far west as St. Louis, south to Macon, Georgia and throughout all of New England.¹²⁴ In 1839, the journal's final year of publishing, New Jersey was added to the states where the paper was available, sold by a total of 140 agents throughout the United States.¹²⁵

The journal featured a wide variety of articles and followed a similar structure in its biweekly issues. Each publication opened with letters and endorsements, offering the usual conversion story structure of redemption.¹²⁶ Nathaniel Perry of Boston, writing in the first issue of the publication, recollected that soon after marrying he “began to indulge in what is called by most people, good living” consisting of “roast and fried meats, of all kinds, and poultry with their rich gravies.” Meat and alcohol led to a battle with rheumatism, constant headaches, canker sores and tooth decay. Perry hit rock bottom with the appearance of a dyspeptic stomach that made him unable to attend to his business dealings or even leave his house. After hearing Graham lecture in Boston, Perry “became interested in the principles he taught; and finally adopted them in diet and regimen.” The results were nearly immediate, reporting the loss of all maladies within a month. Perry now slept soundly and at fifty years of age could attest to “good health,”

¹²³ “Local Agents for This Work,” *GJHL* 1, no. 10 (6 June 1837): 80. The states where the journal was available were Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana and Missouri.

¹²⁴ “Local Agents for the Journal,” *GJHL* 1, no. 29 (24 October 1837): 232. The states where the journal was available were the original twelve plus Maryland, Georgia and Michigan.

¹²⁵ “Local Agents for The Journal,” *GJHL* 3, no. 2 (19 January 1839): 25.

¹²⁶ See for example, “Letter from Dr. Reed,” *GJHL* 1, no. 12 (20 Jun 1837): 90; William Brown, “Testimony of Another Physician,” *GJHL* 2, no. 12 (9 June 1838): 138; “Extract of a Letter From a Subscriber,” *GJHL* 3, no. 17 (17 August 1839): 274.

“the keenest relish for my food” and an “elastic, energetic, untiring” ability to labor.¹²⁷

Both lay Grahamites and professional medical doctors wrote testimonials, attempting to lend populist and professional credibility to the cause.

Sylvester Graham himself was represented by an article, often a summary, excerpt or re-working of the themes and arguments made in lectures and published works on the science of human life or bread making.¹²⁸ The journal also included physiological articles focused on anatomy and the inner workings of the human body as proof of the benefits of a meatless diet. Charts, figures and drawings frequently accompanied these articles, attempting to make scientific arguments more accessible. In a series of articles for the journal, Dr. William Beaumont—a famed U.S. army surgeon—wrote on his observations of human digestion. Beaumont’s research was based upon firsthand observation of Alexis St. Martin, a patient who had been accidentally shot in the stomach. This wound caused a fistula, essentially an observable hole in Martin’s stomach leading to the digestive track. Beaumont placed various foods on a string in order to observe how food stuffs were broken down, leading to the observation that stomach acids helped digest food into various nutrients.¹²⁹ Beaumont’s experiments illustrated that vegetables were easily broken down by stomach acid, in contrast to various meat products which

¹²⁷ Nathaniel Perry, “Letter to David Cambell, Corresponding Secretary of American Physiological Society,” *GJHL* 1, no. 1 (4 April, 1837): 3.

¹²⁸ See Sylvester Graham, “Public Bakers,” *GJHL* 1, no. 5 (2 May 1837): 38-9; “Dr. Lee vs. Graham System,” *GJHL* 1, no. 1 (4 April 1837): 7; “The Graham System: What is It?” *GJHL* 1, nos. 2 and 3 (17 April 1837): 17.

¹²⁹ “Beaumont’s Experiments on Digestion,” *GJHL* 1, no. 1 (4 April 1837): 6-7.

were “partly digested,” living proof of Grahamites’ claims that meat was difficult to break down into digestible matter.¹³⁰

Lastly recipes were provided, further linking together Grahamites through common gastronomy. However, the recipes expanded the Grahamite identity beyond merely cold water and Graham bread, teaching meatless epicures how to properly prepare vegetables, bake pies and even prepare various grains.¹³¹ The publication closed with an advertising section, offering information on where to buy the journal and locate Grahamite boarding houses, literature and dietary products.¹³²

After three years of weekly publication, the *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* ceased production with its last issue dated December 14th 1839. The journal had originally planned to publish a fourth edition, promising potential subscribers seven free issues for the remainder of 1839 when opening a new account for the coming year.¹³³ This enticement to subscribe seems to indicate significant financial strife for Cambell and the journal. In the October 12th issue the journal announced a merger with the *Library of Health* edited by William Alcott, second cousin of the young Louisa May Alcott.¹³⁴ The

¹³⁰ Ibid; “Dr. Beaumont’s Experiments and Observations on Digestion – Experiment 1, Experiment 2, Experiment 3,” *GJHL* 1, no. 7 (16 May 1837): 50; “Dr. Beaumont’s Experiments and Observations on Digestion – Experiment 9, Experiment 10, Experiment 11, Experiment 12, Experiment 13, Experiment 14, Experiment 15, Experiment 16, Experiment 17, Experiment 18, Experiment 19, Experiment 20, Experiment 21, Experiment 22, Experiment 23,” *GJHL* 1, no. 9 (30 May 1837): 69-70.

¹³¹ See, for examples, “Receipts for Cooking,” *GJHL* 1, no. 12 (20 June 1837): 93; “Ruta Baga Pie,” *GJHL* 3, no. 8 (13 April 1838): 133; “Pearl Barley as a Substitute for Rice,” *GJHL* 3, no. 20 (28 September 1839): 327.

¹³² “Valuable Works,” *GJHL* 1, no. 11 (13 June 1837); “Graham Boarding House,” *GJHL* 2, no. 15 (21 July 1838): 240; “Contents, Notices, &c.,” *GJHL* 3, no. 19 (14 September 1839): 312.

¹³³ “The Fourth Year of the Graham Journal,” *GJHL* 3, no. 20 (28 September 1839): 327.

¹³⁴ “Arrangement for 1840,” *GJHL* 3, no. 21 (12 October 1839): 339.

Library of Health began publishing in 1837, the same year as the Graham journal, and offered similar articles focusing on physiology, temperance and a natural diet. Alcott himself was a regular contributor to the Graham journal and voracious advocate for a vegetable diet. Given the synergies between the two journals and the apparent financial difficulties faced by Cambell, the merger was unavoidable. The path towards detaching a meat-free diet from the shadow of Graham had begun. In the process a new identity began to emerge, one that was indebted to Graham for its birth, but depended upon separation in order to grow.

Conclusion

In twenty short years meat abstention had moved from a regionalized, religious movement focused on spiritual ascension to a national identity attached to the scientific and moral reform principles of Sylvester Graham. Originally the realm of the Bible Christian Church, dietary reform evolved into an all-encompassing ideology that sought to negotiate the challenges and tensions inherent within a rapidly modernizing industrial and urban environment. Grahamism, with its stringent rules and regulations, became the primary identity attached to meat abstention in the United States, eliciting praise from its adherents and harsh criticism from opponents. Dietary reformers opened Grahamite boarding houses in urban areas to serve as moral guardians while creating a larger community of interconnected dietary reformers. The printed word, meanwhile, supported the continued growth of this new identity, conjoining Grahamites from disparate geographic regions while providing a forum to offer scientific proof of the diet's success. The group's existence, however, was relatively short-lived. As Graham struggled with

poor health and a quasi-retirement, the issue of dietary reform did not disappear.

Rather, it continued to grow and separate itself from previous identities.

CHAPTER TWO

NEW IDENTITIES/NEW ORGANIZATIONS

...if the public choose to call us...Grahamites...we care very little.¹
— *Library of Health*, January 5, 1841

As 1840 began meat abstention had grown from a small group of renegade church members in Philadelphia to a full-fledged, recognizable group identity connected by the common bond of the teachings of Sylvester Graham. But now that a visible community of dietary reformers had coagulated, a question remained: how would this identity continue to grow? Public lectures and the printed word had served natural dieters well, yet these methods were also limited, emphasizing the growth of group leaders' popularity while leaving practitioners around the country fractured and somewhat disconnected. Between 1840 and 1855 dietary reformers negotiated the tensions between public acceptance and internal growth, in the process expanding, re-defining and ultimately re-naming the identity connected to meatless diets.

During this transitional period the identity further developed its principles, branching out beyond the realms of health and science while emphasizing the inherent connections between dietary and social reform. In order to do so it was essential that a centralized voice remained to unify the movement. With the *Graham Journal of Health*

¹ "Thomsonianism or Grahamism," *The Library of Health*, hereafter referenced as *LOH*, 5, no. 1 (5 January 1841): 69.

and *Longevity* ending publication, William Alcott's *Library of Health* filled the void—in the process moving a meat-free identity away from Grahamism and towards a new term in the United States—vegetarianism.

William Alcott, Medical Expertise and Reform

William Alcott advocated a vegetable diet in the early 1830s at the same time that the Grahamite identity developed. Unlike Graham, however, Alcott was a formally trained physician, graduating from Yale University in 1836.² With a degree in hand, Alcott began publishing a series of moral crusades, attacking a variety of vices including alcohol, tobacco and sexual intemperance.³ Alcott's meat free advocacy gained mass exposure for the first time in a letter supporting the Graham system, written to the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* in May of 1836.⁴

A war of words had broken out in the journal between Sylvester Graham and Dr. Lee, director of the Insane Hospital in Charlestown, Massachusetts. Lee claimed that Grahamism was “destructive in its operation,” a cause of insanity and “emasculat[i]on.” Graham, charged Lee, was “an intolerable impostor.” Further, Graham would rather a patient starve to death than dine on flesh foods.⁵ Graham defended himself and his dietary system, explaining that Lee was driven by “a morbidly excited imagination” and

² *Ethical Vegetarianism: From Pythagoras to Peter Singer*, ed. Kerry S. Walters and Lisa Portmess (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999), 81.

³ William Alcott, *The Use of Tobacco: Its Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Effects on The Human System* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1836); William Alcott, *The Young Man's Guide* (Boston: Lilly, Wait, Colman, & Holden, 1833).

⁴ The *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* would eventually become the *New England Journal of Medicine* in the twentieth century.

⁵ “Grahamism a Cause of Insanity,” in *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 14, no. 3 (24 February 1836): 38.

had produced a “most dangerous article to be thrown before the public.” Lee was threatened by Graham, part of the medical establishment apt to treat his patients with “flesh, wine and opium.”⁶

A month later William Alcott entered the fray. Writing to the journal in defense of the Graham system, Alcott emphasized his own credentials as a trained medical professional. Alcott claimed that doctors like Lee were driven by “prejudice” and “supposed facts.” Medical doctors were usually reasonable and rational. However when it came to the Graham system established medicine was “exceedingly lame” in its observations. Alcott argued that millions of laborers worldwide—particularly in northern Europe—had subsisted on vegetable diets for years and did not go insane. The letter closed with Alcott’s own conversion story, claiming to have “abstained suddenly, about six years ago, from animal food, and from all fermented, narcotic, and alcoholic drinks; and have confined myself, to this hour, to vegetable food and water.” The results were observable to himself and those around him, causing “great gain” in mind and body. Alcott pithily closed his missive by asking the public at large to judge whether or not he—a medical doctor, after all—was in the throws of insanity.⁷

This ongoing debate illustrated a larger change for dietary reformers as the identity began shifting. Graham and his followers were harsh critics of doctors and established medical science. However, in the late 1830s food reformers began constructing an identity and emphasizing the movement’s legitimacy based on the

⁶ Sylvester Graham, “Grahamism Not a Cause of Insanity,” *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 14, no. 6 (16 March 1836): 88, 93.

⁷ William Alcott, “The Graham System,” *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 14, no. 13 (4 May 1836): 199-201.

principles of scientific physiology. Dietary reformers defined themselves by proclaiming their medical expertise, rather than their perspectives as outsiders.

The closing of the *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* at the end of 1839 enabled Alcott's *Library of Health* to emerge as the new public voice of meat abstention in the United States. Originally published in 1837, Alcott's journal was similar to the *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* in structure. However, in the years leading to 1840 the journal focused primarily on human physiology, advocating a vegetable diet as but one component of healthy living. The journal hoped to take advantage of Alcott's medical pedigree, assuring readers that "We began the following volume with the full intention of striking a heavy blow at quackery....Quackery is not confined to the venders of nostrums, nor to any one class of citizens; it is rife everywhere." The *Library of Health* sought to distance itself from the claims of pseudo-science and religious heresy that followed natural dietetics, arguing that dietary reform "is indeed nothing less than the application of Christianity to the physical condition and wants of man."⁸

The *Library of Health* featured medical experts in their defense of an animal-free diet, further differentiating itself from the Grahamites' more populist notion of personal medical care. Dr. Amariah Brigham, superintendent of the Retreat for the Insane in Hartford, Connecticut, explained that flesh foods caused "an inflammatory fever of an unusual character for children" and that "infants who are accustomed to eat much animal food become robust, but at the same time passionate, violent and brutal."⁹ Alcott noted the efforts of one medical doctor who opposed the use of emetics, drugs utilized to induce

⁸ "Introduction," in *LOH 2* (1838): i-ii.

⁹ "Testimony of Dr. Brigham in Regard to Animal Food," *LOH 4* (1840): 94.

vomiting. The doctor's opinion was reached through years of observation, viewing irritated, expanded stomachs that suffered afterwards with years of poor digestion.¹⁰

Dr. Reuben Mussey—a dietary and health reformer—was regarded for his work exposing the poisonous nature of tobacco, which led to dizziness, stomach pain and swollen feet.¹¹ Another medical expert reported that hot drinks and foods caused individuals to be more apt to catch a cold because extreme temperatures act as a stimulant upon the body.¹² Alcott himself lent professional credentials and medical experience to the newsletter's cause, given his formalized medical training. In fact, Alcott emphasized this point in appealing to the masses, publishing a work that illustrated the merits of a vegetable diet because it was “sanctioned by medical men.”¹³

The journal warned against the perils of dietary intemperance in all its forms. Poisoned cheese was widely available in the marketplace; an article claimed that small amounts of arsenic were used to tenderize curds—an assertion similar to Graham's criticisms of the bread making industry.¹⁴ Late, heavy suppers were presented as being “prejudicial to health” leading to digestive problems and poor sleep.¹⁵ Condiments and sweets were condemned, as were complex, diversified diets; simplicity was far more

¹⁰ “Poisonous Medicines,” *LOH* 1, (1837): 18.

¹¹ “Miscellany,” *LOH* 1 (1837): 38.

¹² “Cause of Colds,” *LOH* 2 (1838): 25.

¹³ William A. Alcott, *Vegetable Diet: As Sanctioned by Medical Men, and by Experience in All Ages* (Boston: Marsh, Capen & Lyon, 1838).

¹⁴ “Poisoned Cheese,” in *LOH* 2 (1838): 69.

¹⁵ “Late Suppers” in *LOH* 2 (1838): 71.

advantageous and less stimulating.¹⁶ Through 1839, while dietary issues were dealt with in the journal, they were more generalized rather than focusing on the specific advantages of a meatless diet.

The *Graham Journal*, in contrast, focused on dietetics as a vehicle *for* healthy living rather than a product *of* a better lifestyle. At the center of the Grahamite journal was a structured, reform regimen that hinged on avoiding meat. With the absorption of the *Graham Journal*, the *Library of Health* shifted from a generalized physiological journal to a journal of dietary reform. By 1840, the *Library of Health* supported the growth of a meatless identity, in the process pushing meat abstention further away from the sole terrain of Grahamites.

The change in content focus was readily apparent. The first issue of the new year advocated for the use of a vegetable diet for children. The article opened with a conversion story, relaying the story of “J.B.” a three-year-old boy afflicted with large scabs all over his face. With the adoption of a vegetable diet “a great change was manifest in the appearance of the child,” and the scabs “entirely disappeared.” The long term benefits of dietary change were even more impressive as the child “seems to have known nothing about sickness or pain, until the present time,” all the more remarkable given that he had been “living, for the last year, in a region of the West, where, for months, almost all others were sick and dying.” The child enjoyed better teeth, smoother skin and a general increase in mental capabilities.¹⁷

¹⁶ “Animal Food for Laborers,” in *LOH 2* (1838): 284; “Dietetic Reform,” in *LOH 2* (1838): 119.

¹⁷ “Vegetable Diet for Children,” in *LOH 4* (1840): 59-63.

In another article, the author tackled the difficulties faced in challenging meat culture and the lack of thought the average American gave to their dietary choices. The majority of the population believed “that flesh-meat is not only the kind of food on which they were intended principally to subsist, but that it is indispensably necessary to preserve their strength, and to enable them to perform their various avocations in life.” In order to gain converts it was essential to impress upon the public that a “Vegetable diet. . .by its mild but nutritive qualities, keeps the circulation in the human system regular and cool.” A meatless diet prepared the body to “become an appropriate temple of the mind, and leads man to a more perfect mode of being.”¹⁸ Throughout 1840 the journal increased its coverage of dietary issues, even reprinting Dr. Beaumont’s digestive experiments that previously appeared in the *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity*.¹⁹

At the beginning of 1841 the *Library of Health* began featuring vegetable diet stories at the start of the issue, proof that the conversion of the publication to a natural dietetic journal was complete. The first volume of the year featured a headlining article entitled “Nutritive Properties of Various Kinds of Food,” where vegetables, grains and fruits were presented as easily digestible and nutritious, whereas meat was difficult to assimilate into the blood stream and thus of little dietary value. Of the fifty most nutritive food products, forty were vegetables, grains or fruits.²⁰

The same issue advocated for the use of vegetable foods to ensure productive work, relaying the story of a young laborer who gained mental and physical strength from

¹⁸ “Animal and Vegetable Food” in *LOH* 4 (1840): 220.

¹⁹ “Dr. Beaumont’s Experiments” in *LOH* 4 (1840): 125; “Fruits as Food” in *LOH*, 4 (1840): 292.

²⁰ “Nutritive Properties of Various Kinds of Food,” *LOH* 4 (1840): 59-63.

his dietary change. With the new diet it was possible to work “on an average, twelve hours a day at hard labor.” Physical labor had previously made the worker unable to “relish for close study before I adopted this diet. My mind would shrink from it. I was somewhat nervous at times, and disappointments particularly affected me.” However, with the support of a meatless diet, the laborer became “perfectly calm, my mind clear, and delighted with close study and patient thought.” Dietary conversion not only made him a better worker, but also a sharper, more complete citizen, a model of the republican self-made man.²¹

The Library of Health and the Departure from Grahamism

While *The Library of Health* grew thanks to Grahamites and even highlighted the works of Sylvester Graham, the publication actively sought to distance natural dietetics from its most renowned advocate. As Graham intensified his public crusade against the physical and moral threats of masturbation, American dietary reformers continued the process of building a new identity based on meat abstention. As early as 1840 *The Library of Health* reported on the activities of one dietary reformer who had “the fear of being called a Grahamite—a species of phobia which is exceedingly prevalent” amongst reformers.²² The author apparently was not alone in his desire to avoid the label of Grahamite. In an editorial appearing in the January 1841 edition, the journal assured readers that “if the public choose to call us either Grahamites or Thomsonians, we care very little. Those to whom we may have the happiness to do a little good...will not care

²¹ “Vegetable Food for Hard Labor,” *LOH* 4 (1840): 28-9.

²² “Fruits as Food,” *LOH* 4 (1840): 292.

to inquire whether we bow at the shrine of any leader, ancient or modern.”²³ At the risk of alienating its newly acquired readership, the journal placed emphasis on individuals’ choices, rather than the works of an individual leader.

At the precise time when the *Library of Health* replaced the *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity*, it sought to establish itself as *the* dietary reform voice, disconnected from any single philosophical leader. Even on the issue of bread, an area where Graham was previously sacrosanct, the journal distanced itself noting that while “An excellent Manual on bread has been prepared by Mr. Graham. . . . much remains to be said, as we believe—and to purpose—on the same subject.” The article’s author advised readers to utilize “Simple coarse bread” because it “acts best on the stomach and alimentary canal, especially if it must be received hot.” This marked a departure from Graham’s theory of bread making, which emphasized letting bread sit for at least twenty-four hours before consumption.²⁴

By 1841 Sylvester Graham had essentially retired from his demanding public speaking schedule, suffering from ill health and familial hardships. A Southern meat abstainer wrote the *Library of Health* for an update on Graham’s health—the response provides insight into the active distancing away from Graham. The journal responded to the inquiry that, “Mr. Graham is better in health—fighting on, though not without a good deal of complaining.” Positioning Graham as a martyr to hard work and difficult odds, the journal reported that “Goaded, however, as he constantly is, almost to madness, it is

²³ “Thomsonianism or Grahamism,” *LOH* 5 (1841): 69. The Thomsonianism referenced in the article was a system of natural, alternative medicine devised by Samuel Thomson and gained significant notoriety in the United States in the 1820s and 1830s. See James C. Whorton, *Nature Cures: The History of Alternative Medicine in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 25-45.

²⁴ “The Best Bread,” *LOH* 5 (1841): 260.

not strange, perhaps, that he should complain. . . . Those who know his trials will not render him evil, but contrarywise, blessing.”²⁵ The journal’s response to the letter foreshadowed the controversy and difficulties faced by vegetarians upon Graham’s death a decade later.²⁶

Fruit and Fruitlands

With reformers pushing meat abstention away from the sole domain of Grahamism, opportunities opened for competing meatless ideologies to formulate. Fruit—often ignored by Grahamites in deference to vegetables and grains—was a particular focus of the *Library of Health*, advising readers on how to properly choose ripe fruit, emphasizing the need to leave it uncooked and in its natural state. Cooked fruits were attacked from a distinctly class-driven prism, enjoyed by “fashionable society,” smothered in molasses and sugar. The wealthy, it was implied, were most out of touch with the natural state of the body, too distracted by material goods and the trappings of polite society.²⁷

A new, meatless identity began to emerge, evidenced by the appearance of articles advocating for the use of fruit. The collapse of the *Graham Journal* and the lessening of Graham’s central role in dietetic reform provided opportunities to redefine meatless identity.²⁸ Another member of the Alcott clan challenged the established meatless

²⁵ “A Voice from the South,” *LOH* 5 (1841): 294.

²⁶ The issues surrounding Graham’s death and its coverage will be analyzed at the close of chapter three.

²⁷ “Fruits as Food,” *LOH* 4 (1840): 292; “Fruits for Adults,” in *LOH* 5 (1841): 224; “Manner of Using Fruit,” *LOH* 5 (1841): 257; Grahamites previously attacked fruits as being difficult to digest and apt to be used as a stimulating dessert. See “Intemperance in Eating,” *GJHL* 1, No. 5 (April 1837): 37.

²⁸ By the late 1830s Graham himself shifted focus as well. Though he still remained a meat abstainer and dietetic reform advocate, the central issue for Graham during this time period was the dangers of

identity. Bronson Alcott may best be known as the father of Louisa May, but during the height of his intellectual activities he was an active member of both the transcendental and dietary reform movements. Alcott's experiment in utopian, communal, meatless living expanded the nature of dietary identity during a transitional time when reformers distanced themselves from Grahamism.

Bronson Alcott spent his teen years laboring in factories throughout New England. After a few years of selling books throughout the South, Alcott returned to New England to follow his preferred avocation of teaching. Years spent working and living in Boston and Philadelphia—along with his marriage to reform-minded Abigail (Abba) May—had converted Alcott to a variety of radical reform causes, primarily Garrisonian abolitionism and education reform. In 1834 Alcott opened the Temple School in Boston, attempting to apply reform philosophies to education. Emphasizing self-analysis, questioning and criticism over strict lecturing, Alcott's school distanced education away from the memorization and corporal punishment popular during the time period.²⁹

By 1836 Alcott was a member of the Transcendental Club and a close associate of Theodore Parker, Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson, the latter describing Alcott as “a wise man, simple, superior to display.”³⁰ Alcott served as a frequent

masturbation. For a discussion of Graham's anti-masturbation crusade, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles Over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America* (Vintage Books: New York, 2002), 107-115.

²⁹ Martin Bickman, *Minding American Education: Reclaiming the Tradition of Active Learning* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2003), 50-3.

³⁰ Quoted in F.B. Sanborn and William T. Harris, *A. Bronson Alcott: His Life and Philosophy, Volume 1* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1893), 237.

contributor to the transcendental movement's journal *The Dial* throughout the early 1840s. Writing in his column "Orphic Sayings," Alcott contributed a series of brief aphorisms, hoping to communicate the essence of reform spirit. The mottos were met with disdain in some circles—*The Knickerbocker* magazine printed a satirical column called "Gastric Sayings" that mocked Alcott's writings, while the *Boston Post* reported that the "Orphic Sayings" were "a train of fifteen railroad cars with one passenger."³¹ Despite such derision, Alcott's aphorisms presented digestible, yet complex snippets of transcendental philosophy on a variety of issues including reform, education, dietetics and the relationship with nature.³²

While traveling throughout England in 1842, Alcott came in contact with Charles Lane and Henry C. Wright, educational reformers who had recently opened an "Alcott School" just outside of London based on Alcott's teaching methodologies. During this time Alcott, Lane and Wright discussed the advantages of utopian socialism and its relationship with dietetics. Alcott had converted to a Graham diet in 1835, but was interested in further developing the identity and its connection to reform.³³ The group of reformers decided that the only way to enact principles of gender, labor and racial equality was through a self-sufficient, agricultural lifestyle, one that would work to

³¹ "Gastric Sayings," *The Knickerbocker* 16, no. 5 (November 1840): 452; quoted in Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Heart of Emerson's Journals* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1926), 175. An example of one of the Gastric Sayings from *The Knickerbocker* aimed at mocking Alcott:

"The poles of potatoes are integrated; eggs globed and orbed: yet in the true cookery, flour is globed in the material, wine orbed in the transparent. The baker globes, the griddle orbs, all things. As magnet the steel, so the palate abstracts matter, which trembles to traverse the mouths of diversity, and rest in the bowels of unity. All cookery is of hunger: variety is her form, order her costume."

³² "Orphic Sayings," *The Dial* 1, no. 1 (Boston: James Munroe and Co., July 1840): 351-361.

³³ Sanborn and Harris, 270.

subvert a variety of tools of oppression, including taxation, individual land ownership, slave-produced goods, alcohol, money and meat.

The group hatched a plan for the development of Fruitlands, a utopian, socialist experiment in meatless living that Alcott described to Emerson as being “commenced by united individuals, who are desirous, under industrial and progressive education, with simplicity in diet, dress, lodging . . . to retain the means for the harmonic development of their physical, intellectual, and moral natures.”³⁴ Lane purchased an eleven-acre farm in the Massachusetts countryside at Harvard, thirty miles from Boston and twenty miles from Concord, Alcott’s previous home.

Alcott and Lane sought reform-minded followers for their new settlement, advertising in *The Dial* about the advantages of Fruitlands. The group promised that in the community “Ordinary secular farming is not our object” but rather was aimed at “purifying and edifying of the inmates.” Diet would consist of “Fruit, grain, pulse, herbs, flax, and other vegetable products,” challenging Grahamite orthodoxy that avoided fruit and emphasized bread and cold water. Products such as tea, sugar and molasses were banned since they relied upon slave labor for their production. The power of personal choices and their communal benefits motivated the ideals behind Fruitlands, reflected in Lane and Alcott’s belief that only through “personal reform” could social and political evils be eradicated.³⁵

Animal welfare was considered of central importance to dietary reform and the community hoped “to supersede ultimately the labor of the plough and cattle, by the

³⁴ “English Reformers,” in *The Dial* 3, no. 4 (Boston: E.P. Peabody, October 1842): 238.

³⁵ Quoted in *Bronson Alcott’s Fruitlands*, ed. Clara Endicott Sears (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), 45.

spade and the pruning-knife.” Physical exertion would be equally matched with mental and spiritual gratification, as the settlement offered a “choice library... accessible to all who are desirous of perusing these records of piety and wisdom.” According to its founders, the success of Fruitlands could be measured in its ability to provide “human freedom,” away from the social ills of slave labor, gender inequality and dietary intemperance.³⁶

Life at Fruitlands began smoothly as the forgiving summer months and bountiful supplies allowed residents to enjoy what Lane described as the “beautiful green landscape of fields and woods.”³⁷ The group was small, including just eleven members outside of Alcott, his wife and children. Despite the farm labor shortage—Alcott and Lane initially worked the fields along with two local farmhands—residents were pleased with the early results, thanks in large part to “the most delightful weather you can conceive.”³⁸ The inhabitants dressed in tunics and pants made out of linen, part of the community’s desire to avoid all animal products. Animal labor was utilized to construct the community’s buildings (a compromise made by Alcott out of pure necessity), but the fields were tilled only by humans, avoiding the use of manure as a fertilizer in deference to green crops. Maize, potatoes, beans, melons and squash were initially planted on the four-acre farm,

³⁶ A. Bronson Alcott, *Concord Days* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1872), 181.

³⁷ *The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau*, ed. Walter Harding and Carl Bode (New York: New York University Press, 1958), 115.

³⁸ *Bronson Alcott’s Fruitlands*, 29.

with the hopes of abundant fruits and vegetables supplemented with rye, oats and barley.³⁹

Ralph Waldo Emerson visited the community in July 1843 and was impressed by the results, explaining, “The sun and the evening sky do not look calmer, than Alcott and his family at Fruitlands. They seem to have arrived at the fact—to have got rid of the show, and to be serene. . . .there is as much merit in beautiful manners as in hard work.” Emerson, however, did offer a warning, one that proved prophetic: “I will not prejudge them successful. They look well in July; we will see them in December.”⁴⁰

Emerson’s misgivings would eventually prove to be accurate, however the initial months in Fruitlands were somewhat encouraging. Early harvests provided sufficient food, while Lane taught the Alcott children reform principles in daily lectures, emphasizing the connection between meat consumption and social ills. Short, lyrical adages reminded Louisa May and Anna Alcott that while a vegetable diet promised “sweet repose,” animal foods were a “nightmare.” Further, Lane explained in prose to the children, “Without flesh diet, there could be no blood-shedding war.”⁴¹ Dietary reformers argued that meat—with its stimulating properties—caused individuals to be irrational and often even violent. Prominent reformers visited the settlement, including abolitionist Parker Pillsbury who spoke to the children about the evils of slavery, and

³⁹ Avoiding the use of manure was for dual reasons; partly driven by the desire to avoid any use of animal materials, but also because Alcott viewed manure as being unsanitary. *Bronson Alcott’s Fruitlands*, 25.

⁴⁰ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 421.

⁴¹ Louisa May wrote down these aphorisms in the diary that she kept while at Fruitlands. Only small fragments of the diary remained after the settlement disbanded, though they are the first documented evidence of Louisa May Alcott’s writings. *Louisa May Alcott: Her Life, Letters, and Journals*, ed. Ednah Dow Cheney (Cambridge, Mass., 1889), 41.

transcendentalist Theodore Parker who would stop at Fruitlands to meet with Lane and Alcott while walking home in the evening.⁴²

A variety of factors led to the swift end of the experiment at Fruitlands. A lack of agricultural experience and resources amongst the residents guaranteed a weak, long-term crop output; so did the amount of time spent in the library studying and reading. Lane and Alcott were more enchanted with philosophical discovery than the small matter of ensuring food for the coming winter season. Lane's jaunts to a nearby Shaker village along with Alcott's long walks into cities to preach (including a hike to Providence, Rhode Island in September, at the precise time when crops were ready for harvest) did little to ensure the continual survival of Fruitlands.

By the end of the summer despair already started to seep into the community. Abba Alcott's opinion of the settlement declined rapidly. Abba reported in June that her experience at Fruitlands was "All beautiful, the hills commanding one of the most expansive prospects in the country...One is transported from his littleness, and the soul expands in such a region of sights and sounds." Just two months later in August, she despondently wrote in her diary that, "A woman may perform the most disinterested duties. She may 'die daily' in the cause of truth and righteousness. She lives neglected, and dies forgotten."⁴³ Abba's response reflects the fact that the multifaceted burdens of taking care of the children, providing meals for the whole settlement, while also managing the fields while her husband was off lecturing often fell straight on her shoulders.

⁴² *Louisa May Alcott: Her Life, Letters, and Journals*, 36; *Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands*, 32.

⁴³ Bronson Alcott, *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*, ed. Odell Shepard (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1938), 155.

Ultimately, however, ideological differences hastened the end of the New Eden. Charles Lane—the owner of the land, and oft-times financial benefactor of Bronson Alcott—had become infatuated with the Shaker lifestyle, advocating for similar principles of complete sexual abstinence and gender separation at Fruitlands. The ideological split between Lane and the Alcotts, combined with the results of a harsh winter and weak crop harvest ensured that the group would eventually abandon their experiment. By the start of January 1844, Lane and his son moved from Fruitlands to the adjacent Shaker Village. Just two weeks later on January 14, the Alcotts fled Fruitlands as well, soon after re-settling in their old house in Concord. One early scholar of the Fruitlands experiment noted that the ideological split between Lane and Alcott was an “internecine strife” between Lane’s utopian socialism and Alcott’s individualism.⁴⁴ Alcott himself, ever the sentimentalist, seemingly supported this assertion, reflecting on the community in 1857, explaining that

Fruitlands was an adventure mistimed, and in some sense visionary, for planting in good faith a Paradise here in Puritan New England, in hope of enjoying the pastoral life in more than pristine simplicity with a little company of men and women smitten with sentiments of the old heroism and humanity.⁴⁵

The split between the progenitors of the experiment, however, was not as black-and-white as it appeared. Questions concerning Alcott’s individualism offer insight into the relationship between Fruitlands and dietary identity at the time. While Charles Lane was a staunch meat-abstainer, by fall of 1843 he viewed control over sexuality as the key

⁴⁴ Odell Shepard, *Pedlar’s Progress: The Life of Bronson Alcott* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937), 361.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 387.

to social reform. In other words, Lane mirrored Graham's transition towards sexual reform over dietary reform. Alcott, on the other hand, reflected the type of reform advocated in the *Library of Health*, placing diet as the catalyst for all other social reform. Alcott explained that his motives for joining Fruitlands were driven by a desire to "abstain from the fruits of oppression and blood" through "entire independence" from normative society and its trappings.⁴⁶

This style of reform was individualistic in the sense that it relied upon personal choices for its success. The meat abstention advocated by reformers like Bronson and William Alcott and reflected in the pages of *The Library of Health*, however, was utopian in its goals of complete social and cultural reform. And though it was individualistic in its practices, it was inherently collectivist in its attempts to build and foster community identity. Dietary reform emphasized personal dietary choice as a means to better society at large, and relied upon its adherence by a community of likeminded individuals. However, even if this was the founders' intention, the settlement failed to live up to its lofty goals in at least one fundamental aspect.

Louisa May Alcott would eventually fictionalize the events at Fruitlands thirty years later in her work *Transcendental Wild Oats*, first published in 1873. The work utilized pseudonyms for the community's residents. Bronson Alcott was replaced by the serene sounding Abel Lamb, while Charles Lane's name was replaced with the far more menacing Timon Lion. The name changes reflected the general tone of Alcott's piece. Bronson Alcott is portrayed as a somewhat aloof idealist driven by pure motives yet unwilling to stand up to the more aggressive and domineering Lane.

⁴⁶ *Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands*, 72.

In this sense *Transcendental Wild Oats* accurately reflected Louisa May's own real time diary of events written while at Fruitlands, where she describes a deep dislike of Lane.⁴⁷ Alcott drew a further contrast between her father and Lane, describing Bronson Alcott in *Transcendental Wild Oats* as being guided by the "devoutest faith in the high ideal," motivated by a desire to build a "Paradise, where Beauty, Virtue, Justice, and Love might live happily together."⁴⁸ Lane, on the other hand, was presented as an uncompromising megalomaniac, driven by motives of "being, not doing."⁴⁹

Louisa May Alcott's indictment of Lane as a thinker rather than a doer was accurate, though in many ways Bronson Alcott was guilty of the same offense while at Fruitlands. Perhaps Alcott's presentation was inevitably clouded by a romanticized sense of loyalty to her father and based on her family's ultimate disappointment with Fruitlands. Lane—Louisa May's teacher while at the community—was more likely to be remembered as an autocrat. The recollections in *Transcendental Wild Oats* may be somewhat unreliable in its presentation of Bronson Alcott and Charles Lane. The account is, however, striking in its consideration of gender dynamics.

Abba Alcott—known as Sister Hope in the text—is accurately portrayed as having to bear the direct burden of Bronson Alcott and Lane's ideological haughtiness. While Lane and Alcott occupied themselves by reading through the many volumes contained in the library and taking frequent trips away from the community to lecture,

⁴⁷ *Louisa May Alcott: Her Life, Letters, and Journals*, ed. Ednah Dow Cheney (Cambridge, Mass., 1889), 41; John Matteson, *Eden's Outcasts: The Story of Louisa May Alcott and Her Father* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007), 130.

⁴⁸ Louisa May Alcott, "Transcendental Wild Oats," *Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands*, ed. Clara Endicott Sears (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2005), 150.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 155.

Abba was left with the task of actually running the settlement. Sister Hope, as explained in *Transcendental Wild Oats*, dealt with “heavy washes,” “the endless succession of batches of bread,” and all of “the many tasks undone by the brethren, who were so busy discussing and defining great duties that they forgot to perform the small ones.” In essence, Alcott points out, Abba replaced farm animals as the only “beast of burden” at Fruitlands.⁵⁰

Given that the community was founded partly to alleviate the “servitudes of the dairy and the flesh pots” that reformers thought chained women to the kitchen, the reality of Fruitlands’ gendered dynamics were a striking failure.⁵¹ While the founders of Fruitlands preached their community as a means to create social harmony, a staunchly gendered division of labor existed, split between male thinkers and female workers.⁵² At Fruitlands physical labor was the norm for adult women, while adult male lives centered on the purely mental. While new gender roles prevailed at Fruitlands, they were still inherently limited and wrought with inequality.

Alcott discusses the meatless diet at Fruitlands in *Transcendental Oats*, though it is not a central focus of her account, other than passing mentions of a diet based on apples and cold water. The circumstances that led to the community’s disbandment left Louisa May with sour memories of the experiment. Bronson Alcott and Charles Lane spent more time pontificating over the fate of farm animals than they did the community’s residents. In addition, Louisa May did not share her father’s dedication to

⁵⁰ Ibid., 161, 163.

⁵¹ *Bronson Alcott’s Fruitlands*, 48.

⁵² Sylvia Jenkins Cook, *Working Women, Literary Ladies: The Industrial Revolution and Female Aspiration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 208.

dietary reform, preferring meat as a child despite her father's warnings, and eating meat as an adult.⁵³ While Alcott respected her father's high-minded dedication, she also witnessed the deleterious effects of his blind devotion to dietary reform on herself, her mother and family while at Fruitlands. Alcott noted that while her father and Lane "said many wise things," they also "did many foolish ones." And while they "preached vegetarianism everywhere and resisted all temptations of the flesh," the dietary reformers at Fruitlands also spent much time "afflicting hospitable hostesses by denouncing their food and taking away their appetites, discussing the 'horrors of shambles.'"⁵⁴

Alcott portrayed the dietary choices made by the residents of Fruitlands as driven by a desire to do good and care for the world at large. Ultimately, however, dietary reform at Fruitlands ignored the most basic needs of those in the immediate community. Alcott scathingly concluded that, "to live for one's principles, at all costs, is a dangerous speculation."⁵⁵ Unlike Grahamites, who were most often young, single, urban men and women, the Fruitlands experiment was inhabited primarily by adults with children who counted on them for basic care, one component of which was food. Bronson Alcott imposed his dietary preferences on his family, allowing his ideology to interfere with his ability to best care for his children. For the children *and* Abba, a meatless diet was not a matter of self-denial as they were given little choice over their dietary choices. Thus, as a reform principle, flesh-free living at Fruitlands—in addition to causing a significant

⁵³ Bronson Alcott even speculated that Louisa May's temper came from her preference for meat. See Martha Saxton, *Louisa May Alcott: A Modern Biography* (New York: Macmillan, 1995), 93.

⁵⁴ Alcott, *Transcendental Wild Oats*, 166.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 169.

amount of personal anguish—did little to alleviate many of the social ills that its founders sought to conquer.

Despite these difficulties, the role and symbolism of Fruitlands must be considered. While conventional thought labels Fruitlands as an unmitigated disaster, the utopian experiment symbolized many of the challenges and contradictions at play amongst dietary reformers in the early 1840s. Fruitlands appeared at a moment in time when meatless identity was emerging out from under the shadow of Sylvester Graham and Grahamism. Grahamites began to concentrate on perceived threats to sexual purity—and the larger threats implicit to the Republic itself. By contrast, dietary reformers expanded the very notion of meat-free identity. The experiment at Fruitlands was one such attempt, guided by high-minded ideals, but beset by logistical and ideological contradictions. However, the seeds were planted for the further development of new and competing identities.

Water Cure and the Vegetable Diet

During this period of transition other identities formulated that emphasized the benefits of a meatless diet. Water cure (also known as hydrotherapy) connected a vegetable diet with the practice of water healing. Based on the teachings of Vincent Priessnitz, an Austrian naturopath, hydrotherapy caught on in the United States by 1845 with the establishment of the first water cure institutions. Priessnitz himself, however, did not advocate for total meat abstinence, instead advising his followers that a mixed diet

of unsalted, spice free meat and plain vegetables was most advantageous for health and an even temper.⁵⁶

American water curists believed—much like Grahamites—that illness was a result of the body existing in unnatural states. Continuous dousing with water—internally and externally—along with wrapping in wet sheets for bed rest would lead the body to expel poisonous toxins caused by intemperance, immorality and poor diet. Combining the teachings of Priessnitz and Graham, water curists created a new and distinct health reform-based identity. Mary Louise Shew and Dr. Joel Shew—founders of the first water cure establishment in the United States—advised patients “the best health of body and mind does not require the use of flesh meat at all.” When “stimulants and flesh meat are avoided; immediately the health, strength and appetite improve.” Shew argued, “many kinds of vegetable, farinaceous food contain double the amount of nutriment, pound for pound, that average meat does.”⁵⁷ American hydrotherapists were influenced by, and often times even *were* followers of a Graham diet. But water cure during this time period formulated its own identity, albeit one that also advocated for a meatless diet. While not all water cure enthusiasts abstained from meat—perhaps a reflection on just how popular the treatment eventually became in mass culture—its practitioners emphasized meat abstention as a key component to a healthy lifestyle.

⁵⁶ Vincent Priessnitz, *The Cold Water Cure, Its Principles' Theory, and Practice* (London: William Strange, 1842), 47.

⁵⁷ Mary Louise Shew and Joel Shew, *Water-cure for Ladies: A Popular Work on the Health, Diet, and Regimen of Females and Children, and the Prevention and Cure of Diseases* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1844), 63-4, 95.

In December 1845 Joel Shew began publishing his *Water-Cure Journal*—the masthead exhorted readers to “Wash and be Healed.”⁵⁸ As early as the second issue of the journal, the benefits of a meatless diet were espoused with the story of a young woman who overcame lung disease thanks to a combination of water cure and a farinaceous diet. The journal pointed out that “the regulation of the diet had no small share of effect in her remarkable cure.”⁵⁹ Hydrotherapists emphasized the dual benefits of a vegetable diet, protecting individuals from the onset of disease while serving as an important component of treatment when ill.

The Water-Cure Journal offered a litany of examples of how hydrotherapy and a vegetable diet cured a variety of ailments. An anonymous Boston woman suffered for years from the symptoms of red gravel, the discharge associated with the passing of kidney stones. Shortly after commencing regular cold baths and a “diet of fruit and vegetables” the woman passed “large quantities of red sand without pain.” The water cure and dietary changes were a success, the woman overcoming her illness and enjoying good health thereafter.⁶⁰ In the case of a young man stricken with scrofula—a tuberculosis-caused infection on the neck—the journal stated that, “Diet has much to do in such cases.” The journal advised a gradual change in diet “until a strict vegetable and fruit regimen is observed,” at which point daily water treatment should be administered.⁶¹

The journal advised readers on the benefits of farinaceous living and the nutritive value of whole grains. In particular, “wheat, rye, corn, rice, buckwheat, potatoes, sage,

⁵⁸ *Water-Cure Journal*, hereafter referenced as *WCJ* 1, no. 1 (1 December 1845): 1.

⁵⁹ “Lung Disease,” *WCJ* 1, no. 2 (15 December 1845): 28.

⁶⁰ “Case of Red Gravel,” *WCJ* 1, no. 3 (1 January 1846): 39.

⁶¹ “Letter from a Physician—Cases of Scrofula,” *WCJ* 1, no. 1 (1 December, 1845): 11.

tapioca, arrow-root...are in general more easy of digestion than animal food, and consequently cause a less expedition of the vital powers in the process of digestion.”⁶²

Here the water curists exhibited both continuity and separation from Graham. The notion of over-exertion of vital energy during digestion was a central theme in Graham’s exhortations for simple bread and meat abstention. Yet Grahamites advised against a diversified diet, emphasizing instead the importance of simplicity and predictability. Hydropaths, on the other hand, advocated for the strength building properties and easy digestibility of a variety of fruits and vegetables.

By 1847 *The Water-Cure Journal* was the published voice of meatless living.

The journal, in kind, featured articles on the benefits of a vegetable diet at the forefront of forthcoming issues. At the same time hydropaths had built twenty-one water cure establishments in nine states, and claimed to have twenty-five thousand subscribers to the journal by 1850.⁶³ September 1847 saw the journal espouse the “Comparative Benefits of Vegetable and Animal Food,” highlighting a series of testimonials from medical practitioners who witnessed first hand the advantages of dietary reform in promoting strength, mental clarity and disease prevention.⁶⁴ William Alcott provided an article to the journal arguing for a natural diet, using his own life as an example of the benefits of abstaining from meat. Increased vigor along with the loss of chronic rheumatism were

⁶² “Farinaceous Food,” *WCJ* 1, no. 3 (1 January 1846): 42.

⁶³ Susan Cayleff, *Wash and Be Healed: The Water-Cure Movement and Women's Health* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 26.

⁶⁴ “Comparative Benefits of Vegetable and Animal Food,” *WCJ* 4, no. 3 (1 September 1847): 1-28.

both attributed to a vegetable diet and led Alcott to faithfully remain a meat abstainer since making the shift in his late twenties.⁶⁵

Groups like the water curists, frugivores and natural dieters expanded the nature of meatless dietary identity. However their movements remained fractured nationally, inhibiting the ability for a unified, visible identity to form for meat abstainers. Though the dietary reform movement had established itself within the hierarchy of American reform movements and distanced itself away from a single demagogic leader, formalized organization was necessary if its ideals were going to survive and grow. For inspiration dietary reformers looked abroad to England, where the popularity of dietary reform had given birth to a new term—vegetarianism.

London's Vegetarian Society

Dietary reform had long been a popular issue for English reformers. Groups such as the Bible Christians and the residents of Alcott House in Ham, had established vegetable-based dietetics amongst England's various reform movements since the turn of the nineteenth century, all the way through the mid 1840s. By 1847 these diverse groups began the process of conjoining under a singular umbrella of dietary reform, following the call for the "formation of a society for promoting the...objects so extensively affecting the future progress and elevation of their fellow-men's moral and religious advancement."⁶⁶

While dietary reformers emphasized the totality of physiological issues, it soon was obvious that a specific group was being targeted. A concerned citizen wrote to the

⁶⁵ "Vegetable Diet—Experience of Dr. W. A. Alcott," *WCJ* 4, no. 4 (October 1847): 289.

⁶⁶ "Physiological Conference," *Truth-Tester* 1 (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1847): 121.

Truth-Tester, a prominent reform journal, explaining that he believed it “desirable, that vegetarians as a body, were better organized—drawn more often into contact with each other.” Doing such could ensure that “information could be regularly obtained respecting the numbers, occupation, and daily dietary and sanatory habits of those who abstain from the flesh and blood eating practices of our fellow countrymen.”⁶⁷

William Horsell, editor of the *Truth-Tester*, a hydrotherapist and a meat abstainer, responded by organizing a meeting at a water cure institute in Ramsgate in September 1847. The group gathered with the explicit goal of emphasizing “abstinence from the consumption of animal food” and figuring out the “best means of disseminating...its advantages—advantages not limited to the pocket and the physical health, but ascending to the still higher spheres of mental and moral harmony.”⁶⁸

At the meeting 150 meat abstainers agreed to the formation of a “Society of Vegetarians,” electing James Simpson—a Bible Christian—as the group’s first president. Horsell was named the group’s treasurer and the *Truth-Tester* became the group’s de-facto public voice. Within a year Horsell moved to London and re-named his publication the *Vegetarian Advocate*. The Vegetarian Society was born and with it a new term for mass consumption and consideration.⁶⁹ For the members of the Vegetarian Society the

⁶⁷ "Useful Suggestions," *Truth-Tester* 1 (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1847): 112.

⁶⁸ "Physiological Conference," *Truth-Tester* 1 (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1847): 121.

⁶⁹ It is not my contention to imply that this meeting invented the term vegetarian; it clearly existed in vernacular terminology amongst meat abstainers in England at the time. A March 1839 letter from British actress and noted reformer Frances “Fanny” Kemble to an American friend includes the term vegetarian without explanation (“The sight and smell of raw meat are especially odious to me, and I have often thought that if I had had to be my own cook, I should inevitably become a *vegetarian*, probably, indeed, return entirely to my green and salad days.”). See Frances Anne Kemble. “Letter from Frances Kemble to Elizabeth Dwight Sedgwick Rackemann, March 1839,” *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839* (London, England: Longmans & Co., 1863), 244-53. It is clear that in this letter Kemble defines vegetarian as someone who eats a vegetable diet. It is also important to note that she used the

meaning of the term vegetarian was quite simply one who subsists on a diet of fruits, vegetables, grains and seeds.

The founding of this new group drew significant attention from the other side of the Atlantic where American meat abstainers were inspired by the notion of organization. The early years of dietary reform in the United States were transnational in nature, as American and British dietary reformers shared literature and ideas across the Atlantic. The original dietary reformers in the United States—the Bible Christians—while from England, lost many of their original, migrant members. However, despite the demographic shift of the nation of origin of most original church members in Philadelphia, the group remained linked to its British counterparts through literary and interpersonal exchanges. Dietary reformers sent each other literature, pamphlets and books across the Atlantic, illustrating that the importance of meat abstention transcended differing national origins.⁷⁰

In addition, prominent American dietary reformers like Sylvester Graham, William Alcott and Bronson Alcott all lectured extensively to British audiences. Conversely, British vegetarians visited the United States and spoke to American audiences.⁷¹ American dietary reformers as well subscribed to British dietary reform

phrase with the assumption that her American friend understood within the given context. It is possible that the term was comprehensible because of the suffix “-arian” a Latin suffix that implies a person with “a connection with or belief in the stated subject.” See “-arian” in *Cambridge Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For an online entry, see FTP Address: <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/define.asp?key=3939&dict=CALD>. More important than the question of *when* exactly this term was invented is what it meant to its adherents and why it was chosen. This issue will be considered in detail in discussing the formation of the American Vegetarian Society in the next chapter.

⁷⁰ *History of the Philadelphia Bible Christian Church*, 43.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 166.

publications like the *Truth-Tester*. Most importantly, this transatlantic exchange of ideas and publications emboldened Americans to form their own society and in the process define for themselves what the term vegetarian and its corresponding identity meant.⁷²

The Coming of the American Vegetarian Society

News of the establishment of the Vegetarian Society in England spread quickly to American dietary reformers who had long been part of a transatlantic idea exchange with the British. American dietary reformers noted advances in the British organization, as “the movements of the vegetarian societies in England, during the past year” had “stirred up the friends of dietetic reform on this side of the Atlantic.”⁷³ Writing to the *Water-Cure Journal* in April of 1849, William Metcalfe noted “in England the advocates of dietetic reform, some time ago, instituted an association...under the appellation of ‘The Vegetarian Society,’ which is creating quite an excitement throughout the country.”

With the growth of the British society, Metcalfe wondered why a similar organization could not be founded in the United States. After all, he argued, America was “distinguished throughout the civilized world for the noble stand she first made against intemperance. . . Shall she be less zealous in opposing a system of diet, as detrimental to the health and happiness of humanity as intoxicating liquors?” Metcalfe closed with a premonition of changes to come, promising that he had “conversed with some of my friends who highly approve of the proposal...the good time is coming...for

⁷² “A Lecture to Young Men on Chastity,” *The Penny Satirist* 367 (27 April 1844): 2; “Classified Ads,” *The Penny Satirist* 366 (20 April 1844): 2.

⁷³ “American Vegetarian Convention,” *WCJ* 10, no. 1 (July 1850): 5.

the elevation of man from the bondage of an unnatural, destructive and barbarous custom.”⁷⁴

The plans for an American convention were coming to fruition. In February of 1850 the *Water-Cure Journal* explained that “It is proposed by a number of influential individuals...that there be called in the month of May next, an American Vegetarian Convention.”⁷⁵ Reform movements had made great strides in the United States; abolitionists, suffragists and temperance supporters all had their own national organizations. American dietary reformers decided it was time to formalize the advocacy that they had espoused for years, coming together in May of 1850 with the goal of forming a national, vegetarian organization.

Conclusion

By the middle of the nineteenth century meatless dietary reform had grown to the point that multiple identities competed over the attention of those interested in utilizing flesh food abstention as a means for personal and political change. Water curists, natural dieters and utopian fruitlanders all saw their food choices as having inherent power to transform themselves and society at large. The movement to craft a community based on meat abstention had grown significantly, to the extent that multiple identities were possible for those interested in dietary reform. As evidenced by the events at Fruitlands, however, even the seemingly best of intentions for social justice and reform were affected by prevailing social norms and attitudes.

⁷⁴ “Vegetarianism,” *WCJ* 7, no. 4 (1 April 1849): 116.

⁷⁵ “American Vegetarian Convention,” *WCJ* 9, no. 2 (February 1850): 60.

Dietary reformers were still largely on society's fringes, viewed with equal parts skepticism, anger and fear. While this may have made reformers uneasy in their relationship with society at large, it also ensured that individuals interested in advocating for meatless dietetics would seek each other out and eventually conjoin. Bible Christians, Grahamites, utopians and water curists all proliferated during the 1830s, advocating for dietary reform based on the principles of fleshless foods. Transnational exchanges between American and British reformers furthered the marketplace of ideas across artificial political boundaries and helped a variety of meatless identities continue to evolve.

These various movements continued the process of seeking each other out under the singular banner of dietary reform and the social and political power of food choices. The familiar faces of dietary reform—Sylvester Graham, William Alcott and William Metcalfe—promoted their work championing meatless fare. However, with the bonding of the major movements of dietary reform, meatless identity in the United States would adopt a new name and with it a new, more complete identity.

CHAPTER THREE

THE AMERICAN VEGETARIAN SOCIETY

*How many both feast and grow fat to excess
On the flesh and the blood of brutes:
Nay! Stain not your lips with such food, but come feed.
Alone as man ought, upon fruits
We've tasted your flesh-meats of yore, it is true,
But ne'er mean to taste them again.
Because now resolved, and determined for us
No creature shall ever be slain.¹*

—“*A Vegetarian Song*”

On May 15, 1850, meat abstainers from around the United States descended upon New York City's Clinton Hall at the corner of Astor Place and 8th Street.² The convention drew the most visible public advocates of a meatless diet, including William Alcott, William Metcalfe, Sylvester Graham and Joel Shew. The group met with multiple goals in mind, hoping to hold an event that was at once political and social. But before moving onto a sumptuous banquet, the primary goal of the attendees was the formation of an organization inspired by the British Vegetarian Society.

¹ “A Vegetarian Song,” *AVHJ* 2, no. 4 (April 1852): 64.

² Clinton Hall was the location of the famed Astor Place Opera House, where a violent, large-scale riot had broken out in May of 1849. The Hall also served as a popular location for a variety of lectures and organizational meetings, and would eventually house the Mercantile Library. See Charles Hemstreet, *Nooks & Corners of Old New York* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), 169-70.

The first day of the conference was marked by a series of testimonials and conversion stories about the effects of a vegetable diet. This seems to indicate that in addition to dietary reformers, the convention also drew a mixed audience of the curious and unconverted. Letters from absent medical doctors and lay reformers were read, attempting to present the full breadth of dietary experiences—this was no longer solely a movement of popular health advocates. Dr. Robert Mussey of Ohio University presented a strictly economic argument for dietary change explaining, “Animals, as food, will be substituted by the food of vegetable productions, on account of its greater cheapness and abundance.” David Prince, a medical doctor from St. Louis presented his own conversion story, and was happy to report that he had “abstained almost entirely from the use of meat, eggs and fish for 14 years...My health is uniformly good, my appetite greater than it is proper to satiate, my power of resisting heat and cold, and of enduring fatigue, very considerable.”³ The converted nodded in agreement, while the curious listened intently, awaiting the next speaker.

William Alcott rose to the lectern and explained that it had been nearly forty-one years since he had made use of any kind of “flesh-food” and his life was “altogether satisfactory.” Alcott had been lucky enough to have had “raised a family, some of his children being present; and he had both children and grandchildren who had never tasted flesh.” A vegetable diet had ensured a long, healthy life, productive in works as well as progeny. Dietary reformers in the audience were emboldened, self-righteous in the justness of their cause. When a water curist from Lebanon Springs, New York admitted

³ “Proceedings of the American Vegetarian Convention,” *American Vegetarian and Health Journal*, (hereafter referenced as *AVHJ*) 1, no. 1 (November 1850): 1-2.

in his remarks that he gave some patients flesh food in order to “keep up the animal heat” an unknown audience member wondered if “Perhaps you give them too much cold water?” to the amusement and hearty laughter of the audience.⁴ Water curists were welcomed amongst this crowd, but it was clear that there was no issue more important than the abstention from meat.

The session culminated with a lay audience member, Jonathan Wright of Philadelphia, providing his own family’s experience with a vegetable diet. The meeting sought to emphasize that while the endorsements of doctors served as proof of the success of the diet, the real life applicability of the lifestyle to regular individuals was just as important. Wright had not touched animal food for forty years and raised eight children who never knew the taste of flesh. The benefits of “that merciful system of living” were extensive, providing “physical, moral and intellectual” success. Avoiding meat and other stimulants ensured that Wright “never had to pay a dollar, on his own personal account, for a doctor’s bill.”⁵

At this point a voice projected from the audience. Frail, yet determined, Sylvester Graham stood and asked Wright if he had ever lost any children in infancy. Wright responded that three small children had, indeed, passed away in infancy as a result of what doctors diagnosed as the croup. Graham pithily responded, continuing his lifelong assault on the medical establishment, wondering aloud “whether the croup or the doctor killed them,” to the delighted applause of the gathered masses.⁶

⁴ Ibid., 2-6.

⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁶ Ibid.

With the opening statements and formalities over, the convention got down to the business of building an organization, drafting fourteen principles to guide the new society. The convention agreed that a vegetarian diet was most natural for humans, proscribed by the divine spirit. Meat was simply an allowance because of humanity's cruelty and passions, and only furthered its moral failings. True reform was only possible through a meatless diet. In order to succeed a centralized organization would be formed, and localized state organizations would be built under the national umbrella.⁷ William Alcott was elected the president of this new society, with nine co-vice presidents serving yearly terms. Amongst the first group of vice presidents sat Sylvester Graham and the leader of American hydropathy, Dr. Joel Shew.

Why "Vegetarian?"

Mirroring the nomenclature of British dietary reformers, the convention named the new organization the American Vegetarian Society (AVS) though not without objection. P.P. Stewart, one of the organization's newly appointed vice presidents and a co-founder of Oberlin College, objected to the use of the term vegetarian.⁸ For Stewart the term was misleading; many members at the convention ate eggs and drank milk, were these not animal products as well? Further, Stewart pointed out, the term was limiting, focusing the group identity upon diet rather than the larger reform connections inherent within the lifestyle. Stewart's objections notwithstanding, the term was adopted into the organization's name, reflecting the growth of the term within American common

⁷ For all fourteen resolutions see "Proceedings of the American Vegetarian Convention," *AVHJ* 1, no. 1 (November 1850): 6.

⁸ For more on Stewart and his work at Oberlin, see John Morgan, *A Worker and Workers' Friend, P.P. Stewart, A Life Sketch* (New York: John J. Reed, 1873), 50-60.

vocabulary.⁹ However the term meant something different to American vegetarians than it did to their British counterparts.

Britain's Vegetarian Society utilized the term as a designation for an individual who subsisted on a vegetable-based diet. Stewart's objection to the term as being inaccurate and potentially constraining was well reasoned; in order to make the term salient, American vegetarians had to re-define the identity. At the organization's first anniversary meeting—held just five months later in Philadelphia's Chinese Museum—an attendee explained that vegetarianism was “the art and science which teaches man to cull, dispose and modify, for food, those products of the vegetable kingdom only, which are best adapted to produce and sustain a sound mind and a sound body.” Emphasizing that vegetarianism was not simply a dietary choice but rather an art and science allowed the new identity to be flexible enough to serve as a catalyst for a variety of reforms. Subsisting on foods that “produce and sustain a sound mind and a sound body” also allowed flexibility in what vegetarians could eat—if scientific study showed that milk and eggs were conducive to mental and physical development, vegetarians could justify their use.

The adoption of the term vegetarian by the AVS received nearly immediate public support, particularly in the medical field. Robley Dunglison—a founding faculty member of the University of Virginia and Thomas Jefferson's personal physician—defined vegetarianism in his 1851 *Dictionary of Medical Science* as “a modern term, employed to designate the view that man . . . ought to subsist on the direct productions of

⁹ “Proceedings of the American Vegetarian Convention,” *AVHJ* 1, no. 1 (November 1850): 7.

the vegetable kingdom and totally abstain from flesh and blood.”¹⁰ This definition—emphasizing the avoidance of flesh and blood—matched with the vegetarians’ own sense of identity that allowed for the limited use of animal products such as milk, cheese and eggs, avoiding only animal flesh and meat. In addition, Dunglison’s description of vegetarianism—reflecting the movement’s own self-classification—made clear that the group believed in the naturalness of a meatless diet, while de-emphasizing the notion of mere choice.

The first anniversary meeting of the AVS mandated that attendees sign a pledge promising that they had “Abstained from the Flesh of Animals as Food, for the space of One Month, and upwards” and would work “in promoting the knowledge of the advantages of a Vegetarian Diet.”¹¹ Sufficient leeway was allowed for the use of animal derivative products such as milk, cheese and eggs; flesh itself was the source of moral and physical illness. Vegetarians considered “animal food such substances only as have been a component part of a living animal body.” The harmful effects of meat were caused by its inorganic nature, sitting and rotting in the stomach, rather than passing quickly through the digestive system. Products such as milk and eggs, though derived from other animals, did not produce death or extreme suffering and thus, if proven to be nutritious, were safe for vegetarians to eat.¹²

At the same meeting a monthly journal was proposed which began publication in January of 1851. In the second issue, the *American Vegetarian and Health Journal*

¹⁰ Robley Dunglison, “Vegetarianism,” *Medical Lexicon: A Dictionary of Medical Science* (Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), 896. For more on Dunglison and his relationship to Jefferson, see Andrew Burstein *Jefferson’s Secrets: Death and Desire at Monticello* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 19-29.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹² “The Controversialist,” *AVHJ* 1, no. 2 (February 1851): 46.

tackled the issue of vegetarian identity, answering the underlying question of “Vegetarianism—What is it?” The journal assured readers that “The answer to this oft repeated interrogation is plain and simple.” Since “man is a physical, intellectual and moral being...by understanding rightly his own nature, which requires that, for food, he should...totally abstain from the flesh and blood of the animal creation.” Whereas British vegetarians emphasized dietary choice in their definition of identity, American vegetarians stressed its all-encompassing naturalness. Vegetarianism was “not merely theoretical and speculative,” but rather “sustained by the teachings of Comparative Anatomy, the doctrines of Human Physiology, the testimony of Analytical Chemistry, and the truths of Sacred and Profane History.”¹³ Humanity’s natural state dictated a vegetarian diet, rather than humanity imposing a dietary choice.

The article further explained the totality of vegetarian identity, noting that “Vegetarianism is connected with a grand set of social and moral reformations, not aiming at the elevation of a few merely, but securing the amelioration of the common lot of the human family. “ Vegetarianism was an all-encompassing reform ideology, including “kindness and humanity to the lower animals,” “harmony with the great Temperance reformation” and “intimate association with the vital progress of every Reformation of the age.”¹⁴ This identity—which connected dietary reform with larger social reform—had always been a component of American dietary reform. However, the

¹³ “Vegetarianism—What is It?” *AVHJ* 1, no. 2 (February 1851): 37.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

AVS created a new identity that presented vegetarianism as an “Archimedian Lever’ by which to move the world,” *the* vehicle for all social change.¹⁵

The organization’s first anniversary meeting in Philadelphia made this identity explicitly clear, linking vegetarianism to moral reform, pacifism and abolitionism. Antebellum pacifism largely focused on the maxim, as summarized by historian Ronald Walters, that “forceful is sin; governments use force; therefore, governments are sinful.”¹⁶ As a result, pacifists utilized a variety of methods aimed squarely at governmental power, often refusing to vote or otherwise become intertwined with a political system they viewed as corrupt and prone to violence. Vegetarian pacifists, on the other hand, focused squarely on the effects of the collective actions of humanity. Social ills were only possible through intemperate diets that aroused angry, violent urges. Therefore a collective turn towards vegetarianism—even more than a shift in political systems—held the power to change society’s acceptance of bloodshed. Vegetarians viewed communal dietary choices as having more transformative power than even the collective policies of the federal government.

Vegetarians argued that only a cruel society seduced by animal flesh could wage war, arguing that “we must do away with the brutal custom of slaughtering animals” to ensure peaceful co-existence amongst humans. Just three years removed from the Mexican-American War and in the middle of a growing sectional crisis, vegetarians were tackling an issue of particular pertinence. The dual issues of the threat of internal strife and questions over the spread of the slave system were intertwined for reformers. The

¹⁵ “Anniversary of the American Vegetarian Society,” *T.L. Nichols’ Water-Cure Journal* 20, no. 1 (Jul 1855): 1.

¹⁶ Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers 1815-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 115.

Compromise of 1850 temporarily quelled the threat of sectional warfare, though left questions and social contradictions unanswered.¹⁷ Vegetarians—staunchly abolitionist and generally concerned with the issue of violence—molded these issues together in their arguments in favor of a meat free diet, in order to apply dietary choice to the larger problems facing the republic.

In his address to the meeting, William Alcott argued that vegetarianism was the key to abolitionism, arguing that “abstinence from flesh lies at the basis of this reform....there is no slavery in this world like the slavery of a man to his appetite...Let man but abstain from the use of flesh and fish, and the slavery of one man to another cannot long exist.” While this simile may seem somewhat flippant—the mental, emotional and physical effects of plantation slavery were, of course, more harmful than those of a steak—it speaks to how important vegetarians viewed dietary reform. Only in a society where individuals were blind to the disastrous effects of poor diet on themselves could they be blind to the catastrophic effects of slavery on others.¹⁸ Food choices, the organization argued, had inherent and important political power.

Reformers connected with the AVS placed dietary change at the center of all social progress. As a result, the group consciously built a new reform identity, separate from the component social problems they sought to address. For example, while vegetarians *were* abolitionists in the sense that worked to end the slave system and perhaps even belonged to abolitionist organizations, their particular methodology of total

¹⁷ The Compromise of 1850 admitted California as a free state, New Mexico and Utah under the principle of popular sovereignty and banned the slave trade in Washington D.C. It also enacted the Fugitive Slave Act. James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 71-3.

¹⁸ “Proceedings of the American Vegetarian Convention,” *AVHJ* 1, no. 1 (November 1850): 25.

liberation through the vehicle of dietary choice placed these reformers as a distinct identity. Other reformers like William Lloyd Garrison were defined through their opposition to slavery and as abolitionists, because of their central obsession with that cause. While abolitionists like Garrison may have been sympathetic to the cause of dietary reform and even share similar goals as vegetarians, the two groups were distinct in methods and as a result in identity. Vegetarians and non-vegetarians alike recognized the independence of this identity, exemplified by the proliferation of the very term vegetarian during this time period. The name implied that the group defined themselves and their diverse political and social goals specifically through dietary choice.

By the fall of 1850 Sylvester Graham must have barely recognized the movement that he was so influential in founding. No longer obsessed with stale bread and cold water, vegetarians formed a national organization aimed at producing complete social reform through dietary choice. Graham did not even attend the society's first anniversary meeting in September, though poor health had made the once omnipresent public figure virtually bed ridden. No longer explicitly Grahamite, vegetarians attempted to maximize the flavorful benefits of a meatless diet. The meeting's banquet ignored the simplicity in dining advocated in the past in favor of a banquet room that was "very tastefully decorated with heavy festoons of evergreen, flowers and fruit." A large banner sat above an elongated table where the society's leadership sat, reminding diners of the Genesaic promise that "Behold I have given you every Herb bearing seed, and every tree in the which is the Fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat."

This was no simple meal; it was an elaborate banquet that included thirty different varieties of cooked foods, not including preserves. The first course consisted of savory

dishes including baked potatoes and a variety of breads—other choices were available besides Graham’s. The second course included a variety of fruit pies, custards, and puddings, dishes that had been previously frowned upon as too sweet and stimulating. Lastly, dessert provided a variety of fruits and nuts, bringing an end to the ornate affair. The banquet was a “rich and luxurious dinner” proving that “the vegetable kingdom affords ‘plenty to eat, without any meat.’”¹⁹

The group’s first anniversary in 1851 meeting only expanded on the previous year’s extravagance. Philadelphia’s Chinese Museum was decorated with the finest fresh flowers and cruciferous fauna available, inspiring attendees to enjoy “A Feast of Reason, and A Flow of Soul.”²⁰ Vegetarians had made great strides, organizing a national advocacy society and creating a tight-knit community that emphasized the importance of each individual’s duty to live ethical, healthy lifestyles. Still, vegetarianism was in its infancy and much confusion and misinformation surrounded the identity. The AVS wanted to set the record straight about what it meant to live a vegetarian lifestyle. William Alcott addressed the audience, explaining that he wished “everybody to understand that we are something more than grass eaters” rather, a vegetarian diet was varied and complex embracing “those who subsist on the rich grains God has give us, in so great a variety.”²¹

The meeting’s sumptuous banquet reflected the growing culinary diversity of vegetarianism, which had shifted dietary reform from proscribing simple to well-varied,

¹⁹ Ibid., 24.

²⁰ “The Festival,” *AVHJ* 1, no. 10 (October 1851): 176.

²¹ Ibid., 169.

ornate diets. The meal's first course consisted of a variety of vegetable pies, fritters and omelets. The use of eggs by the AVS at its banquet illustrates its acceptability amongst the vegetarian faithful. The second course consisted of sweets, as vegetarians attempted to highlight the full spectrum of flavors available in the farinaceous kingdom. Sweet rice, custards, cheesecakes, fruit pies, watermelon, peaches and grapes were all available to the hungry denizens for dessert. While vegetarians had moved far away from their previous fare of plain and simple food, the vestiges of the past were still apparent; all that was available to drink was pure ice water.²²

Vegetarian identity and diet was changing, expanding the number of items deemed acceptable within the lifestyle. The *American Vegetarian and Health Journal* helped support this growth, advising on particularly nutritious and appetizing fruits, vegetables and grains, while also providing recipes on how to prepare meatless dishes. In "Vegetarian Dietary," the journal provided a list of common vegetarian dishes, emphasizing their dietary advantages, taste and ease of preparation. For breakfast the journal advised vegetarians to prepare wheat and Indian griddlecakes, served with rice gruel and stewed apples. Dinner emphasized the use of a variety of vegetables, including mashed boiled potatoes, parsnips, squash and green corn. Apples, grapes, rice pudding and custard pie were presented as acceptable dessert options. Vegetarians, once skeptical of the effects of fruits and sweets on body constitution were now advocating for dessert as part of a complete meal. The journal advised that supper should be light to ensure

²² Ibid., 176.

proper digestion before sleep, and consist of milk toast, cracked-wheat mush, baked potatoes, baked apples, stewed figs and blancmange for dessert.²³

The journal further supported the diversification of vegetarian diet through recipe columns that provided step-by-step instructions on how to prepare dishes in the most nutritive and effective means possible. A March 1852 article highlighted the many ways that rice could be utilized as a component of all meals, a compliment to a main dish or in a sweet pudding.²⁴ The journal's "Domestic Economy" column provided a variety of recipes, expanding the dietary choices for vegetarians. Recipes for such divergent foods as a tapioca omelet, baked bread omelet, potato pie, plum pudding and brown gravy were offered as alternatives to the predictable routine of boiled vegetables that had frequently plagued the plates of vegetarians. In the process the journal helped further foster the building of a vegetarian identity and community, encouraging vegetarians to share recipes with each other, while providing tips on how to create a socially and economically conscious kitchen.

Vegetarianism and its Discontents

Despite the growth of vegetarianism and its movement away from the rigidity of the Grahamite identity, vegetarians were constantly belittled and mocked within the prevailing American, meat-based culture. In particular the popular press ridiculed vegetarians for their dietary choices and philosophical leanings. Rather than debate the merits or disadvantages of vegetarianism critics often concentrated on the supposed physical and mental frailty of its adherents. The scathing nature of the attacks on

²³ "Vegetarian Dietary," *AVHJ* 1, no. 12 (December 1851): 215.

²⁴ "Receipts," *AVHJ* 2, no. 3 (March 1852): 46.

vegetarians by mainstream society illustrates just how threatening vegetarians and their reformist ideology were to established cultural and social mores in antebellum America.

Reporting on the first meeting of the AVS, *Scientific American* focused on the pompousness of vegetarians pointing out that the group's resolutions provided "fulfillment of that old saying, 'it's a grand thing to have a good conceit of ourselves.'" Vegetarians were stridently confident in the righteousness of their cause; the article concentrated solely on the perceived haughtiness of the group. Vegetarians, the author explained, "must be a moral set of mortals in their own estimation" given that they "have come to the conclusion that a vegetable diet will make our earth a Paradise again...." The writer was confident that vegetarians "will yet try to prove that the forbidden fruit was nothing less than a beef-steak or mutton-chop." Perpetuating an old claim against meat abstainers, the article accused vegetarians of "heresy" in their "disposition to make all scripture square with conceived opinions, instead of endeavoring to square opinions to scripture." Ironically *Scientific American* itself entered the battle over dietary expertise, proscribing a vegetable diet in tropical climates, a mixed diet in temperate zones and a solely animal-based diet in arctic regions.²⁵

Similarly, the *Saturday Evening Post* questioned the healthfulness of a vegetarian diet, preferring to "go for beef-steaks and mutton-chops" in order to gain physical strength and mental force. The paper sympathized with the vegetarian goal of self-control, stating that "It may be argued...that we want to make men peaceable now-a-days—not quarrelsome and warlike." However the article questioned vegetarianism in

²⁵ "A Vegetable Diet," *Scientific American* 5, no. 36 (25 May 1850): 285.

starkly gendered and xenophobic language, explaining “we do not want to make them peaceable by making them weak and cowardly, like the Hindoos.” As the United States was growing as a world economic power during the mid-nineteenth century, the paper made it clear that fragile, overly calm men were destructive to the interests of the republic.²⁶ In a similar matter, the *New York Herald* tellingly mocked the AVS’ second anniversary event, going so far as to label it a “feast of (t)reason.”²⁷

In “Confessions of a Vegetarian” (which was re-printed in newspapers stretching from New York to Georgia and Ohio), vegetarians were mocked as peculiar in their personal habits. The article was pithily written from the perspective of a fictional vegetarian who would not sit in “hair-bottomed chairs” because his “conscience was so tender that I could not sit down upon them without feeling a degree of horror.”

Vegetarians were presented as animal-obsessed and antithetical to natural laws, willing to “be employed in the forests to prevent the wild beasts from gorging upon each other” and “into the deep to tame the sharks and cause the larger fishes to live upon seaweed instead of upon the small fry.” The article closed with a call to arrest and punish all butchers for “wilful murder” and sentence them to a lifetime of solitary self-reflection in a forest, essentially living the life of a plant.²⁸ Vegetarians, of course, did not advocate for any of the extreme measures satirized in this supposed “confession.” Rather than argue the merits of dietary reform, the popular press relied upon exaggeration and fear to discredit the very notion of a vegetarian diet.

²⁶ “The Vegetarians,” *Saturday Evening Post* 24, no. 1510, July 6, 1850: 2.

²⁷ “The Great Bran Bread Festival,” *The New York Herald*, September 5, 1853, pg. 1.

²⁸ “Confessions of a Vegetarian,” *Savannah Daily Morning News* 160, July 16, 1852, col. A; *The Ohio Observer* 33, Aug. 18, 1852, col. D, 130.

Famed American travel writer Bayard Taylor injected the issue of race into the discussion surrounding vegetarianism. Taylor's account of his travels throughout Northern and Central Africa included a report on the vegetable diets that he observed amongst Berbers and Sudanese villagers. Taylor explained that the Africans who lived off of a vegetable diet were "as weak as children, when compared with an able-bodied European" a condition for the "lank" American vegetarian to explain in order to justify the diet. Taylor's implication was clear; vegetarians in the United States were no better than Africans or the African-American slaves who were continually presented as childish and simple in American popular consciousness and culture.²⁹

Writing about his visit to a New York City vegetarian boarding house, *New York Tribune* reporter Thomas Butler Gunn demeaned both the physical and mental nature of residents. Gunn described the home's owner as dour looking, "always dressed in black, wore scanty frocks, black cotton stockings, and thick shoes....Happily for society in general, she had no children." A male resident of the house was "a tall, spare man, with a large nose, light watery eyes and but little hair, though he wore a straggling hay-colored beard." This resident's wife was mocked by Gunn as being "a little rigid woman, without eye-brows" and resembled "an elderly frog laboring under the combined miseries of a severe stomach-ache and the conviction that he was going insane and had better commit

²⁹ Bayard Taylor, *A Journey to Central Africa; or Life and Landscapes from Egypt to the Negro Kingdoms of the White Nile* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1854), 262. Taylor's report was reprinted in the popular press, see "The Food of Man," *Scientific American* 7, no. 39 (12 June 1852): 306. It is interesting to note that in the re-print of Taylor's quote that appeared in the popular press, the quote reads "that lank Sylvester Graham to explain." This is perhaps reflective of the still nascent status of the term vegetarian, newspaper editors believed their readership would recognize Graham's name more easily. On the popular image of the contented slave, see George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1987), 52.

suicide. . . .”³⁰ A middle-aged male resident was marked by a “colorless countenance” and resembled a “dropsical turnip, with two raisins stuck in it.” By emphasizing the quirky physical traits of vegetarians, Gunn attempted to indicate the inherent flaws of a vegetable diet, so strong that they even manifested themselves aesthetically.

Gunn’s distaste for vegetarians ran even deeper, describing practitioners as mere faddists who previously aligned themselves with a variety of religious and political groups. The home’s proprietor spent his life searching for “new things” and was fascinated with a variety of ideals, all for short periods of time. Gunn explained that the owner had “shower-bathed his soul with Unitarianism, frozen it up tight in Transcendentalism...besmoked it in Swedenborgianism...let it putrify in Mormonism, flayed it with Shaking-Quakerism...and dug it up with Spiritualism.” A female resident was mockingly labeled as a “keen politician” who was a “Whole-Ticket-Died-in-the-Wool-Anti-Union-Pro-Amalgamation-Anti-States-Rights-and-No-Backing-Out Stripe” inclined towards hypocrisy and inconsistency. Another resident of the home, “the strictest Vegetarian of the community,” was so adverse to flesh foods that he would avoid the use of terms such as meat, beef or pork, preferring “such denunciatory terms as dead flesh, cow’s corpse, butchered hog, and the like.”³¹

Most worrisome were the physical and intellectual effects of the diet, which Gunn observed as causing “a strong disinclination to do any thing; an unnatural meekness of disposition; a tendency to boils; and a generally-sublimated and windy estimation of our

³⁰ Thomas Butler Gunn, *The Physiology of New York Boarding-Houses* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1857), 181-85.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 181-83.

own importance and destiny.” Gunn concluded that vegetarians had “a sort of tranquil dissatisfaction with the world in general, and a desire to set it to rights through the medium of writing letters.” Vegetarianism was marked by intellectual timidity, faddism and pretentiousness. Gunn focused on what he viewed as inherent personality flaws as proof that vegetarianism was scorn worthy. Liberation, however, was at hand for Gunn and his colleague; they fled the boarding house in the middle of the night for a moonlight picnic of ham sandwiches and champagne by the Hudson River.³² Attacks against vegetarians were not the sole domain of newspaper writers. In Herman Melville’s short story “Bartelby the Scrivener,” a vegetarian character is described as having peculiar dietary habits, eating only “ginger-nuts” and that he “never eats a dinner, properly speaking. . .he never eats even vegetables, he eats nothing but ginger-nuts.”³³

Medical doctors and other health advocates attacked vegetarianism as both unnatural and philosophically flawed. Writing to the editor of the *Water-Cure Journal* a critic of vegetarianism complained that vegetarians “looked like a full-blown bladder after some of the air had leaked out, kinder wrinkled and rumped like.” Another detractor believed that vegetarianism was part of “the characteristic traits of our nation, to hold our conventions and anniversaries, and to indulge in the luxury of societies and associations for every conceivable object.” In August of 1853 the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* compared the effects of vegetarianism to those produced by a serious

³² Gunn, 190-91.

³³ Herman Melville, *Piazza Tales and Other Prose Pieces, 1839-1860: Volume Nine, Scholarly Edition* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1987), 34.

opium addiction.³⁴ Vegetarians were often presented to the public by corresponding illustrations as being anthropomorphized vegetables, illustrating a distinct fear that the loss of meat consumption equated to a loss of both masculinity as well as one's basic humanity.³⁵

Presented as frail, weakened and feminized, the popular image of the vegetarian in the United States as sickly, sexually impotent and nearly invalid attempted to discredit the very notion of a vegetarian diet in the face of an era of ever-increasing urban, hyper-masculinity. A sporting press that helped promote its particular brand of masculinity supported this new sporting male culture that was obsessed with urban amusements. A salacious flash press proliferated in New York, edited by young men familiar with the lifestyle, reporting on a variety of urban amusements ranging from commercialized sex to sporting events. These papers were largely unified through themes of "libertine republicanism" that embraced hyper sexualized, heterosexual males while degrading minority groups, especially African-Americans, homosexuals, Jews and Catholics. Vegetarians, it seems, also gained the derision of the flash press.³⁶

Spirit of the Times was one such paper, though focused primarily on sporting events, the theater and celebrity gossip.³⁷ Despite the paper's entertainment focus, vegetarians did receive the paper's attention. One article reported on a visit to a vegetarian boarding house mocking its menu, visitors and waiters as strange, pompous

³⁴ "Case of an Opium-Eater and Vegetarian becoming Bedridden," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 49 (31 August 1853): 108.

³⁵ For examples of such illustrations, see "The Vegetarians," *Vanity Fair* (6 Oct 1860): 172; Gunn, 180-1.

³⁶ Patricia Cline Cohen, Timothy J. Gilfoyle, and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Flash Press: Sporting Male Weeklies in 1840s New York* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 55-72.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

and frail. The author pithily claimed that all he could receive to eat as an entrée was a plate of grass. The newspaper mocked vegetarians as being “infantine” and “humbugs,” wondering how vegetarians could really be interested in health preservation based on the paucity of their diet.³⁸ One article made the connection between diet and quirkiness explicit, describing vegetarians as “eccentric.”³⁹

Another article combined nutritional advice with the nascent field of phrenology. The author claimed that a vegetarian diet had made Indian Hindus “weakly and degenerated,” illustrated by their “exceedingly narrow” heads. On the other hand were Northern Europeans who “feed much upon animal food” and were noted for their “wide cranium” designed for a more complex process of mastication. Vegetarians were more prone to disease as a result of an innutritious diet that caused their urine to be filled with more sugar than uric acid.⁴⁰

Facing difficult social odds vegetarians strictly adhered to their distinct philosophy of diet in the face of mockery and often anger. Reflecting on the challenges of a vegetarian lifestyle, one advocate explained that “men get angry and rave against Vegetarians as if they had committed some mortal offence. . . . A man cannot make a simple natural meal, without suffering a sort of martyrdom, from all the flesh eaters around him.”⁴¹ One can speculate that such reactions only strengthened the resolve of many vegetarians’ view that a meat-based diet helped fuel violent, aggressive behavior.

³⁸ “The Vegetarians,” *Spirit of the Times* 18, no. 36, Oct. 28, 1848, pg. 422.

³⁹ “Littleness of the Great,” *Spirit of the Times* 25, no. 31, Sept. 15, 1855, pg. 364.

⁴⁰ Edward J. Lanoe, “On Animal Physiology,” *Spirit of the Times* 23, no. 38, Nov. 5, 1853, pg. 453.

⁴¹ T.L. Nichols, “Letter from Dr. Nichols,” *AVHJ* 1 (August 1851): 136.

Dedicated to addressing larger issues of social justice and equity, vegetarians ignored their critics and sought to challenge many of the fundamental political questions facing antebellum America.

At the core of the vegetarian movement was an unwavering moral principle that equated violence against animals with a cruel and aggressive society. For vegetarians, violence of any type (against humans or any type of animal) generated and bred an uncontrolled society driven by lust, rage and desire. Vegetarianism represented a means to bring order and serenity to a new society that often seemed chaotic and disorganized thanks to the dual forces of urbanization and industrialization. In the process localized familial and communal connections gradually faded, strengthening feelings of powerlessness. Threatened by vast social change and observing a nationwide culture that struggled to provide answers for the important ethical issues of the time, vegetarians wondered aloud whether or not humankind was descending into animalistic behavior, worrying that “that the flesh of the beast, when eaten by man, is apt to produce in him beastly habits and animal desires.”⁴²

Playing on fears of disconnection and the dangers industrial life presented to one’s health, the AVS promoted vegetarianism as a means of controlling one’s family and own quality of life. The vegetarian journal touted the peace-of-mind provided by vegetarianism. Meat was diseased, processed to the point of disaster. Attempts to fatten animals before slaughtering had caused “Almost all the meats in our markets” to be

⁴² “A Word With The ‘A.V.S.’,” *Medical and Surgical Reporter* 4, ed. S.W. Butler M.D. and R. J. Levis, M.D. (Philadelphia: Crissy and Markley Printers, 1860), 546.

“stricken with disease after another.”⁴³ A vegetarian diet helped lessen the increasing disconnect between consumer and producer, as “A man could sit at such a table without wondering whether the food he was eating was not tainted with disease.”⁴⁴ Motivated to take greater control of their lives, vegetarians offered a complex critique of the growing disconnect between producer and consumer, as well as the negative health consequences associated with the rise of industrial capitalism in the antebellum North.

Vegetarianism was positioned as an effective means towards stronger personal finances, as well as increased economic equity to society at large. Writing in *The Water-Cure Journal* in 1853, a vegetarian advocate explained in great detail how the meat industry burdened the American economy. Commenting on the Kentucky swine industry specifically, the author argued that a vegetarian lifestyle would unburden the finances of Kentucky farmers who wasted both money and resources in the processing of livestock, as well as the eventual purchasing of meat. Vegetarianism would not only provide farmers with more capital, but also allow Kentuckians to utilize corn as a dietary staple. Further, “were there no hogs, even with the present failure in quantity, there would be a large surplus for bread, the price would be greatly reduced, and the staff of life within the reach of all, however poor.”⁴⁵

A meat-based diet, it was argued, taxed the economy at large as well as the individual’s finances. In fact, the author of the article pointed out that the high price of meat had already converted some Kentuckians to the vegetarian lifestyle out of necessity.

⁴³ S.M. Hobbs, “Diseased Meat,” *AVHJ* 1, no. 2 (February 1851): 45.

⁴⁴ “American Vegetarian Society,” *TL Nichols’ Water-Cure Journal* 10, no. 4 (Oct 1850): 157.

⁴⁵ “Dietetirs,” *TL Nichols’ Water-Cure Journal* 16, no. 4 (Oct 1853): 83.

People “submit in silence to such oppressive advances in the price of animal food as must necessarily force half the community into Vegetarianism,” he observed. “Roasting beef is from 21 to 28 cents a point, and steaks from 22 to 27 cents.” Viewed as being both cheaper and in greater abundance, vegetables were presented as a means for empowerment away from the current economic system, described by the AVS as being both “despotic” and “tyrannical.” Utilizing similar language as the arguments connecting vegetarianism with abolitionism and suffrage, the economic arguments of vegetarians sought to individually empower people as consumers, spreading awareness of the power attached to personal economic decisions.⁴⁶

Under the guise of wide social change and upheaval, vegetarians offered a singular, catalytic cure for modern society’s ills—a decidedly traditional, agrarian-based methodology to improve modern, urban life. While ultimately such a utopian view of vegetarianism was overstated, the threat that vegetarianism posed to American society was within its questioning of more established culinary, racial, gendered and economic ideals. Such was the dichotomous nature of early American vegetarianism: a movement aimed at responding to rapid social change and flux offered an alternative that questioned many of the most strongly held ideas surrounding diet and personal hygiene. Yet in the process of emphasizing the power of the personal, vegetarians stressed self-analysis as a route towards individual empowerment. And while criticizing the flaws inherent within modern life, vegetarians took advantage of modernization and the urban landscape in order to spread awareness. Given vegetarians’ dedication to social equity—particularly in the form of women’s suffrage and abolitionism—and the perceived role that

⁴⁶ Ibid.

vegetarianism played in such social changes, it is no surprise that vegetarians faced such aggressive responses.

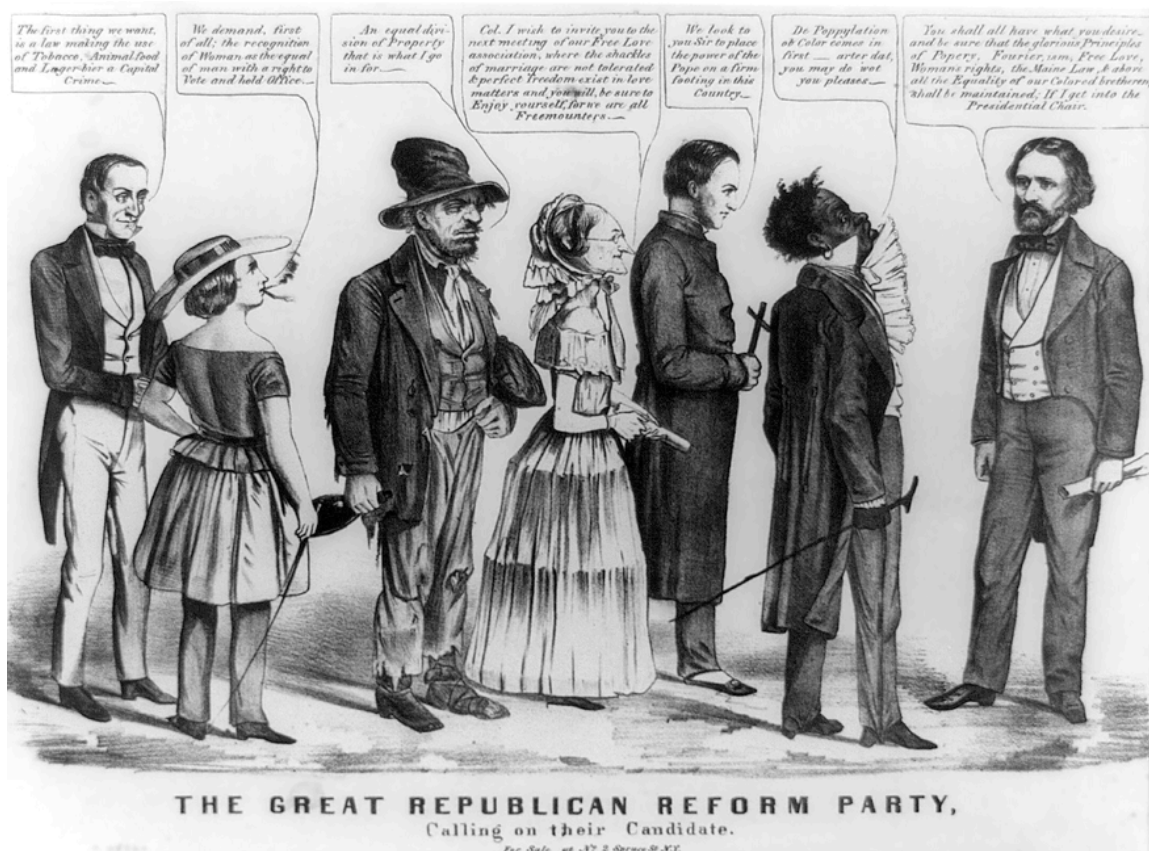
Vegetarians were part of a larger social reform movement that found a unified voice on a national level in the 1850s. This new, national movement came to prominence during a time period that historian Eric Foner has characterized as “one of the few fundamental re-organizations of the American political system.”⁴⁷ The rise and success of the early Republican Party lay within its “creation and articulation of an ideology which blended personal and sectional interest with morality so perfectly that it became the most potent political force in the nation.”⁴⁸ The nascent Republican Party appealed to a wide variety of constituents including former Whigs, Northern Democrats, abolitionists, religious leaders and business capitalists, all united through a common adherence to the ideology of free labor.

The threatening, radical nature of vegetarianism and its relationship with national social reform was somewhat unwittingly noticed in a political cartoon from the famed publishing firm of Currier and Ives. The cartoon offers insight into popular fears of the newly formed reform-minded Republican Party. At the same time the drawing also provides an accurate summary of the state of American vegetarianism in the mid-1850s. In a caricature discussing the first Republican Presidential candidate John C. Fremont, a series of reformers are presented as attempting to have their particular reform principle noted and acted upon by the new party. Included within this group are representatives

⁴⁷ Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 149.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 309.

from well-known reform movements, including a women's suffragist, a socialist, abolitionist, free lover and a Catholic (Fremont was accused by some Democrats as being a closet Catholic).⁴⁹ Fremont responds by promising each of the representatives what they desire if elected.



“The Great Republican Reform Party, Calling on Their Candidate” (New York: Currier & Ives, 1856).

To the far left stands a frail and weakened vegetarian, still the source of popular mockery, asking for a law banning the consumption of flesh, tobacco and alcohol. Vegetarians did not seek any legislation regarding meat production in the United States; in this sense the lithograph is misleading. However, the inclusion of this request reflects the irrational fear of vegetarians felt by many American meat eaters. The vegetarian’s

⁴⁹ On the anti-Fremont campaign conducted by slave defenders, Know Nothings and states’ rights advocates, see McPherson, 155-57.

inclusion in this image does speak to the movement's recognized role in formulating a radicalized reform critique in the antebellum era.⁵⁰ A source of mockery in the public eye, vegetarians were successful in having their identity and ideology recognized by society at large.

Vegetarianism and Women's Rights

Publication of the *American Vegetarian and Health Journal* furthered the development of vegetarian identity, ensuring the spread of the group's message along with popularizing the word itself. Vegetarians were urged by the journal to live by the credo of "Take not away the life thou can'st not give, for all things have an equal right to live" and live freely at that.⁵¹ The journal emphasized this motto and its applicability to a variety of reform movements.

Writing in April 1851, J.H. Hanaford—a teacher and eventual popular writer of women's advice manuals—connected the issue of vegetarianism directly with women's rights. Arduous hours in the kitchen demeaned women, particularly with the indignity of having to prepare diseased, decomposing meat. Hanaford believed that "Woman has, or ought to have a far more ennobling round of duties and pleasures, than to become the drudge of society, the slave of man." Emphasizing idealized notions of female purity and serenity, Hanaford argued that preparation of "the ceaseless odor of surloins, steams and hams" ought to be replaced by trips "in the beautiful fields of nature, to inhale the sweet

⁵⁰ Louis Maurer, and Nathaniel Currier, *The Great Republican Reform Party, Calling on Their Candidate* (New York: Currier & Ives, 1856). For a digital version of the print, see FTP Address: <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/dgkeysearchdetail.cfm?trg=1&strucID=549585>.

⁵¹ *AVHJ* 1, no. 3 (March 1851): 54.

fragrance of myriads of flowers, to breath the pure air of rural retreats, and to feast on the wonders and beauty of the broad page of creation.”⁵²

Anne Denton—an active suffragist and member of the AVS—argued that meat itself stunted social growth. Since food fuels blood, and blood served as the connector between body and spirit, it was impossible for “the soul to expand, or the heart to enlarge” if “every avenue is clogged by flesh—while ever truth must pass through the grains and blood of mangled animals.” Denton placed the onus upon women to take control over their own bodies, as women were only empowered through “studying and obeying the laws of nature; and lastly, by taking possession of them.”

Women had a moral imperative to take control of their own (and by implied extension their children’s) ethical and physical destinies. To vegetarians like Denton ignoring the ethical implications of a carnivorous diet was evidence of a lessening of female serenity. Denton pleaded that “Woman should be something more than Fashion’s doll, or a cooking machine.” Doing such violated natural laws and demeaned women who were “naturally refined and beautiful in spirit” but were “degraded to the work of cooking mangled flesh for vitiated appetites.” The path towards vegetarianism was a key component for women in raising themselves above the degradation of household enslavement, and a means to fight the perceived waning of female purity.⁵³

Facing a rise in the number of marketed cures and treatments—the success of which varied considerably—vegetarianism was positioned as a means of preventative health care to be managed by the female members of the household. One member of the

⁵² J.H. Hanaford, “Women’s Sphere,” *AVHJ* 1, no. 6 (June 1851): 104.

⁵³ Anne Denton, “The Soul’s Medium,” *AVHJ* 1, no. 11 (November 1851): 192; Anne Denton, “The Rights of Woman,” *AVHJ* 2, no. 12 (December 1852): 186-7.

AVS touted the pre-emptive health benefits of vegetarianism as being “the duty of parents especially to understand what food is best adapted to promote a sound and vigorous constitution in their children. . . and prevent the large proportion of infant mortality which now takes place in this country.”⁵⁴ The journal made its link to women’s rights explicit, offering advertising space for rights conventions around the United States.⁵⁵ Vegetarianism was a catalyst for total reform, of which women’s rights were central. However, despite these obvious inclinations towards women’s rights, the connection was somewhat compromised; the AVS remained exclusively male in the composition of its executive leaders.

Mary Gove Nichols, a novelist and prominent water curist, lectured extensively to women in Boston, Philadelphia and Providence about the value of the vegetarian lifestyle as a means to control one’s own health. Gove Nichols argued that physical strength and good health were essential to the process of ensuring equality to men. Surviving an abusive first marriage, Nichols understood the connection between physical and political empowerment, and the need for women to avoid being intimidated by either. Through vegetarianism, Gove Nichols argued, women could strengthen themselves morally and physically, and thus prepare themselves for social and political equality with men.⁵⁶ Gove Nichols was an early advocate of Grahamism in the 1830s and continued her support of vegetarianism into the 1850s.⁵⁷ Vegetarian meetings drew prominent

⁵⁴ “American Vegetarian Society,” *TL Nichols’ Water-Cure Journal* 10, no. 4 (Oct 1850): 157.

⁵⁵ For example, see “A Woman’s Rights Convention” *AVHJ* 2, no. 5 (May 1852): 79.

⁵⁶ Jean L. Silver-Isenstadt, *Shameless: The Visionary Life of Mary Gove Nichols* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 111-12.

⁵⁷ “Exciting Week in New York,” *The Liberator* 37, Sept. 16, 1853, pg. 146.

women's rights advocates such as Dr. Harriot K. Hunt and Emily Clark, who lectured on the connections between dietary and social reform.⁵⁸

Vegetarianism and Abolitionism

Vegetarianism was indelibly connected to the abolition movement during the antebellum era. At face value one might wonder how two seemingly divergent issues such as dietary habits and the institution of slavery could intersect within a cogent philosophy. In fact, one could reasonably view such a comparison as being somewhat offensive given the horrors of the chattel system in the United States. However, for vegetarians the two issues were inseparable. Human slavery only existed in a society in which violence was endemic. In order to abolish the slave system in the United States, a larger shift in attitudes towards cruelty and violence was necessary.

Slavery existed in a variety of forms in the United States, ranging from the institutionalized, chattel form, to the enslavement of animals, all the way to the slavery of uncontrolled personal desire. Only by shedding the connection to violence-based diets, it was argued, could Americans ultimately free the bonds of African slavery in the United States. American reliance upon meat was seen as a social crutch affecting all of the country's inhabitants.

Vegetarians were actively involved in the abolitionist movement, and AVS activities reflected this connection by focusing on the evils of the slave system. This relationship was mutual; while vegetarian publications and festivals advocated the abolitionist cause, *The Liberator*—William Lloyd Garrison's prominent abolitionist periodical—supported the growth of vegetarianism. *The Liberator* informed its readers

⁵⁸ Ibid.

of the upcoming fourth anniversary of the AVS in 1854, announcing that the meeting should appeal to all “friends of human progress every where.”⁵⁹

One abolitionist wrote in *The Liberator* on vegetarianism’s connection with total political reform. W. S. George reported that “a rabid conservative” had been overheard to claim that he had never met a vegetarian who was not “radical on all subjects.” George—taking the claim as a compliment—explained that “this remark was doubtless correct.” Individuals concerned with keeping their bodies healthy were inclined to “naturally embrace truth” on social issues such as slavery. On the other hand, an individual whose “stomach is crammed with animal abominations” would have a difficult time understanding high-minded moral and intellectual ideals. The author concluded by claiming that if the American populace embraced a vegetarian diet that “they would be half-converted to Anti-Slavery, Peace, Temperance, Land Reform, Woman’s Rights, etc., in a single year.”⁶⁰

Graham’s Death and Identity

Vegetarians had reached a key point in their development. A new, centralized identity provided unity amongst meat abstainers and utilized new terminology that justified their particular existence. A nation-wide community of vegetarians was in place and recognized by the public at large. Vegetarian banquets and conventions received coverage in the mainstream media, and while the lifestyle was often met with mockery,

⁵⁹ “The Meeting—The Festival!” *The Liberator* 31, Aug. 5, 1853, pg. 123.

⁶⁰ W.S. George, “Reform in Diet,” *The Liberator* 51, Dec. 23, 1853, pg. 203.

America's reformist class embraced vegetarianism.⁶¹ However, in September of 1851 vegetarians faced a significant challenge to the very legitimacy of the movement.

The death of Sylvester Graham at fifty-seven years of age—despite his distance from the movement at the time—called into question the effectiveness of a vegetarian lifestyle. Non-vegetarians pointed to Graham's continuous poor health and his death as proof of the failings of dietary reform. Vegetarians looked for answers, trying to understand and explain the relatively early departure of a longtime vegetarian and early leader of the movement. Treatment of Graham's death by the AVS and the controversy surrounding it in its journal gives great insight into the challenges facing vegetarians and serves as further proof of the distinctness of the vegetarian identity from its predecessors.

The October 1851 issue of the *American Vegetarian and Health Journal* announced the passing of Sylvester Graham, though it relegated the news towards the back of the journal. Anticipating criticism the journal assured readers that it was not vegetarianism that led to Graham's departure, but rather improper medical care. The article claimed that, "Four days before he (Graham) died, he gave the writer of this" an account of his care, in order to "understand that he had no mortal disease upon him, but thought he might die on account of not being able to carry out what he considered a philosophical course of treatment." The author stated that hard scientific fact supported his assertion; a post mortem examination showed that "the immediate cause of his

⁶¹ See "Special Notices: Grand Meeting of American Vegetarian Society," *New York Daily Times*, August 31, 1852, pg. 1; "The American Vegetarian Society Festival," *New York Daily Times*, September 11, 1852, pg. 2.

decease to be the use, in his extreme state of exhaustion, of Congress water and the warm bath.”⁶²

Graham, under the false advisement of his physician and against his will took a hot bath to help him sleep. It is not a surprise that vegetarians would blame medical doctors for Graham’s death; but the journal went further in its analysis. Graham, himself, was partially to blame for his demise. The journal explained that while “Sylvester Graham was gifted with talents and genius of a high order,” he was also “not exempt from imperfections and frailties.” Without mentioning specific faults, the journal separated the modern vegetarian movement further away from Graham. This was not the end of the controversy, rather just the beginning.⁶³

The November 1851 issue featured a letter from a concerned vegetarian speculating on the cause of Graham’s death. Asserting that Graham must have had “some great error in his mode of life” or a “very defective constitution” in order to have died so young, the letter writer insisted that “the world ought to be made acquainted with the facts in the case, or it will have an injurious effect on the minds of many reflecting but not fully informed men.”⁶⁴ The journal promised a response in the next issue, written by someone present at Graham’s deathbed.

In the December 1851 issue, Russell Trall—a medical doctor and naturopath—recounted his experience witnessing Sylvester Graham’s death firsthand. The trend that the journal began two issues previous continued, blaming both Graham and his medical

⁶² Congress water was saline spring water from the Congress Springs in Saratoga, New York that was popular for its supposed healing properties. See William Edward Fitch, *Mineral Waters of the United States and American Spas* (Philadelphia: Lee and Febiger, 1927), 53.

⁶³ “Death of Sylvester Graham,” *AVHJ* 1, no. 10 (October 1851): 188.

⁶⁴ “Letter from Dr. Hayes,” *AVHJ* 1, no. 11 (November 1851): 200.

doctor. However, unlike in previous issues, Trall offered a scathing attack on the totality of Graham's life, placing particular emphasis on the reformer's purported shortcomings. Trall attempted to protect the reputation of vegetarianism, pointing out that Graham was fifty-nine, rather than fifty as was reported in some newspapers and had only adopted a vegetable diet at forty.⁶⁵ The article insisted that Graham had "by inheritance, a feeble constitution" and while the good doctor's mental temperament helped fuel his work ethic, it also made him prone to nervous disorders. Further, Graham was "always over-worked" and had a strenuous travel schedule that had "hastened his death." Worst of all, Trall insisted, Graham "was not sustained in his supposed office of reforming the world, by that co-operation which might have been expected in the domestic relation." Trall could not testify whether or not "Mr. G. died in the true faith of the Gospel," but he did note that Graham had strayed from his own diet at times.

Graham and his wife were both implicated—but they were not alone. The true culprit in Graham's ultimate demise was flesh foods. Graham's doctor prescribed meat in order to increase blood circulation; in fact, Dr. Thomas would not treat Graham any further if he denied this request. According to Trall, Sylvester Graham immediately regretted the decision to follow the doctor's demands. Trall assured readers that as Graham died he "fully and verily believed in the theory of vegetable diet as explained in his works" and that his last words were a proclamation that impending death was "the consequences of over-distension of the stomach, from eating too much and too great a variety."⁶⁶

⁶⁵ It is important to note that Graham was actually fifty-seven at the time of his death.

⁶⁶ "Mr. Graham," *AVHJ* 1, no. 12 (December 1851): 216-17.

William Alcott fed more fuel to the fire surrounding Graham's death, writing nearly a year later in September 1852. Alcott ignored the role of medical doctors completely in his account, focusing instead upon Sylvester Graham's physiological and emotional flaws. Alcott and Graham were colleagues and associates for more than a decade, yet Alcott did not let that connection influence his scathing critique. Graham was perpetually stricken by "over-anxiety, irritability and fretfulness." While Trall attributed these characteristics to Graham's intense work schedule, Alcott claimed that Graham's nervousness was "of undue anxiety or worrying" an ailment that "many good men are addicted, which is quite as destructive to health, if not to happiness, as those occasional outbursts, which are usually considered as the most criminal."

Alcott argued that Graham's worrying was a particularly painful malady, both "the consequence of ill health, as well as the cause of it." Graham's "excessive mental labors. . .coupled with neglect of exercise. . .rendered him irritable and fretful, and the more he fretted and worried, the worse the state of his nervous system." Alcott explained that if Graham were "to sit down at home and. . .obey the laws of his own being. . . everybody would be pleased." Unfortunately the work of a crusader led to mental and physical exhaustion: "But let the same man. . .wage offensive war against the erroneous habits of society. . .though he may gain more proselytes than the former, yet no allowance will be made for the circumstance of his premature death."⁶⁷

The accuracy of Trall and Alcott's accounts are inherently questionable given their interest in protecting vegetarianism from its critics. Newspaper obituaries add little

⁶⁷ William Alcott, "Sylvester Graham," *AVHJ* 2, no. 9 (September 1852): 137-8.

to the story—none speculated as to Graham’s cause of death.⁶⁸ The full truth surrounding Graham’s death is not as important as how vegetarians chose to represent it. During a time where vegetarians actively worked to establish their own, distinct identity, the shadow of Sylvester Graham continued to loom large even as the reformer had slipped into retirement. Vegetarians eagerly distanced themselves from Graham, while aware of the dangers of calling his works into doubt given that they advocated for meatless diets.

Vegetarians were in search of an opportunity to question the practices of mainstream diet and medicine, while simultaneously asserting their own, distinct identity. As a result vegetarians crafted a narrative that illustrated the dangers of meat consumption and emphasized the importance of individuals’ responsibility in adhering to a vegetarian diet. While martyring Graham for his hard work—which contributed to his ill health—vegetarians also questioned Graham’s constitution and dedication to the path of righteousness. If someone as dedicated to health reform as Sylvester Graham could fall victim to temptation and poor constitution, the threat existed to everyone. Vegetarians often faced mockery by both the medical establishment and normative society, audiences that the journal hoped to address in its coverage of Graham’s death. Dietary reformers were skeptical of the outside world and its flaws; Trall even speculated that Graham was fed meat as part of a conspiracy by carnivores to discredit vegetarianism.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ “Recent Deaths,” *New York Daily Times* Sept. 18, 1851, pg. 2; “Summary,” *New York Evangelist* 22, no. 38, Sept. 18, 1851, pg. 151; “Sylvester Graham: The Father of Grahamites, and the Godfather of Graham Bread,” *Home Journal* 41, no. 296 (11 October 1851): 1.

⁶⁹ *AVHJ* 2, no. 2 (March 1852): 41.

The AVS and the Limitations of Organization

While social and economic reform was a national issue by the 1856 presidential election, vegetarianism's national organization began a steep and steady decline as early as 1852. The AVS' third annual meeting, held once again in New York City at Clinton Hall, was as described by the AVS itself as being, "not attended by so many persons as have attended at the two previous meeting." The convention was sparsely enough attended that there was no elaborate banquet; instead the whole event "was purely intellectual." Vegetarians attempted to allay fears by assuring readers that despite the smaller turnout, "there was no lack of zeal and perseverance in the good cause of Vegetarianism."⁷⁰ However it was clear that vegetarianism in the form of the AVS was losing momentum. Why the sudden change in fortunes?

The principles that surrounded the founding of the AVS also led to inherent limitations upon the organization's growth and long-term survival. While the AVS was at its heart an organization dedicated to the spread of the gospel of vegetarianism, it also utilized the diet as a means for total social reform. Issues such as women's rights and the abolition of slavery stood at the center of the organization's goals, though accomplished through strict adherence to a vegetarian diet. AVS meetings and publications emphasized the scientific and moral advantages of vegetarianism while proscribing dietary change as a route to social change. Vegetarians called for an improvement in "The sphere and rights of woman. . .her supreme right, the right to herself," while also attacking the cruelties of chattel slavery in the United States.⁷¹ As a result vegetarianism was not

⁷⁰ "Proceedings of the American Vegetarian Society" *AVHJ* 2, no. 10 (October 1852): 160.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 158.

merely an exercise in dietary reform. Vegetarianism was, rather, “a radical reform. . . laying, as it evidently does, the ‘axe at the root of the tree.’”⁷²

Vegetarians were explicit in the unity of their goals arguing that, “the true philanthropist seeks a medical reform, a temperance reform, the breaking of the fetters that bind humanity in degradation and servitude, and a reform in legislation.”⁷³ The unified, radical goals of vegetarians helped the group formulate a cogent identity, one codified by the founding of the AVS. While the group drew the attention of enthusiastic dietary reformers, its appeal was limited; those interested primarily in social reform—the stated goal of the AVS—had innumerable choices of organizations to join. Abolitionists were centrally concerned with the end of the slave system and were active in both local and federal organizations focused on that goal. Temperance and women’s rights advocates did the same. These groups, of course, often inter-mixed. However, in essence the AVS attempted to serve as an umbrella organization for the totality of social reform, the precise role that the newly formed Republican Party began to play on a national level by the middle of the 1850s.

In September 1853, the AVS held its fourth annual meeting. By then the organization had further atrophied. The society’s meeting and banquet were held at the Bible Christian Church in Philadelphia, a sign that financial constraints made a large-scale, public event impossible. The change in venue also predicted the AVS’ future development as it began the process of largely becoming an arm of the Bible Christians, rather than a national organization. At the meeting Henry S. Clubb, a leader of the

⁷² “Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Vegetarian Society” *AVHJ* 3, no. 9 (September 1853): 162.

⁷³ “Unity of Reforms” *AVHJ* 3, no. 5 (May 1853).

British Vegetarian Society, reported on activities in Great Britain, calling for increased cooperation between the two groups.⁷⁴ Motivated by financial necessity the AVS began relying heavily upon this new relationship with English vegetarians. In June 1854 the *American Vegetarian and Health Journal* began featuring content provided by the English organization, including an address by the Vegetarian Society's President James Simpson calling for increased cooperation between English and American vegetarians. While this ultimately hurt the development of an independent, American society, it also reflects the group's success in building a vegetarian identity—one that crossed even national boundaries.

Despite the AVS' efforts to serve as a central voice for American vegetarians, the organization had effectively run its course. Members of the group were aware of the society's shortcomings; in its annual meeting in 1854 the organization debated the merits of its very existence, ultimately deciding to continue activities. While the meeting drew 150 guests—the average amount for an AVS convention—the difficulties that the organization faced reached beyond its core group of dedicated vegetarians as the AVS was losing money and subscribers from individuals more interested in other reform movements.⁷⁵ As a result the AVS decided that it was time to discontinue publishing its newsletter.⁷⁶ In October 1854 the AVS printed the final issue of *The American Vegetarian and Health Journal*. In its place subscribers would receive copies of *The*

⁷⁴ "Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Vegetarian Society," *AVHJ* 3, no. 9 (September 1853): 174-8.

⁷⁵ *History of the Philadelphia Bible-Christian Church for the First Century of its Existence*, 171-76.

⁷⁶ "Proceedings of the American Vegetarian Society and the Festival," *AVHJ* 4, no. 10 (October 1854): 189.

Water Cure Journal for the rest of the year. The AVS began a process that would lead to dissolution.

In 1857 the AVS fully integrated with the older, more established Vegetarian Society of England as each organization's bylaws provided honorary membership for vegetarians in foreign countries. While this organizational shift was at first symbolic, it set the stage for the two organizations to conjoin. Co-membership ensured that the *Vegetarian Messenger*, the monthly publication of The Vegetarian Society, became the de-facto publication of the AVS. American vegetarians received free subscriptions to the *Vegetarian Messenger* and the journal began including coverage of vegetarian activities in the United States. At the same time the *Water-Cure Journal* continued reporting on vegetarian activities in the United States, but it lessened its coverage of the AVS itself as the group floundered.⁷⁷

Conclusion

In March 1859 William Alcott passed away, leaving the AVS without another of its founders and most notable proponents. The *New York Times* remembered Alcott as a "well-known physiological writer and lecturer" as well as a "prolific contributor to periodical literature" who "devoted his energies to the establishment of vegetarianism."⁷⁸ The *Chicago Tribune*, often a voice of fierce criticism of vegetarianism, reported on Alcott's death noting that he was "one of the main pillars of the vegetarian cause in the

⁷⁷ For examples, see George W. Nichols, "Importance of Diet," *WCJ* 23, No. 3 (March 1857): 56; Emily M. Guthrie, "Vegetarian Life," *WCJ* 23, No. 5 (May 1857): 115; and Juliet H. Stillman, "Hints to Reformers" in *WCJ* 26, no. 6 (December 1858): 96.

⁷⁸ "Obituary," *New York Times* Apr. 1, 1859, pg. 4.

United States.”⁷⁹ After years of growth and separation from its original roots, financial difficulties led American vegetarianism to atrophy back towards its foundations.

William Metcalfe—founder of the Bible Christian Church in the United States—took over the presidency of the AVS in the fall of 1859. At the advanced age of seventy-two Metcalfe was an exemplum of the benefits of vegetarianism, able to support a long, healthy and happy life. However, Metcalfe’s ascendancy ensured that the AVS became a companion organization of the church rather than an independent body advocating for vegetarianism. Dietary reformers—who for years had worked to create a new, distinct identity—had come full circle, looking to the past in desperation, hoping for a continuing future. Society meetings and banquets were subsequently held exclusively at the Bible Christian Church in Philadelphia, a sign of the organization’s movement away from independence. However, the very methods and notions that led dietary reformers nationwide to conjoin under the mantle of vegetarianism ultimately ensured that the group’s formalized existence as a distinct, national organization would be finite.

With the British Vegetarian Society facing financial hardships, free memberships and newsletter subscriptions were no longer available to Americans by 1860. As a result many American vegetarians decided to join the British society in order to continue receiving copies of the *Vegetarian Messenger*. American vegetarians preferred to receive a journal dedicated specifically to vegetarianism rather than continue paying for a subscription to the *Water-Cure Journal* with its spotty reporting on the diet. Ironically the transatlantic exchange that occurred between American and British vegetarians during the 1830s and 1840s, and served as the model for the founding of the AVS, lead to the

⁷⁹ “Miscellaneous Items,” *Chicago Press and Tribune* Sept. 27, 1859, 2.

American organization's ultimate decline. Membership numbers in the AVS continued to drop, leading to its dissolution following the organization's twelfth annual meeting in 1862.⁸⁰ American vegetarians would be without another national organization for more than twenty years thereafter.

⁸⁰ Ibid; "Annual Convention of the American Vegetarian Society," *New York Times*, Sept. 25, 1861, pg. 8; *History of the Bible-Christian Church...*, 176.

CHAPTER FOUR

FREE SOIL, FREE LABOR, FREE VEGETARIANISM

We are getting fresh proof that mankind will never surrender weapons of war until that other transformation which the beasts of the forest are to share as well, which a vegetarian might comprehensively characterize as a general abandonment of meat diet. Until then, armories and arsenals will be a part of the police system of nations.¹

—“Our Military,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 24, 1861

In a June 1864 editorial, the anti-war, anti-Lincoln, pro-reconciliation *New York Herald* claimed that rival newspaper editor Horace Greeley’s “weakness for vegetarianism” led him to become a “pariah. . .socially, mentally and morally. . .below the miserable negroes he worships.” Greeley’s supposed vegetarianism made him a choice candidate for a stay in a mental institution, where he deserved to be treated to a lifetime of cold baths and a snug fitting straightjacket, rather than a voice in politics.² Even during the greatest crisis to face American society, the issue of vegetarianism remained topical, drawing the wrath and ire of the opponents of reform.

During the war years the *Herald* filled its pages with scathing attacks on its chief rival the *Tribune*, focusing its antagonism on Horace Greeley and his vegetarianism. The editorial pages of the *Herald* assaulted Greeley for his role in pushing for war against the South, and continually blamed him for its perpetuation. Not surprisingly the *Herald*

¹ “Our Military,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan. 24, 1861, pg. 1.

² “A Shower Bath and Strait Jacket for Poor Greeley of the Tribune,” *New York Herald*, Feb. 17, 1863, pg. 4.

focused its screeds on Greeley, a visible symbol of Republican politics and a rival newspaper editor. However, the nature of the *Herald's* attacks are striking. Rather than focusing on the details of Greeley's supposed influence on the federal government, the *Herald* vilified the *Tribune* editor for his dietary choices. In a fit of characteristic partisan bluster, the *Herald* contended that Greeley's vegetarianism made him corrupt and inherently debased in his dual desires to end slavery and defeat the South.

Greeley had long been a target of derision amongst the opponents of reform. Born to poor farmers in New Hampshire, Greeley began his career as a newspaper editor in 1834, founding *The Weekly New Yorker*. A rising figure in the Whig Party, Greeley established the *New York Tribune* in 1841, popularly known as the "Great Moral Organ" for its viewpoints on social reform. After a brief political career as a congressman from New York, Greeley became personally involved in the burgeoning Republican Party, with his newspaper serving as the party's unofficial national voice. The *Tribune* took a staunch abolitionist perspective, warning its readers of the dangers of the powers of Southern slave owners.³ Greeley flirted with a variety of reform social movements, ranging from spiritualism to Fourierism, and a brief dalliance with vegetarianism. The *Tribune* even employed Karl Marx as its European correspondent in the early 1850s.⁴

Greeley was labeled "the king of the vegetarians" despite his somewhat loose connection to the group, having lived a strict meat-free diet for only a short period of time in a Grahamite boarding house in 1835. In addition, the *Tribune* editor was a

³ Robert Chadwell Williams, *Horace Greeley: Champion of American Freedom* (New York: NYU Press, 2006), 29-54, 180-208.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 66-70, 132-5.

member of both the American Vegetarian Society and local New York Vegetarian Society, despite his own weakness for a well-cooked beefsteak.⁵ But the facts related to Greeley's precise diet did not matter to the *Herald*, intent on embarrassing and discrediting its main journalistic competitor. Vegetarian identity, no matter how brief, made Greeley's political and military advice unreliable, fraudulent and dangerous.

The attacks on Greeley re-ignited in July 1862, prompted by the defeat of Union forces in the Shenandoah Valley and the growing fear of an impending Confederate attack on Washington, DC.⁶ The *Herald* blamed the escalation of the war squarely on the shoulders of Greeley, claiming he did so "Deliberately, and with malice. . .that horrible monster Greeley. . .has instigated this dreadful civil war for years past, and carefully nurtured and fostered the abolition sentiment, with which he hoped to poison and kill the republic." Greeley was motivated by financial gain, as the article claimed that the *Tribune* had invested money in gun manufacturers who possessed federal contracts to supply the Union army.⁷

Greeley's duplicity, greed and improprieties knew no boundaries, including his active advocacy for the censorship of newspapers critical of Lincoln. With a hint of

⁵ Greeley's wife Mary Cheney remained a strict vegetarian for life and would not allow her husband to eat meat or drink coffee at home. However, Horace Greeley's vegetarianism was finite, ending after his dalliance with Grahamism. Greeley was a member of both the AVS and local New York Vegetarian Society and believed that "a strict vegetarian will live ten years longer than a habitual flesh-eater." However, despite his sympathy for the vegetarian cause, Greeley admitted that he ate meat, "when unspoiled by decay or bad cookery" believing it to be healthier than rotten fruits, hot bread or rancid vegetables. "Exciting Week in New York" in *The Liberator* (16 September 1853): 146; Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York: J.B. Ford & Co., 1868), 105.

⁶ James McPherson, *Drawn With the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 133-4.

⁷ "Blood and Spoils--The Fruits of the New York Tribune," *New York Herald*, July 8, 1862, pg. 4.

irony, the article claimed that Greeley profited from a state contract that provided diseased beef to the New York state prison system.⁸ Greeley's vegetarianism was connected to greed, cowardice, chicken hawking and an insatiable bloodlust. While Greeley had no problem sending soldiers out to the battlefield to die, "The smell of roast meat or the sight of gravy made him sick at his stomach. Like other calves and donkeys, he eschewed fleshy food. . . His idea of paradise was a kitchen garden." The *Herald* utilized gastronomic imagery to establish Greeley as a hypocrite, arguing that he had transformed "From a vegetarian. . . into an ogre, eating human flesh—into a ghoul, feasting upon corpses. He riots in blood and spoils." Greeley's appetite, however, would only be satiated with continued conflict: "This monster, ogre, ghoul, will soon feast his last upon Union blood and national spoils."⁹

The *Herald* continued its assault in August, reporting that Greeley had always been a "teetotaler and a vegetarian, and attributed all his troubles to water on the brain. The effect of this regimen upon his temper has been to render it indescribably bad." Greeley's anger manifested itself in "howls" and "threats of vengeance" that resembled "an Indian war dance." The *Herald* reported that the *Tribune* had only a single, solitary subscriber in the Union Army. Soldiers refused to read the *Tribune* as a result of Greeley's advocacy for the enlistment of black soldiers as well as his criticisms of Union generals that led to "such terrible losses in killed and wounded. . . at Manassas and before Richmond." The paper claimed that Union soldiers wrote to the *Herald* wishing that Greeley "and the other abolitionists should be hung, and we kindly hinted that the general

⁸ "The Corruption and Imbecility of the Party Press," *New York Herald*, June 27, 1864, pg. 4.

⁹ Ibid.

public was almost unanimously of the same opinion.” By highlighting Greeley’s supposed solitary supporter in the Union army, the *Herald* framed abolitionists and vegetarians as elitists, mere philosophers out of touch with the feelings of the masses—both the general public and the fighting forces. Real citizens, it was implied, rejected Greeley, his vegetarianism and abolitionism for the same reasons as the *Herald*.¹⁰

Greeley’s vegetarianism was associated with personal cowardice and weakness, in direct contrast to his war mongering. The *Herald* utilized its coverage of the New York City Draft Riots to continue its anti-Greeley stance. The paper reported that on the first day of the riots Greeley escaped harm by running into a restaurant and hiding inside of a refrigerator. The report wryly noted that “If this be true, it is a singular instance of the power of fear; for poor Greeley is so rigid a vegetarian that no one would have thought him capable of getting into a meatbox, even to save his life.” Greeley’s cowardice led him to abandon his supposed vegetarian fixation by hiding in the restaurant, and further revealed itself as he fled for New Jersey. In essence, the *Herald* was mocking the very idea of Greeley’s philosophical dedication. Greeley’s vegetarianism made him incapable of making clear decisions and left him too weak and craven to face the consequences of those ideals. Given that an angered mob attempted to storm the *New York Tribune* headquarters on the first day of rioting, and succeeded in setting part of it aflame, Greeley’s decision to hide would not have been unwise. However the claim was more

¹⁰ “Greeley’s One Subscriber in the Army,” *New York Herald*, Aug. 16, 1862, pg. 4.

bluster from the *Herald*, Greeley was actually at the *Tribune*'s office at the time that the building was attacked.¹¹

Even during the years of sectional strife, secession and civil warfare, the issue of vegetarian identity aroused the wrath of its detractors. The press' treatment of Greeley was similar to the popular mockery of vegetarians during the antebellum years, but also illustrates the particular difficulties facing vegetarians during the war years. How would vegetarians—dedicated to both pacifism *and* the end of slavery—react to the coming of war? Could vegetarians overcome their ideological opposition to violence in order to end what they viewed as an even greater evil, the slave system? Examining vegetarianism during the chaotic years just before and during the Civil War illustrates the transitional nature of these years, vacillating between the predominance of communal, utopian reform and a new, emerging individualistic vegetarian identity.

Vegetarians and the Question of Kansas

As the sectional crises descended towards bloodshed, vegetarians looked at the world around them, decrying that their admonitions had been ignored and the rifle replaced the ploughshare. The “mad passions and misguided counsels of men have prevailed, for the moment,” warned the *Water-Cure Journal*, proclaiming the coming war to be “fratricidal.” Vegetarians had long been largely pacifistic, viewing war as the culmination of humanity's strains of violence and ignorance. Abolitionist vegetarians, however, simultaneously decried war while believing in its potential for seismic social change. Civil war would unfortunately lead to “loss of life, the riven hearts, the desolated

¹¹ “Poor Greeley and the Recent Riots,” *New York Herald*, Aug. 3, 1863, pg. 4; See Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 21-2.

homes, the ravaged fields and the ruined cities.” But many vegetarians also believed that conflict was the only way that the “political atmosphere can be cleansed, our institutions regenerated, and our people brought to a realizing sense of the unexamined privileges and prosperity they have so long enjoyed.” War had the potential to ensure that “The land of the free and the home of the brave, will now. . .be adjusted and settled permanently and forever.”¹²

Despite the slow dissolution of the American Vegetarian Society, vegetarian identity in the United States did not disappear. In fact, the movement became entangled with the larger issues of the time, especially abolitionism. For example, Henry S. Clubb, former member of the British Vegetarian Society, immigrated to the United States in 1853 and immediately became actively involved in the vegetarian movement and abolitionism. Clubb had become a strident opponent of the slave system during his years writing for the *New York Tribune*, working under the tutelage of fellow abolitionist and supposed vegetarian Horace Greeley. Writing for the *Tribune* Clubb furthered his Kansas education, producing a “History of Kansas” for the *New York Tribune Almanac* in 1854, emphasizing the activities of abolitionists in the region.¹³

Born in Colchester, England and raised in the Swedenborgian Church, Clubb was exposed to the benefits of a meatless diet during his formative years, a dedication that remained throughout his life. As a young man Clubb was drawn to a variety of reform causes, leaving his job as a postal clerk to live at London’s Alcott House—a utopian

¹² “A New Volume,” *WCJ* 31, no. 6 (June 1861): 81.

¹³ “History of Kansas,” *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register* (New York: G. Dearborn and Co., 1856), 19-30.

home based on the reform ideals of Bronson Alcott—in 1842.¹⁴ Upon Alcott House's closing in 1844, Clubb became involved with London's growing vegetarian community serving as the secretary to James Simpson, the first president of the Vegetarian Society. By 1849, Clubb was named editor of the *Vegetarian Messenger*, the society's monthly newsletter. Clubb's relationship with Simpson eventually led to religious conversion, receiving his baptism in the Bible Christian Church in 1850. Three years later Clubb immigrated to the United States where he began serving as a shorthand reporter for the *New York Tribune*.

Clubb advocated for abolitionism in his columns, attempting to humanize slaves by describing in great detail the harsh conditions and mistreatment endemic to plantation life. In the fall of 1854, Clubb became an active member of the AVS, speaking at the organization's annual meeting, a practice he would continue for subsequent years. Clubb, however, saw further possibilities in vegetarianism beyond the organization. A former disciple of Bronson Alcott's teachings, in 1855 Clubb once again led vegetarians to the country. Vegetarianism was the vehicle, but abolition was the goal.

With the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act by Congress in 1854, the fate of the new territories' status as free or slave states was left to be determined under the principle of popular sovereignty, allowing residents to directly vote on the issue. As a result of the new legislation, the Kansas territory became contested ground between pro-slavery forces primarily from Missouri, and abolitionist activists largely from the east coast. Each group descended upon Kansas in the hopes of winning a demographic battle to determine

¹⁴ Maintenance Committee, Bible Christian Church, *History of the Philadelphia Bible-Christian Church for The First Century of its Existence* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1922), 70-2.

the soon-to-be-state's future. Hostility and violence between the two groups was inevitable as the central unresolved issue facing the United States unwound on a micro-level in Kansas, predicting the coming of a future, nationwide civil war.¹⁵

Henry Clubb and a large group of devoted followers attempted to simultaneously further the causes of vegetarianism and abolitionism with the founding of the Kansas Vegetarian Settlement Company in 1855. The reformer had witnessed firsthand the federal implications on the debate surrounding Kansas, having served as a Congressional reporter for the *Washington Union* newspaper in 1853. Clubb first outlined his plans for the emigration company in the *Illustrated Vegetarian Almanac of 1855*, exhorting “Vegetarians who are desirous of promoting freedom in Kansas” to emigrate as part of an effort to “promote the growth of fruits, vegetables and grain.”¹⁶

A group of more than fifty interested vegetarians attended a planning meeting for the settlement company in New York City on May 6, 1855. The organization was formed as a joint-stock company where each member of the settlement purchased five-dollar shares payable in either money or labor. Kansas absorbed a number of settlements based on the principles of abolition, including socialists, free-thinkers and anti-slavery advocates funded by the New England Emigrant Aid Company.¹⁷ The vegetarian settlement shared the goals of the Emigrant Aid Company—to further the cause of

¹⁵ See Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004). Etcheson argues that Bleeding Kansas was, at its heart, a contestation between oppositional forces attempting to preserve liberties as each group perceived them.

¹⁶ *The Illustrated Vegetarian Almanac of 1855*, ed. Henry S. Clubb (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1855), 21.

¹⁷ Richard H. Abbott, *Cotton & Capital: Boston Businessmen and Antislavery Reform, 1854-1868* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991), 28-49; Mark A. Lause, *Race and Radicalism in the Union Army* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 13-4.

abolitionism *and* make a profit. However, unlike the aid company's colonies, the vegetarian settlement raised funds amongst its members rather than private investors.

Residents were expected to be philosophically, physically *and* economically invested in the settlement's success. The company elected members of the AVS as its officers. Charles DeWolfe, a Philadelphia lawyer and temperance advocate was elected as the group's President. Dr. John McLauren, a water-cure physician from New York City, became the company's treasurer and "pioneer," in charge of scouting the exact location of the settlement. Lastly, Henry S. Clubb was named the group's secretary, responsible for arranging logistical details.¹⁸ Forty-seven interested individuals signed contracts at the meeting, agreeing to begin the process of moving to Kansas in the spring of 1856. Another sixty-one vegetarians wrote to the meeting pledging their intent to join the settlement company, totaling 108 potential settlers.¹⁹

The group drafted a constitution for the company noting that, "The practice of vegetarian diet is best adapted to the development of the highest and noblest principles of human nature," whereas "the use of the flesh of animals for food tends to the physical, moral, and intellectual injury of mankind." The settlement's primarily goal, however, was "To promote the enactment of good and righteous laws in that territory, to uphold freedom, and to oppose slavery and oppression in every form."²⁰ The colony was

¹⁸ Henry S. Clubb, *The Maine Liquor Law: Its Origin, History, and Results* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1856), 207; Octagon Settlement Company, *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas, Containing Full Information for Inquirers* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1856), i.

¹⁹ Octagon Settlement Company, *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas, Containing Full Information for Inquirers* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1856), 10.

²⁰ Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas, A Cyclopaedia of State History, Vol. 2* (Chicago: Standard Publishing Company, 1912), 842.

planned to serve as living proof of the advantages of vegetarianism, while at the same time advancing abolitionist activities in the territory. To achieve this goal, an application process and rigorous review of candidates was made to ensure that members of the settlement company abhorred slave holding and were of reputable moral character.

At the end of the screening process the group consisted of fifty families, raising nearly \$75,000. By February of 1856, the amount invested in the colony grew to \$133,000.²¹ Colonists were required to sign an oath promising to abstain from intoxicating liquors, tobacco and animal flesh as a precondition of residency. Further, members pledged to “promote social, moral, and political freedom; to maintain the observance of all good and righteous laws” in order to ensure Kansas’ entrance into the Union as a free state.²² Whereas vegetarians had previously built their own smaller communities within mainstream society, the emigration company was an attempt to “establish. . . a home where the slaughter of animals for food shall be prohibited, and where the principle of vegetarian diet can be fairly and fully tested, as to more fully demonstrates its advantages.”²³

The settlement was organized via the octagon plan of settlement, first described by publisher and phrenologist Orson Fowler. Phrenology—despite its future connections with scientific racism—shared qualities in common with early vegetarianism. Each sought to understand the human body through supposed physiological evidence—

²¹ *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas, Containing Full Information for Inquirers*, 3.

²² Miriam Colt Davis, *Went to Kansas; Being a Thrilling Account of an Ill-Fated Expedition to That Fairy Land, and its Sad Results* (Watertown, NY: L. Ingalls & Co., 1862), 209.

²³ “Vegetarian Settlement Company,” C. W. Dana, *The Great West, or the Garden of the World: Its History, Its Wealth, Its Natural Advantages, and Its Future* (Boston: Wentworth and Company, 1856), 226.

phrenologists examining skull shape and size, while vegetarians often examined dental, alimentary and digestive processes in order to argue for their cause. In addition, both movements utilized methodologies outside of the mainstream of medical practice, each emphasizing comprehension of root causes for behavior—either the skull or one’s appetite.²⁴

In his work *A Home for All*, Fowler advocated for octagonal design as being more efficient and cost-effective. When compared to rectangular homes, octagonal houses offered one-fifth more space because of the angular shape of the design. An octagon home also provided health advantages, allowing for more window surfaces on the walls to invite larger amounts of natural sunlight into the home. A cupola tower above roof level topped off the house, providing further sunlight and ventilation throughout the home.²⁵ The new design caught some popular favor in the United States from the 1840s through the 1870s—particularly amongst homeowners interested in expressing their aesthetic individuality. Fowler’s design scheme, however, often proved to be costly in the resources and materials needed. Yet the philosophy driving the design of the octagon plan was ahead of its time. As noted by one architect, “Fowler predates Louis Sullivan and Adolf Loos in his argument for purposeful form.”²⁶

²⁴ Sarah E. Chinn, *Technology and the Logic of American Racism: A Cultural History of the Body as Evidence* (London: Continuum, 2000), 49-50.

²⁵ Orson Squire Fowler, *A Home for All: Or the Gravel Wall and Octagon Mode of Building* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1854), 82-5, 126-30. Seventy-four octagonal homes, barns and schoolhouses are now listed on the National Register of Historic Places. See “National Register Information System” National Register of Historic Places. National Park Service. Search “octagon” and “octagonal” FTP Address: <http://nrhp.focus.nps.gov/natreghome.do?searchtype=natreghome>. Accessed 17 November 2009.

²⁶ Steven Holl, *Rural and Urban House Types in North America* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1983), 26.

Clubb was directly influenced by Fowler's theories on octagon design; the two had a close working relationship; many of Clubb's writings were released by Fowler and Wells, a publishing firm that Orson Fowler co-owned. At the heart of the octagon village plan was an emphasis on communal living, with all dwellings facing the same, shared central octagon. Collective living ensured inhabitants the ability to "excel in the arts of domestic and social life, and in the elevating influences of mental and moral cultivation." The community's design was aimed at promoting productive, ethical living. Isolated, private communities were feared because they caused people to "become indifferent to the refinements of civilized society, and sometimes sink into barbarism."²⁷ The octagon-shaped settlement was a four square mile plot of land divided into eight segments of 102 acres each; in essence an octagon was super-imposed upon a square tract of land. Each plot faced a 208 square acre central octagon that housed a common area—a park, library, church, school, agricultural college or meetinghouse. Tuition for the agricultural college was to be paid through labor to the settlement at large. While individuals each owned their private lots, members of the settlement trust shared equal stakes in the communal, central octagon.

The joint stock company presented a series of specific benefits of the octagon style of settlement in its attempts to attract investors. The octagon plan offered the dual advantages of agricultural and communal life, as "every settler would live in a village, and at the same time be in the best possible situation on his farm—between pasture land in front, and arable land in the rear of his dwelling." The communal atmosphere ensured that "every settler would enjoy the mutual aid and protection of the other settlers" a

²⁷ Colt Davis, 281.

quality—it was implied—lacking in both big cities and conventional western settlements. Farm life provided practical educational opportunities for children, as well as “plenty of space for playgrounds, and pure air” that was not available in big cities. The settlement plan emphasized agricultural development but also “intellectual advantages,” aimed at avoiding “the dullness and monotony, often incident to country life.” The company may have been driven by ideological dedication, but it is also had a financial bottom line. Organizers promised potential settlers that the construction of an interdependent village would maximize investors’ profits.²⁸

The Kansas colony was to consist of four octagonal villages with the hope of creating a sixteen square mile settlement. Extra land that fell outside the octagon shape was to be used for wood or grassland.²⁹ However, the octagon plan was essentially an attempt to build a small city.³⁰ While Clubb was bringing vegetarians back to the country, his octagon plan of settlement aimed to eventually produce a utopian, urban community. Given the largely cosmopolitan composition of the settlement’s founders and citizens, the city-centric plans for Kansas are not surprising. Vegetarians were already familiar with community living in boarding houses in urban areas. The octagon plan offered residents the best of both worlds—a private home inside of a communal land mass. This dichotomy undoubtedly appealed to vegetarians who were the living incarnation of the competing forces of urban sophistication and rural romanticism.

²⁸ *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas, Containing Full Information for Inquirers*, 5-6; “Vegetarian Company Kansas,” *WCJ* 20, no. 1 (July 1855): 11.

²⁹ Hickman, 377-85; Reps, 496; *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas* (New York: Fowlers & Wells, 1856), 3-7.

³⁰ See John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 496.

By the winter of 1856, plans for the vegetarian settlement company had come to fruition with a plot of land agreed upon near the banks of the Neosho River in southeastern Kansas.³¹ The group's activities attracted coverage in the mainstream press, eliciting a combination of bemusement and praise. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* mocked the group's ability to survive in the west, connecting meat consumption with the American tradition of rugged individualism. The *Tribune* noted that "a diet of turnips and other garden sass" was not fit for the rigors of pioneer life. The article argued that Kansas had enough of an influx of eastern reformers, "philosophers, fiddlers, phrenologists, vegetarians, &c. already." What the territory needed to truly thrive was "beef-eating men. . . of thaws and sinews, who have blood to spare and the pluck to put themselves in places where loss of it might happen."³² The message was clear—meat produced strength, vitality and masculine men of action. Vegetables created weak, fragile men apt to discuss rather than accomplish.

To the contrary, eastern newspapers encouraged the enterprise. Brooklyn's *Circular* reported on the location's "abundance of water ten months in the year" and the "timber, coal, limestone" sources that abounded. Dedicated to the causes of vegetarianism and abolitionism, the group was bound by a "union among the members not usually enjoyed by new settlements. . . earnest reformers in every department of social progress."³³ The *New York Tribune* explained that "The location selected. . . combines all

³¹ The location is now the present-day town of Humboldt, about forty miles west of Fort Scott and 100 miles south of Kansas City.

³² "Not Wanted in Kansas," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb. 12, 1856, pg. 2.

³³ "A Vegetarian Colony," *Circular* 4, no. 48, Dec., 20, 1855, pg. 191.

the advantages of mild climate, fertile land, water-power, limestone, coal, wood, pure springs, rolling prairie, and beautiful scenery. . . .it comprises some of the best land in the Territory.”³⁴

In March of 1856, the first group of vegetarian settlers headed west to begin construction of the new settlement. The pioneer residents were responsible for building the central octagon building to welcome the new members as well as the construction of a sawmill and gristmill. In contrast to Bronson Alcott’s attempt at a vegetarian utopia, the Kansas settlers understood the basic needs of sustenance and economic development in order to survive. Clubb promised settlers a paradise as well as a fully constructed settlement. Early residents—perhaps with lower expectations since they arrived with the task of actually building the colony—were encouraged by what they witnessed. John Milton Hadley, one of the first arrivals to the settlement, wrote upon viewing the land for the first time that the region was “Paradise. . . .taking all and comparing with other places of the habitable globe — this is as nearly the equal of Palestine as any.”³⁵

Hadley reported positively on the settlement’s place amongst abolitionists in the region, reflecting that “The contest for free principles here is strong and well it may be — considering the manner in which the rights of the citizens were outraged at last election.” Kansas was “in every respect. . . .better suited to vegetarians” due to its climate, fauna and influx of eastern reformers. Hadley presciently recognized that “A struggle will be required to make Kansas a free state. It will call for firmness of the best kind. Or for

³⁴ *New York Daily Tribune*, January 21, 1856.

³⁵ *Letter from John Milton Hadley to George Allen* (25 April 1855). See FTP Address: http://www.kancoll.org/khq/1972/72_1_hadley.htm.

more substantial free state men.”³⁶

Despite the paradisiacal promises and language of Clubb, subsequent waves of immigrants were immediately disappointed to arrive at the settlement. A difficult trip westwards was compounded by the fact that very little had been built or accomplished by the time larger groups of settlers arrived. Miriam Colt Davis provided the most complete first-person account of the Kansas vegetarian settlement, publishing her memoirs six years later in 1862. Davis explained that both economic and social interests led to her decision to join the settlement, noting that the location of the settlement was in the middle of the path of the newly proposed Transcontinental Railroad, ensuring that the region would experience a significant boom. In addition, a move to the west would have “advantages to families of having their children educated away from the ordinary incentives to vice, vicious company, vicious habits of eating and drinking, and other contaminations of old cities.”³⁷

The trip out to Kansas was difficult, particularly given that the convoy consisted of “plain eaters” who had to “pick here and there to get plain food.” Supplies were limited as the group left the east coast with only one box of soda crackers, some flour, corn meal, sugar, rice and dried apples. The trip westwards was broken down into four parts. From the east coast vegetarians had to travel to St. Louis, through a combination of regional railroads and horse-drawn wagons. At St. Louis, residents boarded a steam ship and headed south to Batesville, Missouri. Settlers continued their long voyage on foot, traveling from Batesville to Kansas’ Fort Scott, a military garrison built in 1841 to

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Colt Davis, *Went Down to Kansas...*, 14, 21.

quell Native American resistance in the west. Fort Scott remained connected to the vegetarian settlement throughout its existence, providing protection and supplies to its residents. From Fort Scott the group completed its voyage on foot to the settlement on the banks of the Neosho River in eastern Kansas. A trip from New York City—the eastern most departure point for residents—covered over 1,200 miles.³⁸

The group was further discouraged upon entering the settlement, observing that very little had been built by the time of their arrival in June 1856. The settlers' disillusionment was immediate, realizing that "no mills have been built; that the directors, after receiving our money to build mills, have not fulfilled the trust reposed in them, and that in consequence, some families have already left that settlement." Despite the lack of resources residents subsisted off of a diverse diet of wild peas and beans, beds of onions, boiled greens, Johnny cakes, pumpkins, squash, melons, cucumbers and potatoes.³⁹ Watson Stewart—a resident from Indiana—noticed upon arrival that, "These intelligent, but too confiding families have come from the North, East, South and West, to make pleasant homes; and now are determined to turn right-about, and start again on a journey, some know not where." There was no library, agricultural college or even octagon-shaped dwellings. Just one new home was constructed, a basic log cabin with a dirt floor where the Davis family lived. Henry S. Clubb—the mastermind behind the settlement—lived in an abandoned Osage wigwam, a reminder of the changes wrought

³⁸ *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas, Containing Full Information for Inquirers*, 7.

³⁹ Colt Davis, 49, 66, 76.

by continued American expansion into the West. The remaining residents lived in cloth-covered shacks.⁴⁰

By early fall the colony was on the brink of starvation and rife with sickness. Colt Davis viewed the experiment as a “calamity. . .pent up in the black clouds” wishing only for her family’s life to be spared.⁴¹ With reports of violence between pro-slavery border ruffians and free state abolitionists, many residents began the process of fleeing the colony by October in advance of the coming harsh winter. The so-called boundless springs of water had dried up, and the settlement’s riverside location ensured a plague of constant mosquito attacks and the corresponding diseases transmitted by their bites. The sprawling octagonal settlement that was promised offered only two ovens, one plow, no sawmill, no gristmill and not even any actual octagons for its more than 100 residents. The dreams of utopia were shattered under the weight of the harsh realities of western, agricultural life.

The group of vegetarians, however, did not disappear immediately. Residents abandoned the lofty goals of the octagon plan, but chose to stay on the land with local elections forthcoming. The remaining vegetarians continued their community, intent on adapting their methodologies for the difficult conditions. Villagers enjoyed close relations with a nearby tribe of Osage and “often had them with us at dinner, or other meals, and many times some of them would remain with us over night.” The new relationship between the settlers and Osage opened up new trade opportunities for

⁴⁰ Donald W. Stewart, “Memoirs of Watson Stewart: 1855-1860.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 18 (November 1950): 376-404. See FTP Address: http://www.kancoll.org/articles/stewart/ws_section04.htm

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

remaining residents and also exposed vegetarians to new agricultural and architectural methods that the group put into practice in their community. Perhaps the kinship between the two groups can be explained by prevailing Osage folklore about the group's origins. The tradition holds that two competing tribes—one vegetarian and agricultural, and the other meat eating and hunting—merged in the early eighteenth century after establishing trade relations and formed the Osage nation. While the Osage no longer adhered to meat-free diets by the time they came in contact with the vegetarians, the tradition and memory of the Tshishu, or “peace people” was still strong in the group's collective consciousness.⁴²

Despite the settlement's relatively short lifespan, its role in the development of vegetarian identity in the antebellum era was significant. Unlike Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands, the Kansas Vegetarian Settlement Company produced a viable plan for development of a sustainable community. More importantly, the colony aimed to remain connected to the larger nationwide vegetarian community and helped develop and foster its identity. While the settlement company was driven by political ideology it was also an economic venture, albeit one that failed miserably. The experiment allowed for private ownership of individual tracts of land while also emphasizing communal equality in ownership of the central octagon and the company itself. The group left its mark in the eventual state of Kansas where the area surrounding the banks of the Neosho River is still

⁴² Blackmar, 904; Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 69; Jon Ewbank Manchip White *Everyday Life of the North American Indian* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2003): 107; Stewart, “Memoirs of Watson Stewart: 1855-1860.”

known as Vegetarian Creek.⁴³ And while the octagon plan did not succeed in establishing a long-lasting vegetarian city in Kansas, it did promote octagonal design within the public consciousness, an architectural style that remained popular in home design through the 1870s.

The residents of the Kansas Vegetarian Settlement were part of the burgeoning free labor system advocated by the newly formed Republican Party in the 1850s. Whether driven by moral outrage or pure economic motives, free laborers viewed slavery as destructive to the republic, a system doomed to failure. Vegetarians moved to Kansas intending to subvert the further spread of the slave system into the west, while at the same time placing their own vested, economic interests in the venture. The settlement's population was driven by an interplay between the competing forces of social philanthropy and economic self-interest. The colony was a cross section of a new burgeoning American economy, including not only farmers and laborers, but also merchants, printers and physicians.⁴⁴ In addition, the settlement also represented a wide geographic cross-section. While the majority of residents were from the northeast, the

⁴³ Pam Grout, *Kansas Curiosities: Quirky Characters, Roadside Oddities and Other Offbeat Stuff* (Guilford, CT: Morris Book Publishing, 2007), 101; Daniel Fitzgerald, *Ghost Towns of Kansas: A Traveler's Guide* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 132.

⁴⁴ According to the settlement's founders, here is a list of the professions of the colony's residents: One accountant, two blacksmiths, one builders, two cabinetmakers, two carpenters, one colporteur, one cooper, eighteen farmers, one gardener, one barber, one ironworker, one journalist, one lecturer, one librarian, two lumbermen, two mechanics, four merchants, one millwright, one nurseryman, four physicians, three printers, one shoemaker, one stonecutter, one tailor, one tinsmith, three teachers, one weaver and one woolen manufacturer. In addition the list also noted two widows and two single women. *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas, Containing Full Information for Inquirers*, 10.

group also included members from the American South, Midwest, West and even Canada.⁴⁵

Most importantly, in regards to abolitionism, vegetarian residents of the settlement became directly involved in the unfolding, dramatic events occurring in the Kansas territory. Samuel Stewart—a stonecutter by trade, and brother of Watson—was elected as a member of the territorial legislature and served as a delegate to the Free State convention held in Grasshopper Falls in 1857.⁴⁶ Stewart later enlisted in Kansas' 10th Infantry Regiment in February 1863, serving for over a year before dying in combat in August of 1864.⁴⁷ John Milton Hadley—one of the colony's original settlers—enlisted in Kansas' 8th Infantry Regiment in October of 1861. Hadley served for four years, promoted numerous times along the way. By the time Hadley left the military, he had reached the position of Full Major in Kansas' 9th Cavalry Regiment. Hadley was honorably discharged after getting wounded in a skirmish with Confederate troops at De Valls Bluff in Arkansas in July of 1865.⁴⁸ Vegetarians from the Kansas settlement were

⁴⁵ The geographic breakdown of residents is as follows: Fourteen families from New York, eight from Pennsylvania, five from Ohio, five from Ontario, Canada, three from New Jersey, three from Illinois, four from Indiana, three from Michigan, two from Tennessee, two from Wisconsin, two from Kentucky, two from Rhode Island, one from Maine, one from Massachusetts, and one from Iowa. *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas, Containing Full Information for Inquirers*, 8-9.

⁴⁶ At this event, free staters decided to become involved in the contest for control of the soon to be formed state legislature. Blackmar, 264-66; Stewart, "Memoirs of Watson Stewart: 1855-1860"; Kenneth M. Stampp *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 259.

⁴⁷ "Samuel Stewart," in *Historical Data Systems, American Civil War Soldiers* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com): 1999; "Samuel J. Stewart," in *General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration): T288.

⁴⁸ "John Milton Hadley," in *U.S. Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2009).

volunteering to serve in fighting forces. Apparently some saw no contradiction between their violence free diets and fighting for the principles of abolitionism.

James H. Holmes—described by William Lloyd Garrison as “a modest, unassuming man, but full of enthusiasm and indomitable perseverance in the cause of impartial freedom”—was one vegetarian who saw no conflict between his dietary choices and the use of violence against slave interests.⁴⁹ Holmes was drawn to the Kansas settlement because of his abolitionism and training in the agricultural sciences. The young vegetarian left the colony in the summer of 1856 at the age of nineteen, in order to take command of a regiment of free state Iowans intent on attacking slave interests in Kansas. In August of 1857, Holmes joined forces with John Brown to defend free state settlements in Osawatomie from advancing bands of pro-slavery forces from Missouri. In the months that followed, Holmes continued to lead raids against pro-slavery supporters in the territory.⁵⁰ Holmes’ violent abolitionism saw no contradiction with his vegetarianism, leading him to join the Union army soon after the start of the war. Holmes’ dedication to the cause and connections with radical Republicans led to his naming as Territorial Secretary to New Mexico, appointed by President Lincoln in July of 1861.⁵¹

⁴⁹ “William Lloyd Garrison to Charles Sumner, 26 February 1861,” *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison: Let the Oppressed Go Free, 1861-1867*, ed. Walter M. Merrill (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 10.

⁵⁰ David S. Reynolds, *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man Who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War and Seeded Civil Rights* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 198; Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge this Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 165.

⁵¹ “Capt. James H. Holmes Dead,” *New York Times*, Nov. 23, 1907, pg. 9; Ray Charles Colton, *The Civil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 192; Vincent G. Tegeder, “Lincoln and the Territorial Patronage: The Ascendancy

For Henry S. Clubb, the issue of warfare was a little more muddled. Soon after leaving the settlement, Clubb began publishing a Republican newspaper in Grand Haven, Michigan, long a stronghold of Democratic politics. Clubb remained active in Republican politics in the years leading to the war, serving as a delegate to the national convention in Chicago in 1860. In June 1862, Clubb enlisted in the United States Volunteers Quartermaster's Department of Infantry Regiment, immediately placed in the position of Captain. Clubb served for four years total as a quartermaster, arming and supplying fellow soldiers, even getting wounded during the Second Battle of Corinth in Mississippi in October of 1862.⁵² The vegetarian leader was spared further harm because the bullet fortuitously struck a purse filled with money and letters from his wife positioned in his lapel pocket, in the process shredding his naturalization papers to pieces.⁵³

Clubb served on the frontlines, present at the Battle of Vicksburg where he was in charge of transporting troops during the siege. But Clubb's service during the war was remarkable for reasons other than his dedication to the Union. Clubb refused to carry a weapon, unwilling to compromise his personal abhorrence of violence.⁵⁴ Yet in his role as a quartermaster, Clubb provided material and strategic support to soldiers marching

of the Radicals in the West," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (June 1948): 84; Ralph Y. McGinnis, Calvin N. Smith, *Abraham Lincoln and the Western Territories* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Inc., 1994), 77-8.

⁵² "Henry Stephen Clubb," in *U.S. Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com), 1999; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865* Roll 128, No. 130 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration): 217.

⁵³ "The Rev. Henry S. Clubb," *Vegetarian Messenger* (January 1896): 9; Henry S. Clubb to Anne Clubb, 5 October 1862, Henry S. Clubb Papers, hereafter referenced as HSCP, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Box 1, Folder 17.

⁵⁴ *History of the Philadelphia Bible-Christian Church*, 89.

out to the battlefield to kill. The war pushed Clubb to further compromise his ethics, even eating meat out of necessity during his service years when no other provisions were available.⁵⁵ Whereas the Grahamite generation of dietary reformers despised violence in all forms, and viewed meat eating as a cause of aggression, the events of the time period led a new group of vegetarians to compromise their pacifistic views. Some, like Stewart and Holmes, had no problems taking up arms. Clubb was clearly stuck in a position of internal conflict. On a personal level, Clubb was torn away from his wife Anne, who was pregnant. How did a vegetarian like Clubb negotiate the contradictions between wartime violence and his personal vegetarianism and pacifism?

Analyzing the letters that Clubb wrote to his wife during the war offers insight into this issue. The subject of diet appeared in Clubb's first missives written to his wife soon after enlistment. Writing to Anne in August of 1862, Clubb reported that he "enjoyed excellent health since I left home," but craved some of the healthy culinary comforts of Michigan. Clubb asked his wife, who was scheduled to come visit Mississippi at some point in the fall, to be sure to bring along fruit. The vegetarian quartermaster explained that he did not "know anything that would be so serviceable to bring with you when you come as a few bushels of dried blackberries" because of their health giving properties and ease of transport.⁵⁶ Even though Clubb was preoccupied with the business of war, his heart and mind were not entirely disconnected from his ideologically driven food needs.

⁵⁵ "American Institute of Phrenology," *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 119, no. 1 (January 1906): 33; "A Vegetarian From Childhood: Rugged and Youthful at Eighty-Two" *Physical Culture* 23, no. 1 (January 1910): 108.

⁵⁶ Henry S. Clubb to Anne Clubb, 31 August 1862, HSCP, Box 1, Folder 17.

On the issue of warfare, Clubb's letters paint the portrait of a soldier conflicted between the cause he joined and his personal pacifism. Clubb's first three months in the army were spent largely moving throughout Mississippi, using boarding houses and hotels as his main residence. Not coincidentally, during this time Clubb reported positively on his experiences, going as far as liking his position "very well."⁵⁷ Once Clubb witnessed the horrors of the battlefield his opinion quickly soured. As early as September 13, Clubb reported on his plan to limit his exposure to the harsh Southern sun, hoping to "keep as cool as possible," preferring instead to have his clerks give direct instructions to soldiers in the field. Clubb dramatically explained to his wife that if he was not allowed this indulgence that he was "willing to resign." After all, Clubb explained, "A man is not required to kill himself in the Government service."⁵⁸

A week later, Clubb wrote to Anne following a battle between Union and Confederate forces in Iuka, Iowa. The scene on the front lines must have affected Henry deeply; he reported that Union forces lost between 400 and 500 soldiers. Even though he was just a Quartermaster, and "in the rear of the train," Clubb personally witnessed the death of a young Southern soldier. Clubb received a letter from his brother-in-law James soon after leaving the field, sharing the news that not only had Anne given birth, but to twins. Clubb, having just watched the end of life, must have been struck by the duality of learning of the start of another; he wrote to Anne that he wanted to name one of the twins

⁵⁷ Henry S. Clubb to Anne Clubb, 31 August 1862, HSCP, Box 1, Folder 17.

⁵⁸ Henry S. Clubb to Anne Clubb, 13 September 1862, Box 1, Folder 17.

Iuka, after the location of the battle that just ended.⁵⁹ In a letter written nine days later, Clubb re-created the scene: “I saw a great many wounded and dead men, and saw scenes which I never wish to see again. It seems hard that our men, who are innocent, have to suffer so much, but such is war, and we must have patience until it is over.”⁶⁰ Clubb, though often shocked by the violence he witnessed, and dissatisfied with his position and the rampant corruption that he observed, remained in his role for another two years before receiving his honorable discharge.⁶¹

The active involvement of vegetarians in Union fighting forces illustrates a stark transition for the movement. Vegetarians had long been accused of philosophical and physical weakness, condemned as frail and fragile. At the same time, the AVS and other vegetarian supporters condemned meat eating precisely because it caused violence, warfare and destruction. Vegetarians viewed themselves as being inherently peaceful given their violence-free diets. Reformers also utilized their diet as a means for political change, specifically as a vehicle to subvert the slave system. However, as the country hurtled towards war, these two fundamental values of vegetarians were in direct contrast to each other. Those who joined the Union army and fought for the cause of abolitionism sublimated their dedication to vegetarian-driven pacifism in deference to what they

⁵⁹ Clubb’s letter made the parallel explicit, explaining that, “the news reached me just as I was coming from witnessing the death scene of a Rebel that same day this celebrated battle was fought, one of the most singular engagements of the war, and I want to name the boy after that place, Iuka. It was the first battle I witnessed and I think it is fitting that the first son have that name.” The son was named Henry Iuka Clubb. Henry S. Clubb to Anne Clubb, 21 September 1862, Box 1, Folder 17.

⁶⁰ Henry S. Clubb to Anne Clubb, 30 September 1862, HSCP Box 1, Folder 17.

⁶¹ Henry S. Clubb to Anne Clubb, 24 August 1863, HSCP Box 1, Folder 17. Writing to Anne from Vicksburg, Clubb explained that he was too honest a man to be in the Quartermaster department” and that “none but a rogue will be assistant in this department.”

believed to be a greater good. In essence, the larger issues facing the Union made vegetarianism a secondary consideration for many previous dietary reformers. Vegetarianism, as a movement, naturally suffered.

The experiment in Kansas lasted only about two years in total, yet in many ways it symbolizes the variety of challenges facing vegetarian identity by the mid-1850s. Vegetarians were just as concerned with Americans' dietary practices as they were with the major social and political issues of the time. With competing identities and organizations that focused on singular social issues, vegetarianism attracted adherents because of its role as a catalytic cure all for society's ills. However, such a worldview was inherently limiting, attracting enthusiasts while drawing the scorn of its detractors, even those who may have agreed on other issues of reform. Vegetarians hoped that "the darkest of the twenty-four hours is just before the break of day" and that "Vegetarianism may . . . break forth upon us with all the brightness of the morning sun."⁶² During the years leading up the Civil War, vegetarianism merged with national issues, helping the movement gain national prominence, yet at the same time it lost some of its distinctive independence. With the nearly simultaneous dissolution of the Kansas colony and the slow disbandment of the American Vegetarian Society, vegetarians stood at a true crossroads. Lacking a national organization, vegetarianism began the process of becoming more individualized.

The Vegetarian Wherryman and the Rise of Individualism

On August 27, 1860, three months before the election of Abraham Lincoln, four months ahead of the secession of South Carolina, and just eight months preceding the

⁶² W. A. A., "Prospects of Vegetarianism" *WCJ* 4, no. 81 (October 1856): 81.

first shots of the Civil War, boatman D.U. Martin set sail from Boston for New York City, beginning his grand adventure along the Atlantic coast. Martin's voyage was no ordinary sea faring trip; his intentions were loftier than mere transportation. Nicknamed the "Vegetarian Wherryman," Martin began a three-month journey that aimed to prove conclusively just how beneficial a vegetarian diet was.⁶³ Martin's escapade and its wide coverage in the press illustrate the changing nature of vegetarianism in the face of the dissolution of the AVS.

D.U. Martin was a well-known figure among Boston reformers even before his well-covered trip through the Atlantic. The wherryman was an active member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, the abolitionist organization founded by William Lloyd Garrison in 1831.⁶⁴ Martin became a vegetarian in 1857, having converted upon hearing a lecture by the noted allopath Russell Trall emphasizing the natural healing properties of a vegetable-based diet. Even though Martin had benefited greatly from vegetarianism, he sought personal as well as external validation of the diet, to disprove critics who claimed that the lifestyle weakened and feminized adherents. While living in Boston in 1860, Martin decided to undertake an experimental physical challenge aimed at

⁶³ Less popular nicknames for Martin included the "Boston wherryman" and the "wherryberryman" This seems to illustrate the transcendence of the term vegetarian by 1860, as well as the importance of the identity to Martin's experiment. For examples, see "Dietetic Reform," *The Herald of Health and Water-Cure Journal* 1, no. 1 (January 1863): 18; "The Wherryberryman Off for Albany," *New York Times*, Aug. 31, 1860, pg. 8.

⁶⁴ Martin is listed as a member in "Collections," *Liberator* 27, no. 24 (12 June 1857): 95 and "Collections," *Liberator* 29, no. 23 (10 June 1859): 91. The group included such important abolitionist leaders as Frederick Douglass, who served as president in 1847. See John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African-Americans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 196-200.

illustrating that vegetarianism could be utilized for personal strength and success.⁶⁵

At the age of thirty-two, standing an imposing and lanky five feet, ten inches tall, Martin offered himself as physical, scientific proof of the effectiveness of vegetarianism's benefits.

Martin departed from Boston on August 21, arriving in New York City three days later on the 24th. The wherryman rowed the entire distance, approximately 400 nautical miles for eighty straight hours, relying on a diet of fruits and vegetables.⁶⁶ News of Martin's impending appearance spread amongst New York vegetarians as they anxiously awaited his arrival. Vegetarians were highly interested in uniting around a common event that culled identity pride, as the movement faced the reality of a rapidly declining AVS and local New York Vegetarian Society. Martin arrived "very much sunburt and fatigued," but otherwise in good spirits and health.⁶⁷

At the banquet Martin relayed his own conversion narrative, recalling that he was "first induced to try the system of vegetarian living" while in New York in 1857 and was "at that time troubled with the dyspepsia." The wherryman explained that thanks to a vegetarian diet he could "do more work than any man he ever had an occasion to hire." The positive results motivated Martin to "demonstrate what a person could endure, living

⁶⁵ In the *Boston Directory of 1860*, Martin is listed as a currier living at a boarding house at 136 Pearl Street. Given the location of the home—near the docks where the Mystic and Charles Rivers meet, and with an outlet to Boston Harbor—it seems to imply that Martin was a professional boater. See *Boston Almanac for the Year 1860* (Boston: J.P. Jewett), 264.

⁶⁶ "The Vegetarian Wherryman," *The Liberator* 30, no. 36 (7 September 1860): 144.

⁶⁷ "Our New York Correspondence," *The Charleston Mercury*, Aug. 27, 1860, pg. 1.

wholly on vegetable food” and served as the impetus for his decision to row long distances.

Martin’s voyages were covered throughout the mainstream press, not just in New York and Boston. At the very moment that the South was inching towards secession, the exploits of the vegetarian wherryman were notable enough to garner attention below the Mason-Dixon line. *The Charleston Mercury* reported that Martin’s popularity in New York was particularly impressive given that “A cat is absolutely fond of aquatic sports compared with your genuine Gothamite.” The paper described Martin as having accomplished “stupendous exertions” guiding his “fifty pound skeleton wherry all the way from Boston.” Most impressive was the fact that Martin “could have done this big feat on vegetables alone.” Even in the South, where vegetarianism had made little headway, Martin was lauded as a role model for vegetarians and an athletic hero to all.⁶⁸

Martin was met in New York with a “sumptuous repast, strictly on the vegetarian principles,” as reformers celebrated the athletic exploits of the newly dubbed vegetarian wherryman, living proof of the power of a vegetable diet. A wide variety of fruits, vegetables and puddings were served, contrasting to Martin’s favored rowing diet of whortleberries, apples and watermelons.⁶⁹ The stopover, however, was momentary. After the banquet was over, Martin refurbished his supplies, grabbed a handful of fruit, a rubber coat and a navigating chart to accompany the next leg of his trip, northwards to the state capital of Albany. Newspapers reported daily on Martin’s progress,

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ The whortleberry is a wild berry that is a close relative of both blueberries and huckleberries.

underscoring the physical fitness and strength necessary to row great distances. The *New York Times* emphasized Martin's muscularity and physical prowess, utilizing quasi-sexual imagery, noting "the splendid style in which Mr. Martin handled the sculls. His easy, graceful motion, long steady stroke, and powerful pull elicited continued praise, and whortleberries were considered triumphant." Vegetarianism ensured that "his health was much improved, his mind clear, his muscles hard, his strength increased."⁷⁰ Such descriptions marked a sharp departure from previous images of male vegetarians emphasizing weakness, frailty and prudery.

Most remarkably, the reformist *and* mainstream press lionized Martin. The *Liberator* wrote with pride of Martin's attempt to "demonstrate what a person could endure, living wholly on vegetable food," explaining that the wherryman was "in the enjoyment of first-rate health."⁷¹ Other papers linked Martin's physical prowess with his political ideology. Martin was described by the *New York Times* as a "practical philosopher" who was "affable as he was healthy" and "seemed rather more inclined to desire the election of Lincoln and Hamlin than of any other candidates who have a possibility of being chosen."⁷² The *Chicago Tribune* labeled Martin's travels a "remarkable voyage" guided solely by the sound of the surf.⁷³ The *Boston Herald* glowingly reported that, "the experiment made by the Champion Wherryman goes to show that he had performed an extraordinary muscular feat, of long duration, while

⁷⁰ "The Wherryman off For Albany," *New York Times*, Aug. 31, 1860, pg. 8.

⁷¹ "The Vegetarian Wherryman," *The Liberator* 30, no. 36 (7 September 1860): 144.

⁷² "The Wherryman off For Albany," *New York Times*, Aug. 31, 1860, pg. 8.

⁷³ "A Remarkable Voyage," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1860, pg. 3.

subsisting upon a diet of fruit, almost exclusively.”⁷⁴ Once ridiculed by the mainstream press as being feeble and weak, Martin’s accomplishments challenged popular and prevailing images of vegetarians during the 1860s.

Martin departed New York City on August 31, circumnavigating around Manhattan Island. After heading southwards down the East River and around the Battery, Martin rowed north on the Hudson River all the way to Albany.⁷⁵ He arrived in Albany five days later on the evening of September 5 in what the *Boston Herald* reported as “good health and spirits.”⁷⁶ His trip had been a wild success, navigating his way from Boston to New York City and north to Albany without an ounce of flesh foods. Martin’s original plan to row to New Orleans was cancelled due to extensive damage to his rowboat.⁷⁷ Despite the change, Martin’s voyage received equal coverage and praise in both the vegetarian and mainstream press.

The wherryman’s trip was most important because of its effects on vegetarian collective memory, remembered well past the days following his expedition. In March 1861—seven months following his trek—the *Louisville Daily Journal* reported that Martin survived a recent attack by a pack of wild dogs. The article emphasized Martin’s rugged individualism, explaining that he “had been in the habit of camping out very often, to convince himself of the truth or fallacy” of the popular claim that a meatless diet

⁷⁴ “Complimentary Supper to Martin, the Wherryman,” *The Boston Herald*, Sept. 11, 1860, pg. 2.

⁷⁵ “The Vegetarian Wherryman,” *The Liberator* 30, no. 36 (7 September 1860): 144.

⁷⁶ “The Vegetarian Wherryman,” *Boston Herald*, Aug. 31, 1860, pg. 2; “Domestic Intelligence,” *Harper’s* (15 September 1860): 582-3; “The Vegetarian Wherryman,” *New York Herald*, Sept. 6, 1860, pg. 7. Even though the *New York Herald* often mocked vegetarians, and wrote dismissively about Martin, it is important to note that the paper also followed his exploits.

⁷⁷ “Our New York Correspondence,” *The Charleston Mercury*, Aug. 27, 1860, 1.

could not produce enough vitality to survive cold weather.⁷⁸ Martin's journey generated so much interest that his experiments with vegetarianism were still considered newsworthy long after his voyage.

A month later Martin revealed that he was battling a severe illness and fever. Newspapers attributed Martin's quick recuperation to his vegetarian diet, noting that after losing fourteen pounds to the illness, he regained twenty "and was fully restored to health without a particle of medicine."⁷⁹ A year later the press reported that Martin sought to make his fortune by heading west. Martin utilized his vegetarian diet to prepare his body for the rigors of gold mining in California, adding native fruits such as bananas and oranges to his meatless regimen.⁸⁰

Martin's popularity occurred at the precise time when dietary reformers began the process of linking physical strength with personal success. *The American Phrenological Journal* responded to a report that referenced the wherryman in its protestation of "all this muscle humbugger." The publication wished "to enter our protest and erect some barrier against it." The *Phrenological Journal* countered that "A glance at the men of influence in America within the current century will show, we think, a majority of strong bodies along with strong minds." Muscular Northern men such as Martin, Stephen A. Douglas, Lewis Cass and Charles Sumner were protectors of the Union, whereas Southern leaders such as Senator John C. Calhoun and eventual Confederate Vice President Alexander

⁷⁸ *The Louisville Daily Journal*, March 13, 1861, pg. 1.

⁷⁹ "The Trials and Pleasures of Vegetarian Life," *The Scioto Gazette* 4, March 19, 1861, col. F; *New Hampshire Statesman* 2079, April 6, 1861, col. E.

⁸⁰ *Daily Evening Bulletin* 101, Feb. 5, 1862, col. A; *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* 1752, Jan. 15, 1862, col. E.

Stephens were “light and fragile.”⁸¹ Martin, a vegetarian—a group who were previously described as fragile and anemic—had switched roles with the new enemies of the republic, Southern traitors. With war on the horizon, men of strength, honor and discipline were needed to quell the rebellious South. These beliefs encouraged audiences to embrace the wherryman during such a time.

The vegetarian wherryman’s short and successful trip illustrated that many vegetarians—despite losing their national organization—sought to remain in the public eye and continue to justify their vegetarian beliefs. Vegetarianism remained at the fringes of society, often seen as a personality quirk or oddity. However, the lessons learned from the wherryman’s travels helped push vegetarianism towards eventual alignment with notions of masculinity and strength as routes towards individual success. Once the tumult of the war years ended, a new generation of vegetarian health reformers—many of whom were first drawn to the cause in the years surrounding Martin’s trip—developed a new brand of vegetarianism that glorified the individual.

The wherryman’s trip proved to vegetarians that the diet could be embraced by normative society when combined with qualities of muscularity, strength and individualism. Vegetarian contemporaries lauded Martin’s trip as scientific proof that the diet created strong, successful individuals. But more importantly, the Martin voyage became ingrained within the organized vegetarian movement’s collective consciousness. Martin’s exploits were recounted and utilized as an argument for the effectiveness of vegetarian diets long after his trip. E.B. Foote, a trained medical doctor and prominent vegetarian advocate, repeatedly used Martin’s voyage as evidence of the benefits of a

⁸¹ “Muscle-Mania,” *American Phrenological Journal* 32, no. 6 (December 1860): 84.

vegetarian diet while writing throughout the 1880s, 1890s and early twentieth century.⁸² The lessons of Martin's trip—its attachment with a new, stronger type of vegetarianism as well as its embrace by society at large—resonated with a new generation of health reformers who changed the nature of vegetarian identity during the Progressive Era.⁸³

Conclusion

The ongoing conflict between the *Herald* and Horace Greeley demonstrated how vegetarians were still viewed with skepticism and even disdain by members of the normative meat eating culture during the years of the Civil War. In contrast, the adventures of the vegetarian wherryman—occurring before shots had been fired on the battlefield—illustrated that vegetarians had the potential to be supported, even embraced by society-at-large when they emphasized normative values of strength and individuality. Vegetarians began this time period intent on continuing the tradition of radical political activism, actively working to stem the spread of slavery into the American West. The very ideology of abolitionist vegetarianism was important enough for some dietary reformers to ignore a tradition of pacifism. The larger events of the time period—in conjunction with the dissolution of the American Vegetarian Society—ensured a period of uncertainty and instability for the vegetarian movement. The treatment of Greeley, the Kansas settlement and the wherryman were all intertwined and linked through vegetarianism's search for a response to the Civil War.

⁸² E.B. Foote, *Plain Home Talk About the Human System* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & co., 1870), 67; E.B. Foote, *Home Cyclopaedia* (New York: Murray Hill Publishing Co., 1901), 66; E.B. Foote, *Dr. Foote's New Book on Health and Disease* (New York: Murray Hill Publishing Co., 1903), 66.

⁸³ The development and role of this new identity is considered in the following chapter.

The years leading up to the dissolution of the Union simultaneously put vegetarianism on the national stage, while also ensuring that the identity would lose some of its unique distinctiveness. Sectional strife pushed dietary reform in the background as larger issues facing the Union were yet to be resolved. Vegetarians became visibly involved in the events and conflicts that would help push the nation to the brink of Civil War. In the process dietary reform lost a level of cohesion of thought that helped define the movement during an earlier era that unified dietary and social reformers. The Civil War years did not put an end to the nascent vegetarian movement in the United States. It did, however, ensure the reconstruction of a new identity, distinct from its previous, radical roots.

CHAPTER FIVE
VEGETARIANISM AND CONSUMPTION

*Protose looks like meat, tastes like meat, contains the same nutritive properties as meat, is more digestible, and is an absolutely pure product of the vegetable kingdom.*¹

—Advertisement for Protose, June 1900

By the end of the Civil War, vegetarian reform remained a northern reform movement, led and followed primarily by New Englanders, New Yorkers and Philadelphians. During these years vegetarianism aligned itself with a vital, constantly evolving reform spirit that infused itself within the urban centers of Yankee life. But the Civil War threw vegetarianism into a period of flux, and the movement redefined itself in the face of the more pressing social issues of warfare and abolitionism. The Civil War, subsequent Reconstruction and eventual end of radical reform sought to address the new social conditions and political status of African-Americans.² The period following the war, however, was still marked by dramatic economic and social transformation. These same agents of change recapitulated and geographically reoriented the vegetarian

¹ “Protose: The New Food That is All Food,” *Modern Medicine* 9, no. 6 (June 1900): 144.

² On the failures of Reconstruction, see Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988).

movement in the United States, pushing it away from its politicized past to a more socially acceptable future through product consumption.

After 1865, many of the reformist notions that took hold in the east spread westwards, following the trail of migrants motivated by the postwar industrial and economic boom that encouraged the continued expansion of American territory. These eastern migrants were buoyed by the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862, promising land grants of 160 acres in exchange for the cultivation of what was viewed as “unused” land in the western territories. Indian removal policies of the 1840s and 1850s ensured that migrant farmers would meet little resistance in settling their newly granted land possessions. The eventual arrival of the transcontinental railroad spurred the growth of economic boomtowns supported by an inter-connected transportation system that linked the region with economic interests in the east coast.³

As migrants spread into the Upper Midwest following the Civil War, so did the ideas, cultural norms and practices that proliferated previously in the northeast.⁴ Reformers had already spread into the Upper Midwest in the era leading to the Civil War—the postbellum years, however, were marked by increased eastern migrations. In Illinois, the state population grew from just over 850,000 in 1850, to more than 2.5 million just twenty years later in 1870. In Indiana, the total population increased from

³ Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 20-31.

⁴ This notion is derived based on geographer Fred Kniffen’s study of housing in the Midwest in the immediate postbellum era. Kniffen argues that the Northeast generated cultural ideas that spread into the upper Midwest, while the Mid-Atlantic region served as the primary diffuser for new settlers into the lower Midwest and upland South. See Fred Kniffen, “Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 55, no. 4 (December 1965): 560. This argument is further supported based on reform publication subscription patterns that followed settlers into the Upper Midwest. See Rebecca Lewin McCarley, “Orson S. Fowler and a Home for All: The Octagon House in the Midwest” in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 12 (2005): 49-63.

over 988,000 to more than 1.6 million citizens during the same twenty-year period.

In Michigan, where vegetarianism established a strong foothold, the state's population skyrocketed from just over 397,000 in 1850 to more than 1.1 million people in 1870.⁵

Vegetarianism followed this general migratory pattern of cultural and ideological infusion. Vegetarians, of course, already resided in the so-called “old northwest,” some of whom were connected to the activities of the American Vegetarian Society in the 1850s. In addition, the appearance of vegetarians in Kansas in the pre-war years further spread vegetarian ideals and practices. The group, however, was largely dependent upon east coast vegetarian activities. In the years following reunion, the Midwest—and the city of Battle Creek, Michigan in particular—became the new hub of vegetarian activities. Battle Creek and its famed Sanitarium became *the* central location of vegetarian living and community building, while also diffusing vegetarian culture, ideals, products and living to all other regions.

The story of Battle Creek, Michigan is one of rapid industrial transformation. In just over sixty years Battle Creek evolved from a small village to a growing mill town, to a major industrial center. The area was originally inhabited by tribes of Potawatomi who first came into contact with eastern land speculators led by Colonel John H. Mullet in 1825. A violent confrontation between the two groups led the American expansionists to jokingly label the creek near where the conflict occurred, Battle Creek. Soon after the first eastern interests entered the area, settlers from upstate New York—including a large

⁵ “The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850” (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853): 702, 756, 886; “Ninth Census: The Statistics of the Population of the United States” (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872): 3.

group of Quakers—arrived in the land, drawn by the promise of significant economic opportunities.⁶

By the 1830s, the area was a thriving mill town, spurred by the completion of a millrace and the damming of the Kalamazoo River. The town, then known as Milton, continued to grow demographically with the appearance of flour, grain and saw mills by the start of the 1840s, exploiting the natural waterpower of the river and corresponding creek. The arrival of the Michigan Central Railroad in 1845 connected the area with the east coast as well as the growing metropolis of Detroit, ensuring that Battle Creek would become intimately tied to the industrial economy of the region. The Nichols and Shepard Company—manufacturers of farm machinery, mill machines and steam engines—opened in Battle Creek in 1852, and exemplified the town's growing importance in the Upper Midwest.⁷

Battle Creek and Seventh-day Adventism

Seventh-day Adventists were among the large influx of residents into Battle Creek during this time period, drawn by available land and economic opportunities. The Seventh-day Adventist movement originated with the Millerite religious sect that gained popularity during the Second Great Awakening of the 1830s and 40s. Millerites were followers of William Miller, a lay preacher from New York who predicted that the second coming of Christ would occur in 1843. Miller's popularity grew through the

⁶ *Battle Creek Centennial, 1831-1931* (Battle Creek, MI: Press of Ellis Pub. Co., 1931), 40-2; Henry B. Peirce, "The City of Battle Creek" in *History of Calhoun County, Michigan* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1877), 79-81.

⁷ Peirce, 87-88

1830s, becoming a nationwide phenomenon by 1840 with the distribution of printed publications that reached audiences throughout the United States.

When Miller's prophecy failed, the Millerites fractured into three sects, each with their own interpretation of the coming of the messianic age. One of these groups, labeled the Adventists, formed on October 23, 1844, the day after the so-called Great Disappointment (the day that Millerites believed Christ was to have arisen). Through concentrated study of the Book of Daniel, and based on a vision claimed by a group member, the sect came to the conclusion that the second coming envisioned for October 22 was misunderstood by previous prophecy—the events described were actually heavenly in nature, not occurring on Earth amongst humanity. Christians, starting in 1844, would be judged by their worthiness for salvation.⁸

As the Adventists grew, the sect adopted a Sabbatarian worldview, strictly observing Saturday as the biblical day of rest. Ellen Harmon (eventually White) and her parents were among the followers of this nascent group. Harmon was born in Maine in November of 1827, the daughter of farmers. By the time Harmon was twelve the family began regularly attending the lectures of William Miller and became involved in the growing Millerite community. At the age of seventeen, a few months following the Great Disappointment, Harmon reported her first prophetic vision of the Adventist group ascending into the city of God. The group sought validation in light of its tumultuous years of confusion following the Great Disappointment and quickly embraced Harmon's

⁸ George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993), 163-4.

vision. Two years later Ellen married James White, a prominent Millerite leader, further connecting her to the growing religious community.⁹

Ellen White's message and popularity spread during the 1850s with the appearance of publications and revival meetings that described her visions and particular principles of Adventism. The Whites, however, struggled financially as Ellen's writings and preaching left little opportunity for stability. A group of Adventists in Battle Creek offered to allay the Whites' difficulties, promising them a printing house if the couple moved to the growing city. With the guarantee of a captive audience and a mechanism to spread her prophecies, Ellen and James White moved to Battle Creek in November of 1855.¹⁰

In Battle Creek, the Adventist movement grew as Ellen White's prophecies found more and more converts. While visiting Otsego, Michigan in June of 1863, White claimed a vision that changed the course of Adventist history and in the process vegetarianism in the United States. While praying with a group of dedicated Adventists, White was struck with a vision that emphasized the importance of the relationship between physical and spiritual health. White had been a heavy meat eater all her life, yet this vision called upon Adventists to abstain from animal flesh as well as tobacco and alcohol. White "saw that it was a sacred duty to attend to our health, and arouse others to

⁹ Ellen G. White, *A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White* (Saratoga Springs, NY: James White, 1851); Godfrey T. Anderson, "Sectarianism and Organisation, 1846-1864," *Adventism in America: a History*, ed. Gary Land (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 31.

¹⁰ Jonathan M. Butler, "Prophecy, Gender, and Culture: Ellen Gould Harmon [White] and the Roots of Seventh-day Adventism" *Religion and American Culture* 1, no. 1 (Winter, 1991): 3-29.

their duty. . .to come out against intemperance. . .and then point them to God's great medicine. . . .The more perfect our health, the more perfect will be our labor."¹¹

The prophetess envisioned Adventists utilizing natural remedies to cure disease, in particular fresh air, sun, exercise and pure water. Two years later on Christmas Day 1865, White had another vision of Adventists' role in health reform, exhorting her to establish a health reform institute to care for the sick. This new institute was to be charged with teaching the advantages of healthy living and drugless medical care to the masses. By September of 1866 that dream was realized with the opening of the Western Health Reform Institute in Battle Creek.¹²

Even if Ellen White was motivated by divine prophecy, her decision to open a health reform institute was certainly affected by immediate events in her life. White's husband James suffered a stroke in 1865 and recuperated at Our Home, a health reform hospital in Dansville, NY. The new Western Health Reform Institute opened by the Whites largely modeled itself after Our Home, emphasizing natural cures—air, water, light, rest, exercise and vegetable-food—for medical recuperation. Under the leadership of Horatio S. Lay, whose medical training included work at Our Home, the institute became a popular destination. In its early years, however, the hospital was essentially a glorified water-cure establishment. By January of 1867 the institute was filled with patients and had to turn away potential residents because of a lack of space.¹³ The

¹¹ Quoted in George R. Knight, *A Brief History of Seventh-Day Adventists* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2004), 69.

¹² Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-Day Adventism and the American Dream* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), 163-5.

¹³ Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2008), 166.

hospital was growing at an alarming rate; with limited resources and a dearth of medical professionals amongst Adventists, White and her Battle Creek followers wondered how to best handle expanding the new organization. White turned to a member of the growing Adventist community who had attended medical school in the east coast and was looking to return to Battle Creek and put his expertise into action.

The San and Dr. Kellogg

John Harvey (J.H.) Kellogg had long, deep connections with the Whites and the Battle Creek Adventist community. Kellogg was the son of a prominent Adventist family from eastern Michigan who moved to Battle Creek in 1856 when J.H. was four in order to be closer to the center of Adventist activities. Economic motives also drew the family to Battle Creek; the Kelloggs built a broom factory, taking advantage of the area's geography and growth as an industrial center. At an early age the young Kellogg became personally involved in the Battle Creek Adventist community, working in the printing shop of the *Adventist Review and Herald Press*, the national publication of the Seventh-day Adventist movement. In this role Kellogg worked directly with Ellen and James White, ascending from the starting position of errand runner to an apprentice learning the ins-and-outs of the printing trade.

Kellogg's voracious appetite for reading about health reform and his dedicated work in the print shop impressed the Whites, enough to sponsor his medical education. Kellogg began his training at Russell Trall's Hygeio-Therapeutic College in Florence Heights, New Jersey in the fall of 1873. Trall had a long involvement in the vegetarian movement, serving as a vice president of the American Vegetarian Society during the mid 1850s. In addition, Trall was at Sylvester Graham's bedside when he passed away,

reporting on the event for the AVS' newsletter. Trall's college served as a training ground for young Adventists looking to enter the medical field and find a job at the Whites' newly opened medical institute. With its emphasis on natural cures, Trall's school aligned ideologically with the practices of Adventism, even though it was not actually affiliated with the religion. While Kellogg's time at Trall's college was short, studying at the Hygeio-Therapeutic College further cemented Kellogg's dedication to vegetarianism and nature cures.

Despite his emphasis on seemingly radical cures, and against the advice of the Whites, Kellogg sought legitimacy from the established medical profession. Kellogg spent two years at the College of Medicine and Surgery at the University of Michigan, where he learned to become a highly talented surgeon. This skill enabled Kellogg to later gain extensive professional acclaim. Kellogg completed his medical education in 1875, receiving his MD from Bellevue Hospital Medical College in New York where he focused his studies on natural cures and a distinctly Adventist perspective on illness. Kellogg argued in his graduation thesis that diseases and illnesses were the body's way of warning the individual that a natural process had become disturbed. Pain was an indication that the patient was violating natural laws. The only way to alleviate suffering was by following the basic principles of healthy living—fresh air, clean water, exercise and vegetarian dietetics.¹⁴ Even during the early years of his medical career, Kellogg exhibited a tension that continued throughout his life—the desire for mainstream, medical acceptance, while adhering to unpopular, often controversial medical practices.

¹⁴ Richard Schwartz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.: Pioneering Health Reformer* (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2006), 33-5.

Kellogg returned to Battle Creek in 1875 with an advanced medical degree in hand and was immediately hired as a staff doctor at the Western Health Reform Institute. Kellogg gained the trust of the Whites through a combination of long, loyal service and his support for the growth of the hospital. The Whites quickly rewarded Kellogg's loyalty, naming him superintendent of the health institute in early 1876 at just twenty-four years of age. At the time the institute, while popular, was still underdeveloped. Facilities were lacking, the institute was short on staff and equipment was at a minimum. The status quo did not appeal to Kellogg or the Whites, both of whom desired to turn the institute into a large, progressive healing institution. Building the institute into a reputable medical center would provide the professional accolades and mainstream acceptance that Kellogg desired. The Whites were also driven by self-interest; the institute advertised the beliefs and mission of Seventh-day Adventists.¹⁵

The reputation of the institute and Kellogg simultaneously grew thanks to the general growth in the status of the American physician in the post-Civil War era. A growing middle class sought out answers for the causes of physical illness from doctors who through professionalization crafted reputations built on the dual qualities of authority and neutrality. Physicians' expertise brought order and rationalization to an oft chaotic and unpredictable industrial, postbellum society.¹⁶ And despite Kellogg's affiliation with the Adventist church, under Kellogg's direction, the institute reached out and treated all patients, regardless of religious practice or background. Kellogg's ascendance and appeal to mass audiences represented part of a larger turn towards

¹⁵ Numbers, 180-1.

¹⁶ John S. Haller, Jr. and Robin M. Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1974).

secular, scientific means of comprehending the world, rather than through the singularly religious lens common in dietary reform's early years.¹⁷

The stage was set for the hospital to grow exponentially. A new generation of young Adventists were graduating from reputable medical colleges in the east coast, ensuring an accredited labor force. As luck would have it, at the same time that the Adventists sought to grow their medical institute, Ellen White proclaimed a vision that called for the building of a large, central building to serve as an administrative and residential center. Kellogg's medical expertise and a growing staff of "men of ability, refinement, and sterling sense," according to James White, provided the conditions for the institute to expand.¹⁸ In 1878 a new Medical and Surgical Sanitarium was constructed on the grounds previously occupied by the Institute. Whereas the preceding management primarily emphasized water cure methods, the new organization offered what Kellogg described as "new methods, appliances, and apparatus. . .to create an institution which would show in practical operation all the resources of rational and physiologic medicine."¹⁹ Kellogg aimed to prove that nature cures were not eccentric, outdated or quackery. The new institution was a means to demonstrate the effectiveness of natural methods, utilizing the most modern equipment and facilities.

The Sanitarium sought to distance itself from its previous roots. The first change that needed to be made was the name. The term "sanitarium" had long referred to a health resort utilized to treat injured British soldiers on the road to recovery. Slightly

¹⁷ Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), 173.

¹⁸ James White, "Home Again," *Review and Herald* 49, May 24, 1877, pg. 164.

¹⁹ John Harvey Kellogg, *The Battle Creek Sanitarium System: History, Organization, Method* (Battle Creek, MI: Gage Printing Co., 1908), 11.

shifting the word construction, Kellogg changed “sanitorium” into “sanitarium,” implying that the institute served as both a locale of recovery *and* learning.²⁰ The new building was renamed the Battle Creek Sanitarium, often referred to by residents and staff as “the San.” The name change illustrated the level of growth of Battle Creek, perceived as a location of modernity, economic opportunity and personal advancement. Emphasizing Battle Creek in the sanitarium’s name linked the institution with the city’s growing reputation and population.

The Sanitarium quickly expanded. In 1880 the San established a nurses’ training school to serve as a labor source and sign of the institution’s legitimacy. In addition, a growing fleet of “scientifically trained physicians” was employed as full-time doctors to accommodate the needs of nearly two hundred guests at a time. A cooking school was opened in 1883, aimed at teaching the San’s principles to both guests and interested epicures who wanted to apply Kellogg’s principles to their home kitchens. Renovations doubled the sanitarium’s capacity as well as its popularity.²¹

The Battle Creek System

At the center of the growing sanitarium was what Kellogg came to label the “Battle Creek System,” a method of treatment and preventative medicine that emphasized natural cures. Kellogg created this system to emphasize the San’s legitimacy, basing it on “a knowledge of physiology, and an intelligent grasp of all the resources of modern

²⁰ The suffix –arium defines a location where something takes place, a more passive implication in line with the San’s emphasis on rest, relaxation and fitness. Thus the term sanitarium was meant to invoke a place of health. In contrast, the suffix –orium refers to a place that performs an action, implying treatment over individual empowerment and responsibility.

²¹ Kellogg, *The Battle Creek Sanitarium System*, 13.

medical science,” in his words.²² Natural curatives defined the Battle Creek System. Highly trained medical practitioners who understood scientific advancements, however, were needed to best apply these treatments. The sanitarium appealed to guests involved in the growing industrial ethos of the United States by emphasizing technological advancement and efficiency. The San drew residents who benefited from this economic system, those with the time and disposable income to afford a stay in Battle Creek. The San’s ascendance also corresponded with the growth of the modern hospital system, shifting from a benevolent organization aimed at comforting the poor to an institution where the wealthy and middle classes went to be cured.²³ The San positioned itself at the intersection of these two social trends, practicing the right type of medicine the proper way.

While the Battle Creek System treated a variety of medical ailments—in particular dyspepsia, consumption and constipation—it was, at its heart, concerned with correcting the conditions that created chronic disease. Illness was caused by “erroneous habits of life” that caused normal, natural bodily functions to wear down. The appearance of observable symptoms was the body’s cry for help. The sanitarium staff was trained to hear these cries and help change the lifestyle mistakes that were causing illness. Even though a staff of professionals enacted the treatment program, the Battle Creek System emphasized the responsibility of individuals. Personal choices at both the sanitarium and in the outside world effected the body’s healing process; avoiding

²² Ibid., 15.

²³ Morris J. Vogel, *The Invention of the Modern Hospital: Boston, 1870-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

intemperance ensured a quick, full recovery. Weakness, exhibited by over-indulgence, drinking and meat consumption doomed residents to a cycle of self-destruction.

The guests at the sanitarium were not, however, mere patients. Residents were expected to take an active role in their recuperation. Only through learning the physiological causes of disease could individuals live healthy lives. Daily lectures and classes informed guests on the reasons for the Battle Creek System—what it treated and why it was effective. Guests were expected to be empowered and invested in their own recovery, rather than giving up total power and responsibility to the staff of medical professionals. Kellogg reminded patients that it was “rare indeed to find a person dying a natural death,” that poor diet, unscientific living and intemperance caused constitutional diseases that led to chronic ill health.²⁴ Lectures advised guests on a wide range of subjects including diet, exercise and proper dress.²⁵

The Battle Creek System was comprised of a multitude of components, some of which were standard for all treatments while others were proscribed for particular ailments. As technology evolved, so did its applications; by the turn of the twentieth century the San was utilizing electrotherapy as a means to stimulate muscle activity. The trained medical staff at the sanitarium was responsible for determining which combination of curatives produced the best results. Water cure remained a popular treatment at the San, though Kellogg labeled it “rational hydrotherapy.” The San’s

²⁴ John Harvey Kellogg, “How to Live a Century,” John Harvey Kellogg Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, hereafter referenced as JHKP Box 3, Folder 4 (15 February 1884): 1-2.

²⁵ John Harvey Kellogg, “The Weather and its Effects on Health,” JHKP Box 3, Folder 6 (12 November 1891); John Harvey Kellogg, “How to Dress Hygienically,” JHKP Box 3, Folder 7 (14 January 1892).

version of hydrotherapy differentiated itself from the “crude” water cures of the previous generation by allowing for both cold *and* warm bathing.²⁶ In addition, rational hydrotherapy integrated water cure with a variety of physical rehabilitation methods, including massage and “medical gymnastics,” an early incarnation of physical therapy. The method aimed to make water cure flexible, adaptable to each individual’s particular needs.

Massage was utilized for a variety of ailments, including abdominal massage to cure constipation and dyspepsia, chest massage to improve circulation and metabolism, and Swedish massage to cure insomnia. Swedish movement, also labeled “medical gymnastics,” served as a key component of Kellogg’s system. Guests were expected to utilize low impact gymnastics as a means to build muscle and strength, in order to better prepare the body to withstand disease.²⁷ Fresh air, or the out-of-door method, was prescribed to all residents, in order to build lung capacity and serve as a natural deterrent to illness. Lastly, dietetics stood at the center of the Battle Creek System for all sanitarium guests, from its founding through its evolution.

The San and Vegetarianism

Vegetarianism was a non-negotiable component of the Battle Creek System. Flesh foods overtaxed the digestive system and lacked the powerful nutrients abundantly available in the farinaceous kingdom. Dyspepsia, constipation and nervous disorders were all connected to dietary overindulgence. As a result, all sanitarium guests, employees and visitors practiced a strict vegetarian diet. Kellogg claimed that flesh

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

²⁷ Kellogg, *The Battle Creek System*, 97-9.

goods “cut off forty or fifty years” from the average lifespan and that the years living were marked by dyspepsia and other stomach ailments. Meat was filled with “impurities” while a vegetarian diet was inherently more nutritious. Meat eating transferred limited nutrients, though not from the animals themselves. Rather, the grains and grasses fed to livestock were transmitted into the human digestive system.

Meat eaters ingested “the dead matter and waste matter of another animal” while receiving nutritional value at second hand, affected by the impurities and disease. In contrast, vegetarians took a pure diet, receiving nutritional value directly from fruits and vegetables.²⁸ The goal of this new vegetarianism was to be physically vigorous, healthy and strong, rather than create social change.²⁹ Fruits, vegetables, nuts and grains were the natural food of humanity; meat consumption was merely indicative of humanity’s disconnection from its own awareness of healthy living.³⁰

Kellogg reminded his followers that, “good food and drink make good blood; and good blood is manufactured into healthy brains, and strong bones and muscles.” Unhealthy food, on the other hand created deficient brains, bones and muscles. The Battle Creek System emphasized that individuals were, indeed, what they eat. The almost “universal disregard of dietetic rules” made America “a nation of dyspeptics.”³¹ The proof of vegetarianism’s success lay in anatomical analysis, comparative physiology and experiential evidence. Kellogg rejected popular opinions arguing that meat was

²⁸ John Harvey Kellogg, “How to Live a Century,” JHKP Box 3, Folder 4 (15 February 1884): 3-4, 9-10.

²⁹ John Harvey Kellogg, “The Quality of Food,” JHKP Box 3, Folder 15 (26 July 1897): 3.

³⁰ John Harvey Kellogg, “The Natural Diet of Man,” JHKP Box 3, Folder 23 (16 April 1900): 1-2.

³¹ John Harvey Kellogg, *Practical Manual of Health and Temperance: Embracing the Treatment of Common Diseases, Accidents and Emergencies, the Alcohol and Tobacco Habits, Useful Hints and Recipes* (Battle Creek, MI: Good Health Publishing Co., 1885), 112.

necessary to maintain human life. Since all animals subsist to some degree on a vegetable diet, Kellogg argued that meat contained no nutritional elements not found in the plant kingdom. Flesh foods were, essentially, “vegetables at second hand,” inferior in constitution and nutritional value.³² Whereas vegetarian foods were invigorating, meat stimulated the body. Meat was infused with “venous blood” that was filled with uric acid, cholesterol and other toxins. Further, meat was rife with impurities since few animals were healthy at the time of slaughter. Tapeworm, trichinosis and consumption were on the rise as a result of the sick state of animals prior to slaughtering.³³

To help facilitate vegetarian living, the San established an experimental kitchen in the summer of 1883 to produce appetizing and nutritious vegetarian products to feed guests. Both Kellogg and his wife Ella worked in the experimental kitchen, concocting healthy, vital and tasty foods. Visitors to the San utilized valuable vacation time to visit—the daily menu needed to appeal to both the mind and the palate to ensure that guests would continue flocking to Battle Creek. The experimental kitchen applied the principles of scientific study to cookery in order to craft the most nutritious and flavorful food products.

The San’s kitchen proliferated at the same time that the domestic sciences were starting to be embraced throughout the United States by respectable, middle class households. The new home economics movement found its voice through the pages of innumerable domestic advice journals that advocated the principles of home economics.

³² John Harvey Kellogg, *The Household Manual of Domestic Hygiene, Foods and Drinks, Common Diseases, Accidents and Emergencies, and Useful Hints and Recipes* (Battle Creek, MI: The Office of the Health Reformer, 1875), 32-3.

³³ *Ibid.*, 36-7.

Domestic sciences emphasized women as the moral guardian of the domestic sphere. Part of women's domestic responsibility was to provide healthy, fulfilling meals to husbands and children to best prepare them for the difficulties and threats of the modern world. The San's experimental kitchen and cookery school had similar goals for its guests and students. The rise of the domestic sciences ensured the legitimacy of Ella Kellogg's visible and active participation in the experimental kitchen.³⁴

The San's experimental kitchen fit within a larger cultural sphere attempting to bring order, modernity and scientific rationalization to public kitchens in order to solve questions of nutrition. Ellen Swallow Richards' Rumford Kitchen applied the study of chemistry to the culinary sciences in order to maximize nutritional value for feeding the hungry and destitute. Much like Kellogg's experimental kitchen, the Rumford Kitchen included a full collection of scientific, laboratory equipment in order to maximize the healthy properties of food. Advocates of the Rumford Kitchen faced challenges in introducing popular American cuisine to its mostly immigrant clientele. However through outreach, instruction and food delivery to work places, home economists ignored clients' desires for ethnically traditional food in deference to dishes deemed most nutritious. Similarly, Kellogg utilized the San's experimental kitchen, as well as marketing and lectures as outreach to introduce new foods that he deemed most beneficial to the public.³⁵

³⁴ Sarah Abigail Leavitt, *From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart: A Cultural History of Domestic Advice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 15-18.

³⁵ Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), 151-162.

The changes at the San were effective. Vegetarianism gained in popularity, evidenced by the fact that the San housed over 800 guests at a time by 1886, quadruple the number of a decade earlier. At the turn of the twentieth century that number doubled again, housing nearly 1,600 residents at a time in 1897.³⁶ Guests were treated with a combination of physical exertion and relaxation, appealing to a growing leisure class that sought cures to a variety of maladies that inhibited their continued economic and social success. Visitors embraced vegetarianism, at least while they were vacationing at the San. Something more was necessary, however, to ensure that new guests would visit, previous residents would return and the San's style of vegetarianism would gain wider popularity.

Kellogg and Meat Substitutes

In addition to serving a variety of fresh fruits, and vegetables, the experimental kitchen at the San expanded the repertoire and very nature of vegetarian cookery. One of Kellogg's primary obsessions was finding products that could easily substitute for meat flavors in the San's menus. Many of the San's residents had never practiced a vegetarian diet until their stay in Battle Creek. Kellogg attempted to move guests away from a meat-based diet, yet still appeal to the taste and masticatory sensations that flesh foods produced. Kellogg was philosophically dedicated to the cause of vegetarianism but realized the diet needed to further diversify if it was going to be embraced by mass audiences. To address this need, Kellogg introduced the use of cereals, nuts and so-called meat substitutes to the menu at the San.

³⁶ Kellogg, *The Battle Creek Sanitarium System*, 13.

Kellogg began his experiments with cereals (which he advocated for use during both breakfast *and* dinner) in the late 1870s, crafting a mixture of well-baked grains and oats. A strikingly similar product was first developed and sold in 1863 by James Caleb Jackson, the owner of the Our Home health reform hospital after which the San was originally modeled. Jackson's cereal—called granula—was a mixture of Graham flour, water and grains that was rolled out into a sheet of dough, baked in a brick oven and broken into small bits. Granula was sold through the Our Home Granula Company, which marketed the breakfast food as well as a coffee substitute made of bran and molasses called Somo. The dryness of the cereal made it less than desirable for mass audiences. The cereal needed to re-hydrate with milk in order to be edible, a process that took a minimum of twenty minutes, though many let the cereal soak in the icebox overnight. In an increasingly fast-paced world, the time it took for granula to re-hydrate made it an undesirable breakfast option.³⁷

In 1877 J.H. Kellogg developed his own version of granula, made of ground pieces of zwieback—hard, sweetened bread—and a variety of grains. To avoid legal problems upon selling the product outside of the San, Kellogg changed the name to “granola” and lectured to his denizens that it was amongst the most natural and easily digestible foods.³⁸ Even though Kellogg had softened his version of granula considerably, it was still difficult to chew, particularly for those with dental problems. As a result, Kellogg undertook the task of developing softer, more porous cereal products that would soak up milk instantaneously. During this time Kellogg invented a prototype

³⁷ Andrew F. Smith, *Eating History: Thirty Turning Points in the Making of American Cuisine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 142.

³⁸ John Harvey Kellogg, “The Natural Diet of Man,” JHKP Box 3, Folder 23 (16 April 1900): 1-2.

for what would become corn flakes. The products invented in the San's experimental kitchen were served daily to the institute's residents. With Kellogg's emphasis on lifestyle change both inside and outside of the San, a market was growing that clamored for Battle Creek's health foods to be available year round. The San's reputation continued to grow, intriguing consumers throughout the United States about the benefits of the Kellogg diet.

In addition to cereals, Kellogg expanded vegetarian diets with his emphasis on the use of nuts. Previous generations of vegetarians eschewed the use of nuts in daily diet, viewing the hard-shelled fruits as difficult to digest and of little nutritional value. Kellogg, however, understood the advantages of utilizing nuts as a non-flesh protein in a vegetarian diet. Nuts were most advantageous, according to Kellogg, as a meat alternative because they served "as substitutes for harmful, disease-producing foods, and especially as food remedies of incalculable value in medical dietetics." Nuts were a natural meat alternative, "nearly equivalent in blood-making qualities to a pound and a quarter of beefsteak." Fresh nuts were healthier than flesh meat, containing "more than 50 per cent of a most assimilable fat" for energy and muscle production, the "best food for strength." Nuts restored the dyspeptic and convalescent, and were "adapted to the athlete no less than to the delicate babe, to the sedentary and sickly no less than to the toiler with pick or sledge hammer."³⁹

Kellogg's advocacy for nuts embodied a shift in the nature of vegetarianism prompted by activities of the San. Previous generations of vegetarians singularly assailed all of the qualities of flesh foods as physically, morally and emotionally destructive.

³⁹ "Sanitas Nut Preparations and Specialties" (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Co., 1898): 2; "The Best Food for Strength," *The Nut Cracker* 1, no. 1 (July 1900): 13.

While Kellogg followed a similar method in arguing for a vegetarian diet, he also broadened his appeal by accepting the standardization of meat diets for most Americans, even accepting that it had beneficial qualities. Kellogg recognized that meat had muscle and energy building capabilities. The doctor abhorred the sensual excess that meat placed on the digestive system, but also understood a basic precept of why meat remained so popular; it tasted good. Nuts, he argued, had the flavor and muscle building properties that made meat a part of the average diet, but without the health risks caused by tainted meat. The new marketing popularized nuts to wide markets and dramatically changed public opinion. In July 1899, the *Chicago Tribune* credited vegetarians directly with the proliferation of the popularity of nuts for every day use.⁴⁰

Contrary to previous generations, Kellogg promoted vegetarianism while also accepting society's widely held beliefs about meat. Kellogg argued for vegetarianism because it was actually *more* effective than meat in building muscular, healthy bodies while offering a varied and complex flavor profile. Malted nuts, for example, were "equal to one pound and a quarter of beefsteak in blood and tissue-making qualities" and "equal in total nutritive value to three and a half pounds of the best beef or mutton." Kellogg positioned nuts as "the vegetable analogue of meat" but were actually "a more perfect nutrient than meat, as they are capable of sustaining human life for an indefinite period."⁴¹

Nuts were utilized in a variety of forms, including as butter, a product first popularized at the San. Advertisements selling the San's nut butter via mail order

⁴⁰ "Nut Grows in Favor," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 July 1899, pg. 39.

⁴¹ "The Best Food for Strength," *The Nut Cracker* 1, no. 1 (July 1900): 7, 14.

emphasized that it was “free from the disease germs and bacteria of dairy butter.”

Nut butter was not only safer than its dairy-based cousin; it was more versatile, appealing to all audiences, a “perfect food” that was “popular for receptions, picnics, and luncheons.”⁴² Kellogg’s marketing efforts promoting nuts as a meat alternative made headway amongst both vegetarians and non-vegetarians alike—during this time period, the edible portion of a nut was referred to in popular jargon as the “meat.”⁴³

At the same time that the San promoted nuts, Kellogg developed the first products marketed specifically as vegetable-friendly meat substitutes that had flesh-like qualities. In early 1896 Kellogg began a correspondence with Dr. Charles W. Dabney, the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Agriculture. Kellogg’s popularity had reached the notice of politicians and key decision makers. Dabney was a trained agricultural chemist and long time advocate of continued rural development in industrial America, especially in the New South. In particular Dabney was consumed with finding ways to make food products that were cheap and abundant, fearing the consequences of the growing price of meat and the potential for disease to cause a shortage in the United States.

Dabney was impressed by Kellogg’s reputation and sought assistance in developing “a scientifically prepared plant product affording all the essential nutrient qualities of beef or mutton. . . a food product which might be safely employed as an alternative for meats.”⁴⁴ Kellogg was also interested in crafting a meat alternative that

⁴² “Sanitas Nut Butter,” *The Nut Cracker* 1, no. 1 (July 1900): 16.

⁴³ Ibid. 14. For examples of the use of the term “nut meat” in non-vegetarian publications, see Fanny Merritt Farmer, *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1896), 449; Frank Oliver Carpenter, *Foods and Their Uses* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1905), 77; “The Food Value of Nuts” *Good Housekeeping* 37, no. 4 (October 1903): 360.

⁴⁴ “Notes and Memoranda, Diet,” JHKP, Box 8, Folder 5.

appealed to consumers' ethics, economics and taste, and immediately went to work to develop flesh substitutes in the experimental kitchen. A total of nine meat substitutes were invented and immediately prepared for the San's guests. Nuttose, the first substitute invented by Kellogg, was a mixture of ground up nuts bound together by cereal grains. It was, as explained by Kellogg's wife E.E., "intended as a substitute for meat. . . having nearly twice the nutritive value, while it furnishes the same elements and in a form. . . wholly free from the objectionable features of meat."⁴⁵ Soon after, Kellogg concocted granose, a wheat-based biscuit that could be utilized as faux-filet of beef.

Protose and the Sanitas Nut Company

The San continued expanding in size and popularity, able to accommodate over two thousand residents at a time by the turn of the twentieth century.⁴⁶ Guests poured into Battle Creek, subsisting on a diet of meat substitutes, while clamoring for the products to be available in their lives at home. J.H. Kellogg was happy to oblige, organizing the Sanitas Nut Company with his brother Will Keith (W.K.) in 1898. The Sanitas Company marketed a variety of the San's products, including granola, zwiebacks, nuts and nut butters to vegetarians around the United States.

The products were available via mail order, an increasingly popular form of consumption that challenged the dry goods wholesaler's dominance by the end of the century. Large mail order companies like Montgomery Ward & Co. helped hasten an era

⁴⁵ E.E. Kellogg, *Every-Day Dishes and Every-Day Work* (Battle Creek, MI: Modern Medicine Publishing Company, 1897), 149.

⁴⁶ Kellogg, *The Battle Creek System*, 13.

of mass consumption, a trend that Kellogg's vegetarian business exploited.⁴⁷ In addition to mail order, numerous health food stores throughout the United States became authorized dealers of the San's products, furthering the availability of vegetarian products.⁴⁸ Through the consumption of these products vegetarians helped define their group identity, forming an expanded community based on their relationship to meat substitutes.⁴⁹

The marketing of meat substitutes and other Sanitarium health foods reflected popular practices of brand promotion of new food products during this time period. Food products began to be marketed nationwide, leading to the growth of such famed brand names as Heinz, the National Biscuit Company (later Nabisco) and Pillsbury. These national brands built loyalty through promises of quality control as consumers began to trust marketing campaigns over the opinions of local retailers.⁵⁰ Products were also often associated with the principles of scientific cookery and the practitioners of food experimentation, similar to Kellogg's work in the San's kitchen.⁵¹ Catalogues,

⁴⁷ Walter A. Friedman, *Birth of a Salesman: The Transformation of Selling in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 86-7.

⁴⁸ Sanitarium food stores appear to have proliferated from coast-to-coast by 1908, and can be found in: "Battle Creek Sanitarium Health Food Depot, Springfield, Mass.," *Good Health* (August 1906); *The Vegetarian Magazine* 11, no. 9 (February 1908): 32; "Health Foods," *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (Washington, D.C.: R.L. Polk and Company, 1908): 104; *San Francisco-Oakland Directory* (San Francisco: Walter S. Fry Co.), 100, 434. The stores were not owned by Kellogg, but were approved distributors of Battle Creek Sanitarium products.

⁴⁹ Nan Enstad illustrated how workingwomen utilized dime novels and fashion to build an identity of "working ladyhood." Similarly, vegetarians built an identity of productive vegetarianism through these new products. See, Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

⁵⁰ Nancy Fowler Koehn, *Brand New: How Entrepreneurs Earned Consumers' Trust From Wedgwood to Dell* (Boston: Harvard Business School Publishing, 2001), 98-9.

⁵¹ Laura Shapiro, *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008), 182-3.

periodical advertisements and cookbooks were all utilized to market meat substitutes as healthy, filling and affordable cuisine, lending credence to the San's national brand.

With the onset of the San's health food business, products became available to both those who visited the San, as well as individuals who could not afford the trip but wanted to bring a little bit of Battle Creek into their own household. Nuttose was marketed as having the "gustatory and nutritive processes almost identical with those of choice meats." An advertisement reported on one Nuttose enthusiast from New York City who enjoyed the thrill of eating meat substitutes as a type of forbidden fruit, remarking that, "It tastes like all the naughty things, but has the advantage of being digestible and wholesome." Nuttose had the taste and sensation of meat without the health and ethical implications.⁵²

Protose, however, set the standard for meat substitutes at the turn of the twentieth century. A combination of wheat gluten, cereal and peanut butter, Protose cans were sold in twelve ounce or one-pound tin cans and were marketed to consumers as "vegetable meat."⁵³ By 1912 Protose was widely available and consumed throughout the United States, with shipments of more than 144,000 pounds around the country, doubling from 1901.⁵⁴ Protose was cheaper than canned meats, selling at thirty cents for a one-pound can in 1912, five cents less than a comparable sized canned meat.⁵⁵ This attribute was

⁵² "Sanitas Nut Preparations and Specialties" (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Co., 1898): 2 in *SNFCA*.

⁵³ Lenna Frances Cooper, *The New Cookery: A Book of Recipes, Most of Which Are In Use at the Battle Creek Sanitarium* (Battle Creek, MI: The Good Health Publishing Co., 1913), 307.

⁵⁴ Herbert Confield Lust, *United States Interstate Commerce Commission, Supplemental Digest of Decisions Under the Interstate Commerce Act* (Chicago: The Traffic Law Book Company, 1914), 154.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

emphasized when marketing the vegetable meat, particularly at meat eaters looking to save money. One industrious, Washington D.C. based company attempted to capitalize on the growing trend started by the San and took its name to the dichotomous yet logical conclusion based on vegetarianism's culinary and social shift. The Vegetarian Meat Company sold products across the United States including nut-based meat substitutes, peanut butter and peanut oil.⁵⁶

The product's success led Secretary Dabney to reflect that Protose was not only "widely known," but was "manufactured and used in the leading civilized countries in the world."⁵⁷ Meat analogs were in widespread enough use that the Interstate Commerce Commission introduced a new classification item called "meat substitutes" in 1910, to regulate the shipment of such products. Vegetable meats received the same classification as prepared, canned vegetables, and not canned meats, as its proponents desired.⁵⁸

The methods utilized to market Protose by the Sanitas company illustrate a significant shift in the nature of vegetarian identity. Protose was described as being "one of the latest and greatest triumphs of modern discovery. . .so closely resembling meat in appearance, flavor, and texture as almost to deceive an epicure." The product was labeled vegetable meat that resembled the composition of beef or mutton.⁵⁹ Consumers even reported that Protose "looks and tastes a good deal like what we call beef loaf, or a

⁵⁶ "Vegetarian Meat Company," *Boston City Directory, 1910* (Boston: Sampson & Murdock Company, 1910) 2792; *Washington D.C. City Directory, 1911* (Washington D.C.: R.L. Polk & Co., 1911): 1426.

⁵⁷ "Notes and Memoranda, Diet," JHKP, Box 8, Folder 5.

⁵⁸ *Interstate Commerce Commission Reports: Decisions 26* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1913): 612-13.

⁵⁹ Sanitas Nut Company, *The Nut Cracker* 1, no. 1 (July 1900): 11, 18.

loaf made from chopped or ground meat.”⁶⁰ Protose was advised for all meals, as a substitute for breakfast meats, steaks and even for picnic sandwiches.⁶¹

The vegetable meat so closely resembled meat in all ways that epicures reported having difficulties believing that Protose was not, in fact, real meat.⁶² Civil War hero and American Red Cross organizer Clara Barton provided a testimonial for Protose, explaining that she was not “accustomed to subscribing my name to any manufactured product” but would “gladly do so in this instance.” Barton described Sanitas products as being “choice, appetizing, wholesome foods, very pleasant to the palate and exceedingly rich in nutrients and sustaining properties.”⁶³

In a development that surely would have turned the stomachs and spirits of Sylvester Graham, William Alcott and other proto-vegetarian luminaries, the developers of Protose proudly boasted that it “Looks like meat, tastes like meat, smells like meat.” However, unlike previous generations of American meat abstainers, Kellogg had more varied motivations. Kellogg was on a philosophical crusade to gain converts to the vegetarian cause because he truly believed it to be most beneficial. Just as important, however, were financial considerations. At the turn-of-the-twentieth century the Battle Creek Sanitarium was a wild success in terms of popularity. The institute—as an arm of the Adventist Church—was established as a non-profit, charitable, religious

⁶⁰ “Substitute for Beefsteak and Lean Meat in General,” *The Nut Cracker* 1, no. 4 (January 1901): 56.

⁶¹ *The Literary Digest* 19, no. 15 (1 July 1899): 26; “Advertisement 24,” *Forum* 27 (August 1899): 10.

⁶² *The Literary Digest* 19, no. 18 (28 October 1899): 537.

⁶³ “Advertisement 36,” *The Independent* 40, no. 2638 (29 June 1899): 1720.

organization.⁶⁴ Yet there *was* a large profit to be made in the building of the Battle Creek Sanitarium brand. Kellogg carefully avoided combining his Sanitas work with the San, placing his brother as the health food company's president. Despite this logistical mirage, the Sanitas Company was sure to advertise that their products were proven beneficial because of their use at the San.

The promotion and marketing of these new vegetarian foods fit perfectly within a new product-driven society, labeled by one historian as being “preoccupied with consumption, with comfort and bodily well-being, with luxury, spending, and acquisition, with more goods this year than last, more next year than this.”⁶⁵ Visitors thronged to department stores and ordered products via mail order catalogues, seeking validation and improvement through the latest and greatest products. Vegetarians experienced a similar shift during this time period, visiting the San, purchasing meat substitutes, and seeking other health foods as a vehicle toward personal gratification and advancement.

Meat Substitutes and Vegetarian Cookery

The growth of the Sanitas Nut Food Company and its marketing of the San's meatless fare changed the very nature of vegetarian diet and thought in the late nineteenth century. This shift continued through the early decades of the twentieth century. Vegetarians no longer relied solely on fruits, vegetables and grains, but also had the ability to add cereals, nuts and meat substitutes to their growing list of preferred foods. In response to the growth of the San, the invention of meat alternatives and a general

⁶⁴ Kellogg, *The Battle Creek System*, 28.

⁶⁵ William Leach. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), xii.

growth of American vegetarianism, a proliferation of vegetarian cookbooks hit the literary market in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The explosion of vegetarian cookbooks illustrated important qualities of the new vegetarian movement. First, the propagation of cookbooks reflected a general growth in the size of the vegetarian movement during this period, connected to Kellogg and the popularity of the San. Second, just as Kellogg found a way to commoditize vegetarianism through mail order, cookbook authors (some vegetarian, others not) sought to make money by spreading vegetarian information and recipes. Despite these individualized motivations, the growth of meatless cookbooks cultivated and connected a geographically disparate American vegetarian community.

A logical source began the inclusion of meat substitutes in vegetarian cookbooks. Ella Kellogg, J.H.'s wife and accomplice in the experimental kitchen, began publishing a series of cookbooks that spread awareness of Sanitas products, while also instructing home cooks on how to best prepare unfamiliar dishes. Her first cookbook, entitled *Science in the Kitchen*, aimed to promote the San's particular vegetarian regimen. The book emphasized the scientific rationale behind vegetarianism, proven by "observation, research, and experience." Reflecting the ordered, rationalized working ethos of the time, this "new cookery" was promised to "bring order from out the confusion. . . which surrounds the average cook, by the elucidation of the principles which govern the operations of the kitchen."⁶⁶

⁶⁶ In the cookbook, the kitchen is referred to as a "workshop" further illustrating its connections to rationalization. Ella Eaton Kellogg, *Science in the Kitchen* (Chicago: Modern Medicine Publishing Company, 1893), 4-5. The emphasis on ordered efficiency reflected the rise of so-called "scientific management" advocated most notably by business management consultant Frederick Winslow Taylor. On Taylorism see Robert Kanigel, *The One Best Way: Frederick Winslow Taylor and the Enigma of Efficiency*

The cookbook offered practical tips on understanding the chemical properties of food, the use of kitchen equipment, cooking techniques and the negative effects of intemperance. Nutritious food was necessary, but so were proper techniques to render “good food material more digestible.” In a time of vast technological advancement, the Kelloggs’ new cookery emphasized science and machinery to optimize food’s nutritional value, in the same way that the San accomplished in its experimental kitchen. Recipes promoted the use of fresh vegetables, fruits, nuts and cereals for a well-balanced, healthy diet.

Ella Kellogg continued her work on the subject, writing a more detailed cookbook four years later in 1897. In *Every-Day Dishes and Every-Day Work*, Kellogg illustrated how a vegetarian diet could be seamlessly integrated into home life. Recipes in the book were chosen for their economic and culinary value, “substantial dishes suited upon the every-day bill of fare in the average home.” Many of the recipes included were taken from experiments carried out in the San’s experimental kitchen, enjoyed by guests and scientifically proven to be nutritious.⁶⁷ The cookbook was part of the Kelloggs’ attempt at bringing the San’s methods into general practice inside private homes. The San’s products—as sold by the recently re-named Battle Creek Sanitarium Health Food Company—were essential components of living a healthy, happy lifestyle at home.

The cookbook emphasized scientific methods, noting the nutritional values of all food products as a means to promote the benefits of fruits and vegetables over meat. A

(Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005); Daniel Nelson, *Frederick W. Taylor and the Rise of Scientific Management*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980).

⁶⁷ Ella Eaton Kellogg, *Every-Day Dishes and Every-Day Work: A Collection of Choice Recipes for Preparing Foods, with Special Reference to Health* (Battle Creek, MI: Modern Medicine Publishing Company, 1897), 3.

section on how to prepare the variety of meat substitutes available at the San, through mail order and at health food stores provided vegetarian cooks with the best methods concocted in the experimental kitchen. Granola was advised as a breakfast dish, but could also be utilized as a substitute for bread crumbs in a dish of scalloped vegetables. Granose was advantageous because it was assimilated into the body “with the smallest amount of labor on the part of the digestive organs.” In addition, the wheat extract could be utilized to cure a variety of ailments ranging from indigestion to chronic constipation. Granose was best utilized in puddings, breads and biscuits.⁶⁸

A variety of meat substitutes were highlighted as both healthy and appetizing. Crystal wheat—a concentrated wheat grain that required re-hydration—when combined and baked with tomatoes, lentils, peanut butter and sage made a sumptuous vegetable roast. Wheat gluten—an insoluble form of starchless wheat flour dough—was particularly useful for infants as gruel, or could be combined with stewed tomatoes as a savory, warm dinner.⁶⁹ Nuttose—the original meat substitute—could “be prepared and served in the same manner as the various forms of flesh food.” When diced with potatoes, Nuttose made a hearty stew. The cutlets could even be sliced thinly and used as a meat substitute on a sandwich. The San’s products were marketed as being as versatile as they were tasty.

In *Healthful Cookery*, published in 1904, Ella expanded on the number of meat substitutes and their uses. Flesh had dietary value, primarily in the fat and protein

⁶⁸ Ibid., 140-3.

⁶⁹ Of all the Kellogg meat substitutes, wheat gluten—often known as seitan—has remained most popular amongst vegetarians. Kellogg did not invent the dietary use of wheat gluten; it was long used in a variety of Asian cuisines. He was, however, the first to market it as a meat substitute in the United States, though in a granulated, dry form. For more on the modern use of seitan, see Jill Nussinow, “Seitan — The Vegetarian Wheat Meat,” *The Vegetarian Journal* (March/April 1996).

elements that it supplied. However, since meat was morally and physically objectionable, vegetable substitutions for flesh foods were necessary to replace “these important food elements.” Nuts, rice and legumes were valuable in any complete diet. However, products that were easily digestible and could approximate the taste of meat were necessary. Protose was “the perfect substitute for flesh food” with more nutritional value than beef or mutton. The “vegetable meat” could be broiled with tomatoes, the same way one would cook a beefsteak. When cooked in a high temperature oven covered in tin, a Protose steak was produced. Combined with nuts, eggs and wheat flour, Protose could be manipulated into a mock hamburger steak. For more elaborate dinners it was even possible to mix lentils with granola, walnuts and gluten and enjoy a so-called vegetable turkey.⁷⁰

As the San’s products continued to grow in popularity, vegetarian cookbooks highlighting meat substitutes—but not aligned with the institute—published recipes on how to best prepare mock meat. E.G. Fulton’s 1904 cookbook *Substitutes for Flesh Foods* provided instruction on cooking dishes utilizing Protose, Nuttose and other analogues. The author had expertise in the subject having “experience conducting vegetarian restaurants in several cities and making a study of the food question.” The cookbook was based on “the commonly accepted definition of the term vegetarianism, which means to abstain from flesh food, but allows the use of eggs, milk, and its products.”⁷¹ Fulton’s cookbook provided instructions on how to braise Protose, mash it

⁷⁰ Ella Eaton Kellogg, *Healthful Cookery: A Collection of Choice Recipes for Preparing Foods* (Battle Creek, MI: Modern Medicine Publishing Company, 1904), 72-5, 84.

⁷¹ E.G. Fulton, *Vegetarian Cook Book: Substitutes for Flesh Foods* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Company, 1904), 4.

into a cutlet, bake it with macaroni and include it in a jambalaya.⁷² Vegetarianism, once reliant upon basic, bland preparation of a small variety of vegetables, was becoming far more appealing, even gourmet in its diversity. With the right preparation and creativity, Protose and other fake meats could be utilized to replicate the taste, flavor and consistency of beef, chicken, turkey and even seafood.⁷³

Other vegetarian cookbooks of the era emphasized the use of meat substitutes. *Practical Vegetarian Cookery*, published in 1897, advised home cooks on how to prepare a variety of vegetarian meals. Meat substitutes were perfect for simple, every day dining as well as elaborate, formal dinners for friends. The book advised home cooks to utilize breadcrumbs soaked in oil as a substitute for beef fat, nuts as a replacement for flesh foods and nut butters to create rich gravies.⁷⁴ Henrietta Latham Dwight—a watercolor painter and California-based advocate for vegetarianism—published a cookbook a year later in 1898, aiming to provide recipes for those who had adopted a “bloodless diet” and “are still asking how they can be nourished without flesh.”⁷⁵ *The Golden Age Cook-Book* included recipes for a variety of meat substitutes, such as mock chicken (made of

⁷² Ibid., 87-8.

⁷³ For example, the cookbook claimed that a combination of milk, farina, tomatoes, eggs, nuttolene and eggplant would taste like salmon filets. Protose combined with nuttolene, milk, potatoes, nuts and eggs would craft a mock chicken pie. Fulton, 67, 102.

⁷⁴ *Practical Vegetarian Cookery*, ed. The Countess Constance Wachtmaster, Kate Buffington Davis. (San Francisco: Mercury Publishing, Co., 1897), 160.

⁷⁵ Latham Dwight studied under the famed California water colorist Christian Jorgensen, and her paintings focused on scenic California coastal life. Gordon T. McClelland and Jay T. Last, *California Watercolors: 1850-1970* (Santa Ana, CA: Hillcrest Press, 2002); Roger Dunbier, *The Artists Bluebook* FTP Address: <http://www.askart.com/askart/artist.aspx?artist=124534>.

walnuts, breadcrumbs, eggs and lemon juice), mock clam soup (marrowfat beans and cream) and mock beef (breadcrumbs, eggs, walnuts and onion juice).⁷⁶

Vegetarian food preparation was positioned as being both “a science as well as an art.” In *The Practical Naturopathic-Vegetarian Cook Book*, Louise Lust—co-owner of The Health Food Bakery in New York City at 105th Street and Park Avenue—emphasized meat substitutes as both economical and healthful. Protose was quick, easy and convenient to prepare, able to be pared with a variety of sauces and vegetables. However, in stark contrast to vegetarianism’s past—which questioned traditional gender roles and sought to emancipate women from the kitchen—the new vegetarianism glorified women’s domestic role. Lust noted that, “Good housekeeping is the science of composing perfect cleanliness with economy and comfort” and that “the woman who has the aptitude as well as the fondness for cooking may make herself almost any kind of a success as a cook.”⁷⁷

Vegetarianism and faux meats were gaining recognition outside of the health food community. Meat substitutes were popular enough that one of the era’s foremost authorities on cooking and the domestic sciences authored her own meat substitute cookbook. Sarah Tyson Rorer—known as Mrs. Rorer to her throngs of readers—authored over seventy-five cookbooks and cooking manuals during her prolific working years. Mrs. Rorer ran a cooking school in Philadelphia for eighteen years and was the editor of *Table Talk* magazine, while writing for other domestic, household publications.

⁷⁶ Henrietta Latham Dwight, *The Golden Age Cook-Book* (New York: The Alliance Publishing Company, 1898), 5, 45-6, 50.

⁷⁷ Louise Lust, *The Practical Naturopathic-Vegetarian Cook Book: Cooked and Uncooked Foods* (New York: Benedict Lust, N.D., 1907), 9, 13-4.

She was one of the most respected and admired voices of cookery at the turn of the twentieth century. Rorer's writings promoted healthy lifestyles, yet she was no vegetarian. However, the continually growing vegetarian movement attracted Mrs. Rorer's attention.⁷⁸

Rorer's vegetarian domestic guide promised to illustrate how to cook three meatless meals a day without meat, using "vegetables with meat value. Vegetables to take the place of meat." *Mrs. Rorer's Vegetable Cookery and Meat Substitutes* explained that a practical vegetarian recipe book was necessary given society's overindulgence in flesh foods that "left us as a reminder much sickness and sorrow." Whereas other vegetarian cookbooks provided unappealing and taste-free dishes, Mrs. Rorer's cookbook aimed to provide creative, diverse and flavorful vegetarian recipes.⁷⁹

The cookbook included an entire chapter on items to be used "in the place of meat." Sausages could be made with farina, pecans and breadcrumbs. Lentils combined with breadcrumbs and peanuts comprised a mock veal roast. Hominy grits mixed together with nuts, eggs, onion and parsley could be baked into a mock fish filet. Rorer's recipes offered complex flavors, introducing such seemingly "exotic" spices as red chilies, turmeric, curry powder and paprika.⁸⁰ Vegetarian cuisine had shifted significantly from its roots in bran bread and cold water. Rorer and other cookbook

⁷⁸ Barbara Haber, *From Hardtack to Home Fries: An Uncommon History of American Cooks and Meals* (New York: The Free Press, 2002), 59.

⁷⁹ Sarah Tyson Rorer, *Mrs. Rorer's Vegetable Cookery and Meat Substitutes* (Philadelphia: Arnold & Company, 1909), i, v.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 18, 42-6, 66, 136.

authors illustrated the full range of culinary options available to vegetarians. Just because the group made dietary choices did not require those decisions to be bland.⁸¹

The press, too, caught onto the rising popularity of meat substitutes and extolled their virtues as cheap, nutritious alternatives. The *Chicago Tribune*—a harsh critic of vegetarianism in previous generations—proclaimed mock meats in June of 1902 to have solved the “meat problem.” The article extolled Kellogg as the “hardest and most persistent worker” that the author had ever met, a “living example of the superiority of a vegetarian over a meat diet.” With the cost of meat “so high as to make it an expensive luxury even to the well-to-do-classes,” the writer had come to prefer meat substitutes to actual flesh. These “temptingly prepared” foods were created by the “scientific investigations” of the San, utilizing rationalization to perfect nature’s vegetable foods.⁸²

The *Tribune* continued supporting mock meats in the early twentieth century, frequently advising readers how to prepare meatless recipes. Caroline Shaw Maddocks—known as Jane Eddington to her readers—was a syndicated *Tribune* columnist and dietician whose culinary advice appeared in newspapers throughout the United States.⁸³ Eddington emphasized flavorful and thrifty home cooking in her columns, frequently providing both vegetarian and non-vegetarian readers with techniques and recipes for utilizing mock meats. Homemade vegetarian sausage could easily be made with dried

⁸¹ For other examples, see also Ida C. Bailey Allen, *Mrs. Allen’s Book of Meat Substitutes* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1918); Eugene Christian, *250 Meatless Menus and Recipes to Meet the Requirements of People Under the Varying Conditions of Age, Climate and Work* (New York: Mollie Griswold Christian, 1910) and Maud Russell Lorraine Sharpe Freshel, *The Golden Rule Cook Book: Six Hundred Recipes for Meatless Dishes* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1910).

⁸² R.S.T., “The Solving of the Meat Problem,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 5, 1902, pg. 7.

⁸³ John William Leonard, *Woman’s Who’s Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada, 1914-1915* (New York: The American Commonwealth Co., 1914), 533.

lentils or beans combined with breadcrumbs, spices and hard-boiled eggs.⁸⁴

Eddington advised eggplants as a suitable meat substitute, versatile in its possible uses.⁸⁵

In addition, macaroni, rice and eggs were all suitable meat substitutes for those who were morally or economically opposed to a carnivorous diet.⁸⁶

In October of 1904, the *San Francisco Call* offered vegetarianism as a solution to a possible meat famine. One article explained that “vegetarianism. . .has of late received a great stimulus. . .establishing a new order of things on a more economical and truly more helpful basis.” Meat substitutes including legumes, nuts and faux-meat cutlets were not only cheaper, but also more appealing than previous vegetarian fare.⁸⁷ The *Washington Times* in the same year reported glowingly on the meatless meals offered by Mary Foote-Henderson, wife of Senator John Brooks Henderson of Missouri, co-author of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that abolished slavery. When entertaining Washington’s political elite, Foote-Henderson served a vegetarian banquet filled with a variety of meat substitutes. The article noted that the fake chicken croquettes and fish cakes were “practiced so skillfully” that high society was unable to discover that they were not eating meat.⁸⁸ The *New York Tribune* utilized the language of wealth and technology to further glorify meat substitutes, explaining that a mock fish

⁸⁴ Jane Eddington, “The World’s Cooks,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 11, 1913, pg. 13.

⁸⁵ Jane Eddington, “Economical Housekeeping,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 20, 1910, pg. 6.

⁸⁶ Jane Eddington, “Vegetable Souffles,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 11, 1917, pg. 10; “Beans Good Meat Substitute,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 13, 1917, pg. 14; “Economical Housekeeping,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 27, 1911, pg. 8; Jane Eddington, “The Tribune Cook Book,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 13, 1917, pg. 14.

⁸⁷ “If There Were a Meat Famine — What Then?” *San Francisco Call*, Oct. 16, 1904, pg. 23.

⁸⁸ “Meat Forms No Part of These Washington Banquets,” *The Washington Times*, March 13, 1904, pg. 3.

made of hominy grits, ground peanuts and eggs was a mark of “ingenuity,” while vegetarian sausages were “first-class.”⁸⁹ Popular consensus was shifting; vegetarianism, once decried as apocryphal and dangerous, was quickly becoming a plausible lifestyle choice for personal success.

Meat Substitutes and the Shifting of Vegetarian Culture

From its founding years through the 1860s, American vegetarianism was aligned with radical social critics of the status quo, individuals who hoped to overthrow institutions that oppressed African-Americans, women and the impoverished. Vegetarians during this time period ate simple, though filling meals of fruits, vegetables and grains in their most basic forms. However, with the growth of the San and its particular brand of vegetarianism, the lifestyle shifted in both substance and culinary method. The changes in social and culinary culture amongst vegetarians were intertwined and reflect the larger changes in the intellectual underpinnings of the movement. Vegetarianism through the Civil War emphasized the diet as a method to reform social injustice and was concentrated on American society at large. In contrast, the vegetarianism initiated by the San’s popularity was singularly focused upon the physical and medicinal benefits of the individual diet.

By 1900 the San was drawing large numbers of visitors looking for cures to a variety of illnesses. Ailments such as dyspepsia, consumption and constipation inhibited each individual’s ability to succeed socially, professionally and economically on a day-to-day basis. The San drew a mixed population of the wealthy and upper middle classes, those who could afford to both pay for residency and take time off from work for a

⁸⁹ “Mock Meats for Vegetarians,” *New York Tribune*, Sept. 19, 1909, pg. 18.

vacation. The San's most well known visitors over the years included Mary Todd Lincoln, William Howard Taft, Amelia Earhart, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Henry Ford, Alfred Dupont, Thomas Edison, William Jennings Bryan and George Bernard Shaw.⁹⁰

More importantly, however, were the droves of guests whose names are not familiar to history, all of whom participated in the growth of a new form of vegetarianism aimed at producing individual social advancement. In 1911, the San welcomed 5,035 patients, each of whom paid on average twelve dollars per visit.⁹¹ In the postbellum era with a growing middle class, vacations became more accessible and affordable thanks to the growth of the railroad as well as travel agencies. A stay at the San was a reasonably priced option, though in competition with other spas, health resorts, camping trips and other popular vacation spots.⁹²

A demographic analysis of the San's patients illustrates how representative visitors were of the new American socio-economic system. The majority of the San's visitors were married couples, paying on average around twenty-four dollars per stay. The largest single age group of visitors was between forty-six and fifty, nearly one-ninth of all visitors; older married couples with a certain level of economic stability and social

⁹⁰ Ibid., 57, 77, 78, 107, 141.

⁹¹ The length of stay at the San varied depending upon the illness being treated and the proscribed treatment plan. The price for a stay, therefore, was different for each patient, particularly depending upon the treatment plan (those necessitating surgery, for example, paid more than those given a prescription of fresh air and rest). The San brought in \$60,382 in accounts receivable in 1911. By dividing this number by the total number of residents, I arrived at the average cost of twelve dollars per person. *Annual Report of the Battle Creek Sanitarium and Hospital* (Battle Creek: The Sanitarium Publishing Company, 1912), 31.

⁹² Cindy Sondik Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 148-50; Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

stability.⁹³ On a more macro scale, over one-fifth of the Sans patients were between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five, younger, socially and economically mobile couples swept up in the new consumptive environment. Men and women were nearly equally represented at the San, reflective of the fact that the majority of its residents were married couples. Geographic diversity was also well represented on the San's grounds. Patients came from forty-five different states, plus Washington D.C. in 1911.⁹⁴

The occupations of the San's guests points towards participants in a new, urban, corporate economic culture with the financial resources and time to afford a vacation to Battle Creek. The most frequently held positions by the San's patients were components of a growing corporate, office environment that grew significantly in urban areas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The new corporate order not only ensured the rise of elite, wealthy business magnates, but also gave birth to a new middle class of white-collar managers, clerks and salespeople that helped drive a highly rationalized corporate culture.⁹⁵ Most of the San's patients belonged to this new middle class, individuals whose professional lives rewarded efficiency and structure, two qualities promised by the Battle Creek System. Vegetarianism was one component, promised to adherents as a means to increased productivity and health.

Though farmers were listed as the number one job category (240 residents), the vast majority of patients represented came from a variety of urban, business-oriented positions. While lawyers and doctors were well represented amongst the ten most

⁹³ The San's annual report broke residents up into age groups of five-year intervals.

⁹⁴ *Annual Report of the Battle Creek Sanitarium and Hospital*, 61.

⁹⁵ Olivier Zunz, *Making America Corporate, 1870-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

numerous positions, clerks, bankers, merchants, traveling salesman, manufacturers and real estate brokers comprised the majority. Reflecting the San's place in a society that emphasized stark, traditional gender roles, more than half of female residents were listed under the category of housewife.⁹⁶

The San's guests became part of a new vegetarian economy that expanded past the more than one month long stays in Battle Creek.⁹⁷ A new generation of vegetarians bought Kellogg's products through mail order and at health food stores throughout the United States, utilizing the recipes outlined in a variety of cookbooks that promoted meat substitutes. The Sanitarium brand expanded across the country, supported by Kellogg's books and publications, lecture tours, Battle Creek branded sanitariums and the opening of Battle Creek Sanitarium health food stores. Vegetarianism, as a result, was changing rapidly. By 1904 there were twenty-one sanitariums in twenty-one states that were "conducted under the same general management as the Sanitarium at Battle Creek." In addition, the Battle Creek method was adopted in sanitariums around the world, stretching as far as Guadalajara, Mexico, Kobe, Japan, Basel, Switzerland, New South Wales, Australia and Calcutta, India.⁹⁸

At the turn of the twentieth century the San could accommodate over 1,500 patients at a time. Guests clamored for Dr. Kellogg's care, hoping for fresh air, exercise and Protose cutlets. The physical expansion of the San led its original founders, the Whites, to question John Harvey's intentions. While the San was growing and was a

⁹⁶ Ibid., 62.

⁹⁷ Ibid. The average stay at the San in 1911 was thirty-one days for men and forty-one days for women.

⁹⁸ See, "Directory," *Modern Medicine* 13, no. 1 (January 1904): 24.

financial success, Adventist leaders saw the institute becoming too extravagant, a far cry from the principles it was created under. As a split between Kellogg and his patrons neared, further crisis occurred; on February 18, 1902, the San's main building and hospital burned to the ground under mysterious circumstances. Just over a year later the San was reconstructed with new, fireproof buildings that could accommodate one thousand patients and a staff of several hundred. Four years later Kellogg split for good from the Whites and the Adventist church in 1907, keeping control over the San and the Battle Creek Sanitarium Food Company's factory.

Further changes took place inside Kellogg's health empire. In 1906 his brother W.K. left the San after twenty-six years of employment. While working at the San, Will dealt primarily with business-related issues, administration and correspondence with guests. But the younger Kellogg was far more interested in making money via mail order. A bitter split occurred between the two brothers over the marketing of a newly developed breakfast that would come to be known as Corn Flakes. W.K. wanted to add sugar in order to make them desirable to the masses, while J.H. wanted to keep it a health food, free of sweeteners.

In 1906 W.K. left the San and started his own breakfast cereal company, laying the foundation for the iconic Kellogg Company that grew into a breakfast product behemoth by 1930. The split between the two brothers illustrated inherent tensions and contradictions that faced the vegetarian movement in the early years of the twentieth century. Thanks to the dedicated efforts of J.H. Kellogg, vegetarianism became a commercial success. However, that triumph helped intertwine vegetarianism with a growing consumptive culture, in the process disconnecting vegetarianism from its

previous politicized roots. J.H. attempted to keep some of his ideological purity, insisting that his products remain healthy. But for vegetarianism it was too late, the lifestyle once mocked and demeaned, started the process of being embraced by normative culture, in the process losing some of its distinctive independence and social concern.

Consumptive vegetarianism was a new form of meatless identity, far removed from its radically politicized roots concerned with the benefit of others. The ideology became intertwined with larger social forces and tensions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that emphasized personal health reform for the benefit and triumph of the individual in a society emphasizing social, economic and personal advancement. In the process vegetarianism shifted its political outlook as well in regards to reform, moving from communal to individual. Overwhelming social pressures to succeed and advance as individuals had dual implications for American vegetarianism. On one hand the new vegetarianism introduced the lifestyle to droves of individuals previously disinclined to change their diet. Simultaneously, however, the new influx of believers recapitulated the goals of vegetarianism away from its previous, communal concerns. One scholar of the Progressive Era has characterized the development of so-called “Clean Living Movements” as following a cycle of moral persuasion, coercion, criticism and eventual complacency.⁹⁹ Vegetarianism during the early Progressive Era, as evidenced by Kellogg’s San, emphasized persuasion through visits to the San and the marketing and consumption of vegetarian products. Coercion was the next step.

A new form of vegetarianism became so focused on the gospel of evangelical individualism that it aligned itself with prevailing racial ideologies of the day. J.H.

⁹⁹ Ruth C. Engs, *Clean Living Movements: American Cycles of Health Reform* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001), 5-7.

Kellogg became a leader of the newly formed Race Betterment Foundation in 1914, advocating for theories of eugenics in order to purify humanity away from crime, intemperance, disabilities and psychosis. The director of the San assailed public hygiene projects aimed at helping the impoverished and enfeebled as perpetuating weakness in the general population and thus further denigrating humanity.¹⁰⁰ At the foundation's first meeting Kellogg called for the establishment of a "new human race" unencumbered by the pitfalls of intemperate diet, alcohol and drug abuse. Pure, vegetarian food would help create pure, productive individuals.¹⁰¹

The most effective way to avoid the continuation of negative physical, intellectual and emotional traits, Kellogg argued, was to "prevent their multiplication" through legislation.¹⁰² Kellogg prompted the foundation to create a eugenics registry to collect hereditary information from families classified as either eugenically fit or unfit.¹⁰³ Other supporters of eugenics, including medical doctors Benjamin Grant Jefferis and James Lawrence Nichols, proposed the benefits of vegetarianism in building a clean, unpolluted race.¹⁰⁴ Just sixty years separated from the height of its radical, reformist ideology,

¹⁰⁰ Schwartz, 208-211.

¹⁰¹ The connection went further; starting as early as November 1907, the *American Journal of Eugenics*, the "only publication in the English language devoted to the important subject of race culture," began advertising in *The Vegetarian Magazine*, the national publication of the Vegetarian Society of America. See "The American Journal of Eugenics," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 11, no. 7 (November 1907): 26.

¹⁰² Race Betterment Foundation, *Proceedings of the first National Conference on Race Betterment* (Battle Creek: Race Betterment Foundation, 1914), 431, 537.

¹⁰³ Alexandra Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 53-54.

¹⁰⁴ B.G. Jefferis. and J.L. Nichols, *Search Lights on Health: Light on Dark Corners; A Complete Sexual Science and a Guide to Purity and Physical Manhood* (Atlanta: J.L. Nichols and Company, 1904), 459; .G. Jefferis. and J.L. Nichols, *Safe Counsel: The Science of Eugenics and Other Health Secrets* (Atlanta: J.L. Nichols and Company, 1919), 459.

vegetarianism's greatest advocate worked to legislate mass sterilization programs for those members of society that he deemed unworthy of procreation.¹⁰⁵

Conclusion

In the years following the Civil War, vegetarian identity shifted far away from its radical roots. Many of the issues that vegetarians fought for in the antebellum era—equal rights for African-Americans and women, as well as a more just economic system—continued to plague American society during Reconstruction and its immediate aftermath. And yet these issues were of little consequence to a new generation of vegetarians who were almost singularly focused on the benefits of dietary reform for themselves rather than society at large. John Harvey Kellogg's Battle Creek Sanitarium stood at the center of these changes, part of a rapidly expanding ethos of production and consumerism that swept through a society in the throws of mass industrialization.

A new generation of vegetarians venerated the benefits of meat substitutes that were purported to have higher nutritional value than meat, but exhibited a similar taste and consistency as flesh foods. By utilizing mock meats, vegetarians actually set meat as being the standard diet, one to be emulated though scientifically manipulated. Vegetarians still derided meat use, but accepted that flesh foods had positive aspects, particularly in terms of flavor and protein. Mock meats were marketed as having all of the taste advantages of meat with added nutritional value. Since products such as Protose and Nuttose were viewed as being "vegetable meats," vegetarians believed it was possible to morph non-flesh foods into something even better than their natural state—healthier than meat but with its advantageous protein-building properties. Mock meats

¹⁰⁵ J.H. Kellogg, "We Are A Dying Race," *The Medical Missionary* 19, no. 10 (November 1910) 315-319.

were marketed as being beneficial to both vegetarians and non-vegetarians alike; the use of meat substitutes was seen as a means to achieve recognition from the meat-eating world.

Vegetarians were actively changing their own identities and with it the very basic identity of vegetable foods. Meat substitutes created a more accommodationist perspective towards meat, reflecting a far less radical form of vegetarianism than what existed in the antebellum era when the movement was inextricably connected with radical politics. Earlier generations of vegetarians viewed such social developments with skepticism; the new, modern vegetarian embraced the competitive society that emphasized individual success and performance.

The older generation of vegetarians assailed meat and the corrupt, violent society they believed it helped produce. This world-view enabled vegetarians to join ideological alliances with abolitionists, women's suffragists and temperance reformers. The new generation of vegetarians—led by the ethos of J.H. Kellogg and the Battle Creek Sanitarium—sought to become successful members of a growing American, consumption-driven society that venerated the financially successful individual. The new vegetarians were more influenced by evangelical individualism and visited the San in order to cure a variety of illnesses that inhibited physical and economic health. When not visiting the San, these vegetarians became consumers of a growing health food industry that brought Battle Creek into homes throughout the United States.

Healthy bodies ensured productive bodies and minds; vegetarian consumers dined on Protose and other meat substitutes with the promise of enjoying an experience that approximated the desirable components of carnivorous living. These new, more

mainstream qualities of vegetarianism appealed to large audiences, as evidenced by the San and its products' popularity. Eating a vegetarian diet heavy in faux meat products best-prepared individuals for social and economic advancement. Purchasing these products helped move vegetarians away from reform concerned with the external, social effects of diet, to a fascination with the possibilities of personal empowerment through consumption. A new vegetarian identity was created, one far more tolerable to mainstream society. In the process vegetarians morphed into consumers, looking to purchase health, happiness and individual triumph in a tin can.

CHAPTER SIX

WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE A SUCCESSFUL VEGETARIAN?¹

*Vegetarianism is the ethical corollary of evolution. It is simply the expansion of ethics to suit the biological revelations of Charles Darwin.*²

—J. Howard Moore, *Why I am a Vegetarian*

American vegetarianism shifted significantly with the development of Kellogg's Battle Creek Sanitarium. However, the movement was not wholly disconnected from its past. The new vegetarianism attracted adherents thanks to a growing vegetarian population intent on transforming their diet to maximize vital strength, energy and productivity. The old veteran of the vegetarian movement, Henry S. Clubb, monitored these developments with great interest. Outside his brief desperation-laced dalliance with meat consumption while serving during the Civil War, Clubb's dedication to vegetarianism never waned. Following the war, Clubb moved to Grand Haven, Michigan where he founded the *Grand Haven Herald* newspaper in 1869, the area's first Republican daily. Clubb also became involved in local politics, serving as a Republican state senator from 1873 until 1874, as well as Secretary to the state's constitutional

¹ This is taken from an advertisement for a health food store appearing in the Vegetarian Society of America's magazine. "Berhalter's Health Food Store and Bakery," *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures* 14, no. 2 (October 1910): 90.

² J. Howard Moore, *Why I Am a Vegetarian: An Address Delivered Before the Chicago Vegetarian Society* (Chicago: Purdy Publishing, 1895), 19.

convention of 1873.³ Soon after, however, Clubb re-connected with his past and in the process moved back east.

During Clubb's years in Michigan his vegetarianism was personalized, lacking a larger community to conjoin with in the immediate area.⁴ Clubb was isolated from the east coast oriented, Bible Christian Church of which he was once a member, and instead spent his time in Grand Haven as an active member of the First Holland Dutch Reform Church.⁵ Clubb also faced financial pressures, as his newspaper failed to turn a profit and stared at the possibility of going bankrupt. The old veteran of the vegetarian movement was exploring his life options, ranging from the possibility of entering a seminary in Kalamazoo to enrolling as a medical student at J.H. Kellogg's newly christened Battle Creek Sanitarium and training school.⁶

Clubb was unsatisfied with his life in Michigan, beset by professional and financial difficulties. In the summer of 1876, Clubb traveled to Philadelphia to report on Philadelphia's Centennial Exhibition, the first world's fair held in the United States. Clubb sought to reconnect with his past, and tracked down Bible Christian attendees at

³ Henry S. Clubb, *Journal of the Constitutional Commission of Michigan* (Lansing, MI: W. S. George & Co, 1873), 8.

⁴ Clubb left Michigan in the summer of 1876, the same year that J.H. Kellogg took over as the Superintendent of the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

⁵ Henry S. Clubb Papers, hereafter referred to as HSCP, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Box 2, Folder 8. The folder includes a photo of Henry standing in front of the First Holland Dutch Reform Church.

⁶ Clubb corresponded with a variety of therapeutic colleges and religious training schools during this time, trying to figure out what direction his life should take. See, "Michigan Seminary to Henry S. Clubb," HSCP, Box 1, Folder 14; "J.H. Kellogg to Henry S. Clubb," 24 January 1877, HSCP, Box 1, Folder 14; Uriah Smith to Henry S. Clubb, 29 January 1877, HSCP, Box 1, Folder 14; "S.A. Reynolds to Henry S. Clubb," HSCP, Box 1, Folder 14.

the fair, as the church's elders had organized an exhibit on the sect.⁷ The Bible Christians were excited to see a member of the faithful returning to the church's hometown and immediately invited Clubb to conduct Sunday services. Clubb had always been an inspiring speaker; his years lecturing to the AVS and exhortations to potential colonists for the Kansas settlement had honed his oratorical skills. Apparently Clubb's talent had not waned during his years in Michigan. The Bible Christian congregation was so moved by Clubb's impassioned preaching that it offered him the full-time position of church pastor, the leader of the movement, early in 1877. Clubb was eager to re-establish an active connection with the Bible Christian and vegetarian communities and soon after accepted the church's offer.

The Coming of the Vegetarian Society of America

Since the dissolution of the American Vegetarian Society in 1862, American vegetarians had been without a national organization advocating for the principles of dietary reform. While the lack of a singular association did not mean that vegetarianism itself disappeared, it did ensure a fractured, transitional age for the movement. In the twenty-four years between organizations, vegetarianism shifted from a primarily communal and socially-conscious movement towards one that was more individualistic and internally focused. The new, personalized vegetarianism resonated with mass audiences, simultaneously growing and changing the nature of vegetarianism in the United States.

Clubb spent the early 1880s serving as the leader of the Bible Christian Church in Philadelphia. The group—despite dwindling numbers in comparison to its early years—

⁷ "Church of Vegetarians," *New York Times*, Oct. 13, 1895, pg. 25.

remained active vegetarians. Clubb served as the church's pastor, though he spent the early years of the decade largely disconnected from vegetarians outside of the community. This would, however, change. Even though vegetarian identity changed, long-time adherents like Clubb saw an opportunity to foment a more unified, national vegetarian movement.⁸

Clubb had experience working with both the British Vegetarian Society and the AVS, and believed in the power of local changes to spread nationally, as evidenced by the vegetarian anti-slavery experiment in Kansas. Philadelphia-based vegetarians under the guidance of Clubb established the Vegetarian Society of America (VSA) in June of 1886, with an eye to spread nationwide. A group of two hundred interested vegetarians initiated activities with a celebratory picnic in bucolic Alnwick Grove, about eleven miles outside of Philadelphia. Despite sporadic rain showers, the group celebrated vegetarian living with a sumptuous picnic of fruits, vegetables, pie, lemonade and chamber music provided by a pair of violinists and a harpist.

Following dinner, Clubb welcomed the gathered vegetarians and introduced Dr. J. Harvey Lovell, a prominent Philadelphia physician and vegetarian. Lovell expanded on the new ethos of vegetarianism, proclaiming that "Vegetarianism promises. . .the elevation of humanity, the eradication of disease and the preservation of health, the accumulation and enjoyments of wealth, for longevity and comfortable old age." A vegetable diet guaranteed health, happiness and a long, productive life. Letters were read from supporters throughout the United States, including Clubb's acquaintance and fellow vegetarian prophet, J.H. Kellogg.

⁸ *History of the Philadelphia Bible Christian Church*, 82.

Clubb was elected the organization's Chairman and Director General, having been a longtime vegetarian and having the most organizational management experience. Eighteen vice-presidents were named, each from different states, reflecting the organization's goal of emphasizing local vegetarian activities under the umbrella of a national organization. J. Harvey Lovell, a Philadelphia-based medical doctor, served as the group's first Treasurer. Robert J. Osborne, a recent British émigré to the United States and Bible Christian, was elected the organization's first Secretary. The group adopted a committee of seven (three women and four men) to prepare a plan of organization to be adopted at a forthcoming meeting in Philadelphia. Though the group sought gender inclusivity within the organization's executive committee, women rarely served in the society's top positions (only two women were elected to any of the three decision-making positions in the more than forty years of the group's existence, one of whom was Clubb's daughter Naomi). The group met for the second time in November of 1886 and formally established the Vegetarian Society of America, with the goal of building vegetarian communities and organizations throughout the United States.⁹

Food, Home and Garden

The VSA in its infancy remained a fairly localized organization, serving the needs of Philadelphia's sizeable vegetarian population. Annual picnics, monthly meetings and regular social gatherings in the homes of Philadelphia's vegetarian class were held throughout the year. Meeting at Dr. Lovell's residence in March of 1887, the group listened to a letter from William Penn Alcott, son of vegetarianism's early advocate

⁹ "The Founding of the Vegetarian Society of America," *Dietetic Reformer and Vegetarian Messenger* (September 1886): 279-81; *History of the Philadelphia Bible Christian Church*. . ., 176-8, 189.

William. Alcott reported that he traveled throughout the world, from Greenland to Africa and had done so successfully without ingesting even a shred of flesh. Thanks to vegetarianism he was able to work harder and more effectively than meat eaters, never missing a day due to illness. Alcott optimistically reported that he saw the future, and it “belongs to the Vegetarians.”¹⁰

In its early years the VSA worked to grow within Philadelphia. Soon after, however, the group looked outside of the city and attempted to further bridge American vegetarian identity across state boundaries. In April of 1889 the VSA began publishing *Food, Home and Garden*, its monthly magazine of vegetarian news, ideology and cookery. The publication began as a small pamphlet of just eight pages, but doubled in size to sixteen just a year later in 1890.

At the same time that the new VSA was growing in Philadelphia, another sizable, localized vegetarian association began formulating in an area that was both simultaneously logical and surprising. Chicago had long been the center of the meatpacking industry in the United States following the opening of the Union Stockyard in 1865. Meat packers such as Philip Armour built packing plants near the stockyards, innovating technologies to allow for year-round packing and ease of transport. By the turn of the twentieth century, Chicago employed more than one-third of the nation’s total packinghouse employees, processing 75,000 cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300,000 hogs per day.¹¹

¹⁰ *Vegetarian Messenger* (April 1889): 105.

¹¹ James R. Barrett, *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1894–1922* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 18-19.

With Chicago sitting triumphantly as the “hog butcher for the world” at first glance it would seem like a curious location to become a hub of vegetarian activities.¹² However, the full environmental and social repercussions of the development of Packingtown help explain why Chicago developed a thriving vegetarian community. For those working in the meat packing industry, the Back of the Yards was filled with poverty and pollution. Further, the environmental impact of the meatpacking district effected Chicagoans both in and around the area. The overwhelming smell of flesh and entrails created a wafting aroma famously described by novelist Upton Sinclair as smelling like the “craters of hell.”¹³ Those same maleficent odors were blown by the wind throughout the city, producing what one reporter described as a snake-like effect of “folds and unfolds. . .Its waves lap over each other like the waves of the ocean.”¹⁴ Chicago’s mantle as the meatpacking center of the United States effected people throughout the city, both those working in the industry and individuals otherwise seemingly unconnected.

With these conditions in the background, Chicago’s concerned vegetarians began the process of organization in the fall of 1889. Carrica Le Favre—a well-known health lecturer, dress reformer, physical culture advocate and child-rearing expert—organized the new society. Described by *Everyday Housekeeping* magazine as “one of the prominent vegetarians in the country,” Le Favre was personally responsible for

¹² Carl Sandburg, “Chicago,” *Chicago Poems* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1916), 3.

¹³ Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004), 335.

¹⁴ Quoted in Louise Carroll Wade, *Chicago’s Pride: The Stockyards, Packingtown, and Environs in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 133.

organizing Chicago's vegetarian society, eventually doing the same in both New York City and Boston.¹⁵ Le Favre was most renowned as a child expert thanks to the publication of her book *Mother's Help and Child's Best Friend*, a guidebook aimed at inculcating mothers with the skills to produce moral and industrious children. Le Favre wrote the book because she believed that "in woman's hands are the materials for the creation of great intellects, the molding of heads and hearts that should elevate mankind." Women's role in raising children was "the most praiseworthy and sacred" and in "the interest of the nation."¹⁶

Le Favre believed that a turn to vegetarianism was necessary for the moral and physical well being of mother and child alike. Children should be fed a strict diet of only milk and vegetables in order to create strong constitutions in order to meet the moral and physical challenges of modern life. Le Favre utilized the language of modernity and advancement, labeling the human body an "internal machine" and "instrument" upon whose systematic working depends the successful development of our entire body." Stimulants like meat acted as "brakes," leading the body to break down. Le Favre glorified cereals as building brain matter, while blood-drenched meat caused omnivores to lose mental and physical capabilities. Only through vegetarianism could mothers become "sweet tempered and orderly," qualities for their children to emulate.¹⁷

¹⁵ "A Vegetarian Banquet," *Everyday Housekeeping: A Magazine for Practical Housekeepers and Mothers* 1, no. 2 (May 1894): 88.

¹⁶ Carrica Le Favre, *Mother's Help and Child's Friend* (New York: Brentano's, 1890): 5-6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 108, 112-3, 116, 123, 127.

Le Favre began the Chicago vegetarian society without knowledge of the existence of the recently formed VSA.¹⁸ This is not necessarily surprising; the VSA remained a fairly Philadelphia-centric organization through the 1880s, and *Food, Home and Garden* was but a small, eight-page pamphlet until the following year. Le Favre converted to vegetarianism after having suffered from “chronic diarrhea during my entire meat eating life.” She claimed that she “grew rapidly so much worse that I only escaped death by entirely discarding flesh food. “ Imitating the conversion narrative style of previous generations of vegetarians, Le Favre explained that “by the time I was thoroughly weaned from flesh foods. . .I was entirely free from my chronic diarrhea and those frightful headaches.”¹⁹

The Chicago organization began modestly in size, if not in environment, as a group of twenty-nine members met in the parlor of Chicago’s palatial Grand Pacific Hotel in the summer of 1889. Women comprised the majority of the initial group, twenty-five of the original members. The chosen surroundings—a central gathering place of both wealthy travelers and Chicago’s upper class—stands as a stark contrast to previous vegetarian meeting places such as the sparsely adorned boarding house.²⁰ The group adopted a constitution that explained “its object shall be to adopt and promulgate a Vegetarian line of diet, and by so doing elevate and purify humanity.” While anyone who eschewed a flesh diet could become an associate, in order to become full members

¹⁸ “The Chicago Vegetarian Society,” *Vegetarian Messenger* (January 1890): 4.

¹⁹ “Why a Vegetarian,” *The Phrenological Journal* 638, no. 2 (February 1892): 82.

²⁰ A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 161. Sandoval-Strausz points out that the Grand Pacific, despite being an iconic piece of what is conventionally considered to be representative of Gilded Age architecture, was actually far more austere than most other hotels of the 1870s and 80s.

candidates needed recommendations from two established members and to be elected by a two-thirds majority vote.

The society, based on its meeting place and membership requirements, was seeking more than just vegetarians. Members were hoping to attract vegetarians of a particular economic and social class. Le Favre herself recognized this reality, publishing a long list of respectable members while admittedly leaving out the financially unstable who were “on the ragged edge, and might object to having their names published as Vegetarians.” The names that Le Favre did share included members of Chicago’s philanthropic upper class. Celia Wallace was a well-known Chicago philanthropist particularly interested in funding gymnasiums and other health-oriented buildings. In addition, Wallace was purported to own “The only black diamond necklace known to exist in this country or Europe.” Also included was Juliet A. Darling, owner of Chicago’s posh Hotel Isabella.²¹ Le Favre’s work in making vegetarianism respectable did not go unnoticed; she was celebrated in one publication for her role in “introducing Vegetarianism to the notice of people of culture in the U.S.A.”²²

Despite the Chicago society’s limited origins, the group quickly gained the attention of the rapidly growing VSA. By March of 1890 the VSA and Chicago Vegetarian Society were working together, and Le Favre was named the editor of *Food, Home and Garden*’s home department. At first glance these changes seemed to represent

²¹ “Chicago, U.S.A.,” *Vegetarian Messenger* (January 1890): 23. See “Items,” *The Chicago Clinic* 11, no. 5 (May 1898): 122 and “A Necklace of Black Diamonds,” *The Jewelers’ Circular and Horological Review* 37, no. 14 (2 November 1898): 49; “Do Not Hurt,” *Food, Home and Garden* 1, no. 1 (May 1896): 13. The group also included four Chicago medical doctors.

²² “Chicago, U.S.A.” *Vegetarian Messenger* (November 1891): 316.

a feminization of vegetarianism. In fact careful analysis of the precise role of women in this new movement illustrated a particularly gendered division of roles. The magazine's home department included recipes as well as daily sample menus for how to provide the most nutritious combinations of vegetarian foods. Women wrote in to the department with their tips on how to best prepare foods in a timely but tasty manner. The department also connected domestic bliss with consumptive economics, promoting a variety of vegetarian products within its pages.²³ The message in the pages of *Food, Home and Garden* was clear; home expertise was the exclusive department of women.

The newly re-focused *Food, Home and Garden*—offering practical advice on vegetarianism and domestic sciences—helped grow Chicago's vegetarian population. A year after the Chicago group and the VSA began their collaboration, vegetarianism was “gaining ground. . . especially in Chicago which is rapidly becoming the metropolis of America, and one of the greatest cities in the world.” Chicago alone was the home of 100 subscribers to *Food, Home and Garden* just a year after the two organizations began working together.²⁴

Le Favre, reflecting the overriding goals of the VSA, was interested in establishing vegetarian organizations throughout the United States. In June of 1892 she moved to New York and helped establish the New York Vegetarian Society, in the process being elected the organization's first president. The group's first meeting included lectures from numerous vegetarians. Imogene Fales, a prominent reform

²³ “Home Department,” *Food, Home and Garden* 3, no. 27 (April 1899): 59-61; “Home Department,” *Food, Home and Garden* 4, no. 36 (1900): 12.

²⁴ “A Letter from a Chicago Vegetarian,” *Vegetarian Messenger* (March 1891): 96.

journalist and President of the Sociologic Society of America, expounded upon the social benefits of a meatless diet. In addition, VSA President Henry S. Clubb spoke about the benefits of producing local vegetarian organizations conjoined by a national body.²⁵ Vegetarians' strategy of building smaller, localized organizations reflected the prevailing reform spirit of the Progressive Era, emphasizing rationalized, bureaucratic control as a response to social turbulence in an increasingly impersonal, disconnected urban world.²⁶

With Le Favre occupied establishing a new vegetarian society in New York City, the Chicago Vegetarian Society (CVS) continued to grow under new leadership. Elea Luboschez, a naturalized American citizen from Russia and travel agent took over the presidency of the Chicago Vegetarian Society in early 1892. Illustrating a new linkage between local organizations and the VSA, Luboschez served concurrently as the national society's Organizing Secretary.²⁷

The organization increased its activities and membership, holding regular meetings throughout the Chicago-area. The *Tribune* reported positively on the group's activities, emphasizing vegetarianism as thrifty, evidence of wise economic planning.²⁸ In February of 1892 the group met at the Sherman House hotel in downtown Chicago to listen to a lecture by Dr. Juliet H. Severance, a Milwaukee-based suffragist, vegetarian

²⁵ "The Science of Health," *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 92, no. 6 (June 1892): 275.

²⁶ Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

²⁷ "People Who Eat No Flesh," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 17, 1892, pg. 1; "The Vegetarian Delegates to the Fair," *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 218; National Archives and Records Administration, *Images of Handwritten Letters and Application Forms for US Passports, 1795-1905*, Vol. 768, Roll M1372.

²⁸ "Lived on Five Cents' Worth of Figs," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 7, 1892, pg. 1.

and health advocate. The meeting was “well attended” and the group discussed the possibility of opening a vegetarian restaurant. However, members decided that not enough capital was available yet to make a restaurant possible. The vegetarians decided to revisit the issue in the future.²⁹

Vegetarianism was quickly growing, thanks to the simultaneous growth of Kellogg’s San and these new, municipal vegetarian societies. By the summer of 1892 regional vegetarian societies were popping up as far west as Oregon, where the local branch of the VSA was “growing considerably, its meetings being well attended by members and others.” The new group of Oregonian vegetarians was active enough that they began meeting bi-weekly in August of that year.³⁰ By the 1890s Chicago was the fastest growing center of vegetarian activities in the United States. The vital, local organization had significant influence on the activities of the VSA, vegetarianism’s national association. With the financial support of Chicago’s philanthropic class, vegetarianism was becoming associated with high society, a way to perfect one’s health for success and social mobility. The same economic class frequenting Kellogg’s Sanitarium was also supporting the growth of regional vegetarian societies.

Vegetarianism through the 1870s was primarily connected to middle-class reform. The new, modern ethos of vegetarianism still appealed to sections of the middle class. However, with the advent of the 1890s the diet was becoming connected to segments of the urban upper class that viewed the lifestyle as a means to create moral and industrious

²⁹ “Announcements,” *The Daily Inter Ocean* 334, February 21, 1892, col. C, pg. 6; “Vegetarians at Work,” *The Daily Inter Ocean* 337, February 24, 1892, col. C, pg. 5.

³⁰ “City News in Brief,” *Morning Oregonian*, Aug. 5, 1892, pg. 5; “City News in Brief,” *Morning Oregonian*, Aug. 19, 1892, pg. 5.

individuals. Vegetarianism was, as described by one proponent, “a ‘becoming’ diet,” fashionable, appealing and inoffensive to those witnessing an individual eat a meal.³¹

Dietary reformers relied upon these individuals for the capital to begin vegetarian organizations, restaurants and businesses, furthering interlinking the movement with an economic system that had created vast economic and social stratification by the turn of the 1890s.³²

Vegetarians actively sought validation and support from wealthy members of the philanthropic upper class, to gain social legitimacy and promote organizational growth. At the same time, Chicago itself was becoming more visible on the national scene, a city associated with American modernity, a center of industry, business and the arts. In the summer of 1893 these forces culminated in the coming of the Columbian Exposition and vegetarians were eager to stake their claim as part of the “White City” as well.

Vegetarians at the Fair

The World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 was originally intended to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus’ arrival in the Americas. The massive event ended up becoming a celebration of the United States’ arrival as a world power, national pride, material and technological advancement. At the center of this celebration was the city of Chicago, a shipping, manufacturing and economic center of activities in the United States. Strong enough to overcome a massive fire and reconstruction, the city

³¹ Mrs. Rice, “The Aesthetics of Vegetarianism,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 265-8.

³² Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 54-5.

was promoted by its boosters to exhibit the best qualities of American steadfastness and exceptionalism.³³

As early as the summer of 1890, vegetarians in the United States began planning to contribute to the coming Columbian Exposition. Vegetarians recognized that meat abstainers and other interested parties would visit the fair with a curious sense of exploration. Members of the VSA would “doubtless have great pleasure in meeting and obtaining a better knowledge of” vegetarians from around the United States and even the world. The VSA hoped to “secure some home for the reception of our members” to provide “proper food and other necessities.” A vegetarian restaurant and hotel were proposed to house and feed interested visitors.³⁴

While vegetarianism was growing in the United States, it was also expanding its reach throughout the world. A Vegetarian Federal Union was founded in London in 1889 to connect vegetarians around the globe. The group was an offshoot, started by disgruntled members of England’s original Vegetarian Society. The rebel vegetarians attempted to draw members to its new union through its more global approach to vegetarianism, believing that a singular, worldwide organization was needed to create a vegetarian community that transcended borders. The group was a self-described “Parliament of the Vegetarian movement” that aimed to link vegetarians from around the world, while not infringing upon the activities of local organizations.³⁵ The union was

³³ Robert Muccigrosso, *Celebrating the New World: Chicago’s Columbian Exposition of 1893* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993), 12-16.

³⁴ “The American Vegetarian Society at the World’s Fair,” *Vegetarian Messenger* (July 1890): 194.

³⁵ “The Vegetarian Federal Union,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 432.

successful in linking vegetarians together at the Columbian Exposition. But the responsibility for organizing the details of vegetarians' participation at the fair fell strictly in the hands of the VSA.

Early in 1891 Henry S. Clubb and other representatives of the VSA met with Charles C. Bonney, the President of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition. The group began their meeting at the Grand Pacific Hotel, the lavish locale of the Chicago Vegetarian Society's first meeting four years earlier. The evening culminated with a reception held in honor of Bonney at the home of a prominent Chicago vegetarian. While Bonney was initially hesitant to guarantee a spot in the World's Congress, he was soon convinced of the value of the group's proposal, promising vegetarians the time and resources to hold a vegetarian congress as part of the fair's Temperance Congress. Clubb appealed to the Vegetarian Federal Union to hold its annual meeting at the world's fair, which the group enthusiastically agreed would be a great opportunity.³⁶

Vegetarian organizations from around the world descended upon Chicago for what was billed as the World's Vegetarian Congress. Representatives of vegetarian organizations from around the globe met at the newly opened Art Institute from June 8th to 10th, 1893, representing what vegetarians believed to be the largest gathering of like-minded food reformers in history.³⁷ Vegetarians came from a diverse list of locations, including England, Germany, Switzerland, Australia and India. The vegetarian meeting was placed under the auspices of the exposition's Department of Temperance which

³⁶ "Echoes of the Chicago Exhibition," *Vegetarian Messenger* (February 1894): 57-61.

³⁷ "The International Vegetarian Congress," *The Vegetarian* (1 July 1893).

aimed to “facilitate conventions of existing Temperance Organizations. . .for the consideration of the Living Questions in this Department. . .by the most eminent living leaders in the work.” Vegetarianism, once viewed as a radical social reform, was grouped with organizations that supported “increasing productive ability” and “prosperity and virtue throughout the world.”³⁸

Vegetarians were formally welcomed to their meeting by Bonney who, while noting Chicago’s position as “the greatest meat market in the world,” reminded the gathered vegetarians that, “it is equally well known as the greatest grain market in the world.” Further, Chicago was home to “one of the finest fruit markets in the world.” Bonney wished vegetarians a “most successful and satisfactory proceedings,” believing that the group would receive fair consideration and treatment given that the congress was meeting “in a city the freest in the world from the influence of prejudice and caste.” The result was “an atmosphere of freedom from prejudice, and a willingness to inquire and learn, such as is not always found in the older centres of civilizations.” Bonney noted the “cosmopolitan character” of the audience he was addressing, members of the world’s social and economic elite.³⁹ Chicago’s place as a center of progress made it an ideal locale for a meeting of the newly modernist vegetarian movement.

The first day of the Congress featured nineteen speeches delivered throughout sessions in the morning, afternoon and evening. William Acton, from the British delegation, opened up the day’s meeting by emphasizing vegetarianism’s role as “an

³⁸ *The General Programme of The World’s Congresses of 1893* (Chicago: World’s Columbian Commission, 1893).

³⁹ “The Proceedings of the Congress of the Vegetarian Federal Union at Chicago, 1893,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 237-8.

important factor” in “modern civilization” that assisted in the “promotion of true citizenship.”⁴⁰ Vegetarianism was presented as “vital food” that created “right thought and right living.” Over two hundred delegates listened with great interest to a variety of lectures espousing the varied principles of dietary reform.⁴¹ Dr. M.L. Holbrook—a leading American dietary advocate—connected vegetarianism with a particular argument of cultural superiority through agriculture. Holbrook explained that with the arrival of Columbus and the influx of Europeans into the Americas came a transition from the simple farming of Native Americans to complex agricultural techniques that could support large populations. The fact that American agriculture had grown so much, according to Holbrook, was proof of a cultural triumph, and further evidence of the need for a cultural turn to vegetarianism.⁴²

In the afternoon session, Dr. Rachel Swain—a medical doctor and women’s suffragist—explained that a turn towards vegetarianism exhibited the qualities of a highly evolved individual. Flesh foods were a remnant of humanity’s “savage” roots. Previous generations were “superstitious and ignorant,” doing “little thinking for themselves,” drifting into the injurious habit of eating meat. Swain noted that the time was ripe for a mass cultural turn towards vegetarianism given society’s “advancement in science and cultivation” that led individuals towards a more rational and self-analyzed existence. The suffragist compared the Progressive Era growth of municipal services such as sewage

⁴⁰ “The Proceedings of the Congress of the Vegetarian Federal Union at Chicago, 1893,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 238-9.

⁴¹ “The Fair Must Close,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, June 10, 1893.

⁴² M.L. Holbrook, “Vegetarianism and Agriculture,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 258.

systems and street cleaning to a growing spirit amongst individuals to reform their own unhealthy behaviors.⁴³

Vegetarians from around the world made their presence felt, culminating in an address on the curative properties of vegetarianism by a medical doctor from Belfast, Ireland. The evening session featured a presentation by Sidhn and Lala Jinda Ram, Punjabi Hindus who explained vegetarianism from a theological perspective.

Vegetarians closed the day's proceedings with a reception in the Art Institute's ornately decorated Hall II. An extravagant feast was provided to the gathered vegetarians, including renowned American health reformers J.H. Kellogg and Dr. Juliet Severance, members of the VSA and prominent vegetarians from England and Germany.⁴⁴ But the banquet and initial papers were just the preliminary gathering for the determined group; two more days of lectures, meetings, speeches and proclamations allowed vegetarians to stake their claim as part of the new, modern city.

On the morning of June 9, the vegetarian congress gathered for a marathon session of forty-four papers exhorting the benefits of a meatless diet.⁴⁵ During the morning session vegetarianism was equated with "rational selection," the "basis of all reform," an indication of humanity's progress from savagery to civility.⁴⁶ Arnold F. Hills, a delegate from London, explained that a vegetarian diet created "vital energy." Hills compared the human digestive system to the functioning of a steam engine,

⁴³ Rachel Swain, "The Evolution of Vegetarianism," *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 275-77.

⁴⁴ "Vegetarians at a Reception," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 8, 1893, pg. 3.

⁴⁵ "For the Vegetarian Congress," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 29, 1893, pg. 9.

⁴⁶ "Want Diet of Fruits and Plants," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 10, 1893, pg. 3.

explaining that, “as in the boiler, so in the body—when once the limit of vital accumulation has been reached, the process of spontaneous ebullition has begun.” Vegetarianism produced vigorous spirits that created the “great workers of the world” who “have begun their task, not in sorry, but in gladness, because the spirit moved in them to do great things.”⁴⁷ Father Louis Paroli, a Catholic priest from New Orleans, explicitly noted the connection between vegetarianism and personal success, believing it to cause “great commerce and universal business,” creating strength and “well looking people.” To contrast, meat eaters were “feeble” and “feverish as soon as they get a little overworked.”⁴⁸ Dietary reformers were utilizing the world’s fair as an opportunity to state vegetarianism’s case through socially acceptable arguments of modernity and success.

Attendance during the afternoon session was “even larger than that of the morning,” though accounts in the *Tribune* noted that all sessions were “largely attended.”⁴⁹ Vegetarianism was equated with modernity, proclaimed “the food of the future” by one presenter. Charles W. Forward framed vegetarianism as part of the battle between modernity and savagery, denouncing carnivorous diets as “a relic of barbarous times” because of its cost and cruelty. With a nod towards the electric spectacle that wowed visitors at the “White City,” Forward noted that conventional thought led “many a would-be philosopher” to declare coal gas as the answer to artificial lighting needs. However, Forward explained, “now everyone is looking to electricity as the most

⁴⁷ “Vegetarianism as Vital Food,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 245.

⁴⁸ Louis Paroli, *Rational Selection of Food* in *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 335.

⁴⁹ “Want Diet of Fruits and Plants,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 10, 1893, pg. 3.

satisfactory solution of the problem of turning night into the semblance of day.”⁵⁰

Forward’s metaphor was clear; just as scientific knowledge and modernity brought forth the rise of electrical lighting, following the same mindset naturally led to a vegetarian diet.⁵¹ The ethos of the fair was mixing with a new philosophy of vegetarianism.

While the vegetarian congress clearly positioned itself as part of a new, evolving movement, it still recognized its historical connections. William Alcott’s son, the Reverend W.P. Alcott addressed the audience, following in the footsteps of his pioneering father. However, despite the younger Alcott’s long-standing connection to American vegetarianism (William Alcott raised all his children on a vegetarian diet), his speech focused on themes distinct to the new vegetarianism. In “Vegetarianism and Progress” Alcott described food reform as “the most important work we can assign ourselves.” Alcott connected dietary choices with evolutionary theory, juxtaposing humanity’s power of reason with the “protozoa of simplest type” who were “all stomach within” multiplying through the assimilation of proteins. Humanity, with its advanced skills of reason and critical thinking, was meant to have a discerning palate. The Reverend described individual productivity as being driven strictly by diet, believing that “our activity and usefulness in every sphere are very directly dependent on, and conditioned by, habits of eating.” Vegetarianism was the only way to guarantee healthy, productive bodies, minds and spirits best suited for success.⁵²

⁵⁰ Charles W. Forward, “Food of the Future,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 355, 359.

⁵¹ For more on the “White City” and the social meanings of its elaborate display of electricity, see Harold L. Platt, *The Electric City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 62, and David E. Nye, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992), 34-41.

⁵² W.P. Alcott, “Vegetarianism and Progress,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 346-50.

The evening session began with a patriotic twist, with the singing of the “Battle Hymn of the Republic.” The session was presided over by vegetarianism’s industrious business leader, J.H. Kellogg. The superintendent from the Battle Creek San argued in favor of a vegetarian diet for all patients preparing for and recovering from surgery. The evening’s lectures focused on vegetarianism’s connection to health and physical development. One delegate waxed poetic on the “aesthetics of vegetarianism,” preferring the diet because “it is certainly favorable to the beauty of health and refinement.” The lecturer noted that meat eaters “miss good looks for want of the refinement and freshness which I think a vegetarian life would give them.” Vegetarianism created a “peculiar sweetness of skin and breath” helping to avoid wrinkles and the signs of aging. Most importantly the diet had social cache, because it was never offensive to a dining partner or on-looker.⁵³

Carrica Le Favre touched on similar themes during the evening’s culminating paper on dietary contributions to physical beauty. Le Favre explained that “our bodies are literally built up of the food we eat, and the kind and quality of the food determines the possible use of the body.” Flesh foods were “shoddy material” that produced bodies of which many “may well be ashamed and conceal beneath a conventional cloak of broadcloth.” Repeating a common theme from the congress, vegetarianism was labeled as being “civilized,” practiced by “refined” men and women. In stark, harsh terms, Le Favre condemned physical imperfections, proclaiming that, “there is nothing so

⁵³ Mrs. Rice, The Aesthetics of Vegetarianism, *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 265-8.

discouraging to look upon as an ugly, sickly body.” Physical imperfections implied personal frailty, qualities least apt to help one prosper in life.⁵⁴

In addition to the speeches and festivities, the group passed a series of resolutions aimed at expressing the general consensus of the group. The principles adopted reflected many of the themes present in modern American vegetarianism by the 1890s, despite the congress’ international composition. The group glorified the civic reform spirit of the burgeoning city beautiful movement that expressed itself at the Columbian Exposition. One resolution proclaimed that, “the parks of this country, both municipal and national, merits the highest commendation,” reflecting both an appreciation for civic greenery and the government’s role in supporting such developments. The congress did not call for the banning of meat, but did advocate for legislation regulating the shipment of cattle to slaughterhouses. Meat promoted “a low standard of morality and conscience” and thus should be avoided by people of “enlightenment.”

The group called the killing of animals for sport a “wanton cruelty” though it did not outline specific steps to take in order to ban sport hunting. Delegates further agreed that “social purity” was only possible through uncontaminated food and drink. The health properties of vegetarianism were emphasized, provided by the “direct products of the earth, air and water.” Lastly, members of the Vegetarian Congress called on local and national legislatures to encourage and fund the development of fruit cultivation. The resolutions passed were indicative of a Progressive, civic reform spirit that connected vegetarians with direct political action, rather than solely concentrating on personal

⁵⁴ Carrica Le Favre, “Health and Beauty,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 480-3.

dietary choices.⁵⁵ Non-vegetarians deemed the events held at the Art Institute successful, described by organizers of the Columbian Exposition as having “attracted special attention,” and deemed “worth the hearing” by designated fair historian Hubert Howe Bancroft because, “nearly one half of mankind are vegetarians either through choice or necessity.”⁵⁶

Vegetarians had dualistic aims in appearing at the exhibition. The congress itself connected vegetarians from around the world, with the lectures and dinners allowing food reformers to feel a sense of common community identity. In addition, vegetarians exhibited at the exposition, reaching out to both like-minded reformers and meat-eaters alike, publicly claiming that the movement deserved recognition amongst the great ideas of progress, culture and modernity. A vegetarian annex was constructed inside the Liberal Arts Division building, which also housed exhibits from the fields of education, engineering, hygiene, religion, public works, architecture, music and drama.⁵⁷ Given that the Vegetarian Federal Union was based in England, the booth was placed near other English exhibits, located between London’s Royal Microscopical Society and a coffee importer based in Bradford.⁵⁸ While the World’s Vegetarian Congress was aimed

⁵⁵ For the resolutions, see “The International Vegetarian Congress,” *The Vegetarian* (1 July 1893) and “Their Work is Felt: Champions for Temperance Show Strength,” *The Daily Inter Ocean* 78, June 10, 1893, col. D.

⁵⁶ Harlow N. Higinbotham, *Report of the President to the Board of Directors of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., 1898), 329; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair* (Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893), 955.

⁵⁷ John Joseph Finn, *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: The Columbian Guide Co., 1893), 34.

⁵⁸ *The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition, May 1st to October 30th, 1893: A Reference Book of Exhibitors and Exhibits, and of the Officers and Members of the World's Columbian Commission*, ed. Moses P. Handy (Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893), 412.

specifically at vegetarians (though some non-vegetarians surely attended), the vegetarian annex was the group's attempt at spreading its message to average fair-goers.

Vegetarians celebrated the symbolism of their exhibit opening on July 4. On "this great day of Independence" announced one publication, "Vegetarianism proclaims freedom from the slavery of Drunkenness and Disease." A large blue and gold silk banner demarcated the space as the domain of the Vegetarian Federal Union, welcoming visitors to learn about meatless living. The exhibit was decorated with artwork glorifying the farinaceous kingdom, including "lovely pictures of golden corn, beautiful peaches, melons, grapes, apples and other tempting fruits."⁵⁹ Centered under the organization's name was a sign emphasizing the healing properties of vegetarianism, simply proclaiming in all capital letters, "HEALTH." A painting of a young, cherubic child and his mother was juxtaposed with an oil painting of a tiger's head in order to illustrate the "difference between their frugivorous teeth and the carnivorous ones" of the wild beast. An arrangement of flowers, fruits, grains and nuts was placed on a table at the center of the exhibit, surrounded by a bounty of literature on the vegetarian cause available for visitors to read at the annex or take home for further study. Interested parties could read about a variety of topics, including how vegetarianism was "the Final Solution of the Drink Question," "The Most Nourishment at the Least Cost" and a preventative cure for

⁵⁹ "The Vegetarian Annexe at the World's Fair," *The Vegetarian* (23 September 1893). *The Vegetarian* was the official journal of the Vegetarian Federal Union. See also Charles W. Forward, *Fifty Years of Food Reform: A History of the Vegetarian Movement in England* (London: The Ideal Publishing Union, Ltd., 1898), 140-9.

“Rheumatism, Rickets and Consumption.” The lifestyle was equated with healthy, productive bodies and minds, best prepared to conquer the modern world.⁶⁰

Speeches were also presented at the vegetarians’ exhibit, including one geographically-aware orator who noted that “Vegetarians were looking forward to the day when. . .they would stand on the shores of Lake Michigan gazing at the ruins of the deserted stock yards.” Another speaker hypothesized that the push to make Indian corn the national symbol of the United States was, in part, due to the visibility of vegetarians in the United States. The speaker bellowed that it was not possible for “lovely and refined women” to select beefsteak or a pork chop as their national symbol.⁶¹ While vegetarians did not achieve their original goal of creating a vegetarian restaurant at the fair, the group did host a series of receptions in the Pennsylvania State Building where the group introduced visitors to vegetarian cuisine.⁶²

Hordes of visitors passed through the front door of George B. Post’s, sprawling, Beaux-Arts inspired Manufactures and Liberal Arts building during the course of the Columbian Exposition. The building was the largest on the fair’s grounds.⁶³ While it is impossible to measure precisely how many of these fairgoers visited the Vegetarian

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., The push to adopt Indian corn as the national symbol of the United States was led by interior design pioneer Candace Wheeler, who designed the interior of the Women’s Building at the Columbian Exposition. See Mary Warner Blanchard, *Oscar Wilde’s America: Counterculture in the Gilded Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 58-60. Wheeler published a tract in defense of Indian corn as a symbol in 1893, arguing that, “no other plant is typical of our greatness and prosperity as a nation.” Candace Wheeler, *Columbia’s Emblem, Indian Corn: A Garland of Tributes in Prose and Verse* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1893), iii.

⁶² “Methods of Charity,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 10, 1893, pg. 3.

⁶³ Titus M. Karlowicz, “Notes on the Columbian Exposition’s Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33, no. 3 (October 1974): 214-18.

Federal Union's annex, or the number of interested visitors who stopped to listen to speeches and collect reading materials, the booth's location does speak to its visibility. Given that the VFU's exhibit was located within a high traffic area—both inside the Liberal Arts building and grouped with the other British exhibits—it is possible to presume that the vegetarian presence was noticed by a large number of visitors. Even if passersby did not stop at the exhibit, they noticed its presence in the building. The mere fact that vegetarianism was represented at the Columbian Exposition reflected a new ascendance for the movement in general popularity and notice.

The Columbian Exposition was associated with modernity, progress, culture, civilization and advancement. The fair emphasized technological growth, with an illuminated “White City” that displayed the power and ascendance of electric lighting. By extension, the exhibitors and congresses represented at the exposition were given the tacit endorsement as exuding the same qualities of importance and innovation. Vegetarianism, with its new focus on personal success, health, strength and modernity was being embraced by mass audiences, both those who practiced the lifestyle and those who did not.

The *Chicago Tribune* reflected on the success of the proceedings, explaining that while vegetarian ideals had existed since “the days of Pythagoras” the movement remained largely “alone and isolated.” The movement, however, had changed: “vegetarians have grown to such numbers as to demand a hearing in the World's Congresses.”⁶⁴ Vegetarians themselves recognized the importance of the events, described in one publication as “one of the most successful and important events in the

⁶⁴ “Vegetarians Hold a Congress,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 4, 1893, pg. 11.

Vegetarian movement.”⁶⁵ The congress was “successful beyond any previous gathering of the kind,” noted another vegetarian magazine, explaining that “attendance was good, the interest deep and continuous, and the papers were, on the whole, of the highest value and importance.”⁶⁶

In addition, the exposition helped further foment American vegetarians’ confidence in their growing cause, witnessing a globalization of vegetarianism. Delegates from diverse locations connected in Chicago, all under the banner of progress. Vegetarians from the United States mingled with cohorts from Switzerland, Germany and India, illustrating that the movement knew few geographical and political boundaries. Vegetarians from a variety of ethnic, religious and national backgrounds all gathered in one central location and expounded on the diversity of good created by vegetarianism. Vegetarians utilized a mixture of the language of American triumphalism and economic development to place the movement amongst the great social changes of the modern world. The Columbian Exposition marked the ascendance of the United States onto the world scene; vegetarians for the first time were visibly included in the celebration.

Chicago and the Health Food Industry

The success of the vegetarian presence at the Columbian Exposition emboldened American dietary reformers, particularly in Chicago. Participants noted the potential transformative effect of the fair, hoping that the World’s Vegetarian Congress would “form the starting point for an earnest and active forward movement, and lead to a wide

⁶⁵ “Chicago Congress Number,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 164.

⁶⁶ International Vegetarian Congress, Chicago, June, 1893,” *The Vegetarian Messenger* 4, no. 7 (1893): 286.

diffusion of Vegetarianism alike in the Old and in the New world.”⁶⁷ In August of 1893, the Chicago vegetarians hosted a reception for the visiting Henry S. Clubb at the home of a member of the Chicago VSA. At this meeting the organization elected a new commissioner, Francis G. Kemp, a health reformer and physical education advocate who placed the establishment of a vegetarian restaurant in Chicago as the group’s number one priority.

Soon after his election to head the vegetarian society, Kemp wrote a letter to the *Daily Inter Ocean*—a favored newspaper of Chicago’s Republican upper class—explaining the state of vegetarianism in the city.⁶⁸ Kemp assured readers that the VSA was “unsectarian in character,” noting that, “the aim of the society is to induce habits of abstinence from the flesh of animals (fish, flesh, and fowl) as food, and promote the use of fruits, pulse, cereals, and other products of the vegetable world.” Vegetarianism was growing; the VSA’s magazine *Food, Home and Garden* had a monthly circulation of more than 3,000. Kemp concluded with the hope that Chicago vegetarians would open a restaurant and “make a practical demonstration of vegetarianism.”⁶⁹

Vegetarian establishments sprouted up throughout Chicago, corresponding to the growth of the VSA and the events at the Columbian Exposition. In April of 1894, a small vegetarian club was opened at 5800 Jackson Avenue in Uptown, a resort locale for

⁶⁷ “International Vegetarian Congress, Chicago, June, 1893,” *The Vegetarian Messenger* 4, no. 7 (1893): 286.

⁶⁸ Charles Austin Bates, *American Journalism from the Practical Side: What Leading Newspaper Publishers Say Concerning the Relations of Advertisers and Publishers and About the Way a Great Paper Should be Made* (New York: Hughes Publishing Co., 1897), 113.

⁶⁹ Francis G. Kemp, “Letter to the Editor: A Vegetarian Reception for Dr. Clubb,” *The Daily Inter Ocean* 154, August 27, 1893.

Chicago's downtown upper class.⁷⁰ The club was one of four simultaneously functioning subdivisions of the VSA appearing in Chicago at the same time.⁷¹ Alice Harsch, the owner of a vegetarian club at 63rd Street in the Englewood neighborhood, learned to cook vegetarian meals while visiting the World Vegetarian Congress, and began promoting the establishment as a vegetarian hotel during the exposition. Boarding cost one dollar per day, though the price rose to two dollars a day for those interested in also having vegetarian meals provided. The house held twenty-five vegetarian boarders at a time and remained a popular destination throughout the exposition.⁷² The home was successful enough that Harsch decided to continue operating as a vegetarian club after the fair closed, offering boarding and three meals a day. It was the first fully vegetarian establishment in Chicago.

The vegetarian clubs all received their products from a recently opened Vegetarian Supply House located on the South Side at Cottage Grove Avenue and 38th Street.⁷³ The *Chicago Tribune* reported that one club had aims beyond the merely culinary, explaining that, "the purpose is quite as much to bring about social relations between the students of opposite sexes as to taboo the use of flesh as food. . . . In a word,

⁷⁰ Roger Guy, *From Diversity to Unity: Southern and Appalachian Migrants in Uptown Chicago* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 31-2.

⁷¹ "The Branch Societies," *Food, Home and Garden* 1, no. 5 (March 1897): 75. The 5800 block of Jackson Avenue is now known as Argyle Avenue.

⁷² "Vegetarian Boarding in Chicago," *Vegetarian Messenger* 4, no. 7 (1893): 270.

⁷³ "Its Vegetarian Club on the Boom," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 11, 1894; "Four Apple Blossoms," *Food, Home and Garden* 1, no. 10 (August 1897): 158.

the Vegetarian club is a device for the mutual advantage of bashful youth and maidens.”⁷⁴ While the *Tribune* was reporting with a tone of moral self-righteousness, it did indicate an important continuing development for vegetarians. As the group grew and became more visible, vegetarians sought each other out for a sense of community and common identity, sometimes even for romance.

Chicago had quickly become recognized as a center of vegetarian activities in the United States, and in the summer of 1895 the VSA’s publication *Food, Home and Garden* relocated from Philadelphia to Chicago. Chicago vegetarians continued to strive for the opening of a vegetarian restaurant, hoping to raise at least one thousand dollars in capital to begin the venture. The new connection between vegetarianism and economic success was at the forefront of the plans for a restaurant, as the group planned to open its doors “in the business part of the city.”⁷⁵ At the time the *Tribune* estimated that around 6,000 vegetarians lived in Chicago.⁷⁶ The Department of Health of the City of Chicago estimated the total population in 1895 at 1.6 million people. Based on the *Tribune*’s estimation—which is difficult to prove or disprove—vegetarians would have comprised .4% percent of the city’s total population, a small number in regards to the total population, but comparable to other reform organizations. As a comparison, Chicago’s Woman’s City Club—a collection of reformers and settlement house workers that organized to increase women’s participation in civic life—was comprised of only 1,200

⁷⁴ “Will Not Eat Meat,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 5, 1894, pg. 11.

⁷⁵ “They Eat No Meat: Chicago is to Have in the Near Future a Vegetarian Restaurant,” *Morning Oregonian* 11, no. 132, June 8, 1895, pg. 3.

⁷⁶ “Vegetarian Society Meets,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 2, 1895, pg. 3. It is difficult to figure out how the *Tribune* came up with this number, and even more difficult to verify its accuracy. It is, however, important to note that *Tribune* would estimate such a high number.

members in its founding year, 1910.⁷⁷ While vegetarians were a small percentage of the city's total demographic landscape, the group made itself visible and easily recognizable.

This newly found confidence and visibility had profound advantages for the group. The *Tribune* exhorted the advantages of vegetarianism, even going so far as describing Henry S. Clubb as “strong and robust,” “an ardent apostle of the cause he represents” at the advanced age of seventy.⁷⁸ In December of 1895 Chicago hosted the inaugural banquet of the Chicago VSA with a twelve-course dinner at the majestic, Daniel Burnham-designed Great Northern Hotel.⁷⁹ Round tables with flowing ferns as centerpieces were surrounded by tall, cruciferous palm trees placed in each corner of the ornately designed ballroom. Attendees dined on a diverse menu that included lentil soup and vegetable turkey, a J.H. Kellogg-esque concoction of grains, nuts and beans.

The meeting was presided over by legal scholar, civil libertarian and University of Chicago lecturer William Addison Blakely, who read letters of support from suffragist and temperance advocate Francis Willard, as well as newspaper editor Murat Halstead.⁸⁰ In attendance was the famed lawyer and on-and-off vegetarian Clarence Darrow, who compared his opinion of dietary reform to his feelings on the labor movement, noting that

⁷⁷ Maureen Flanagan, “Gender and Urban Political Reform: The City Club and the Woman's City Club of Chicago in the Progressive Era,” *American Historical Review* (October 1990): 1032–1050.

⁷⁸ “Apostle of Vegetarianism Arrives,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 28, 1895, pg. 7.

⁷⁹ For more on the construction of the hotel, see Carl W. Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture: a History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 101-3.

⁸⁰ For a discussion of Blakely, see Martin Paulsson, *The Social Anxieties of Progressive Reform: Atlantic City, 1854-1920* (New York: NYU Press, 1996), 62-6.

his “attitude towards vegetarianism is that attitude which the Civic Federation holds toward reform—theoretically all right.”⁸¹ Darrow was referencing the National Civic Federation, a body of business and labor leaders that aimed to avoid conflict and resolve labor disputes through moderated reform. The NCF’s positions were notably non-radical and non-confrontational to big business, so Darrow’s comparison with modern vegetarianism was, though perhaps unwittingly, quite accurate. Vegetarians utilized the language of success, strength and development at the meeting, arguing that their diet was “best fitted to forward the mental, moral and physical advancement of mankind.”⁸²

Chicago’s vegetarian organizations continued to grow and hold continuous outings and meetings. The group was active throughout the area, with members residing as far south as Cottage Grove Avenue and to the north along the posh North Shore, home to Chicago’s wealthy elite.⁸³ By the summer of 1897 the Chicago VSA’s west side branch attracted approximately 300 members at the group’s monthly meeting.⁸⁴ Further, the national VSA was becoming recognized as an authority on vegetarianism, a development upon which the organization capitalized. As early as February 1897, *Food,*

⁸¹ For more on the NCF, its conservative nature and connections with Theodore Roosevelt and reform see Gabriel Kolko, *Triumph of Conservatism* (New York: Free Press, 1977), 66,77.

⁸² “No Meats in the Menu,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 29, 1895, pg. 3.

⁸³ “Cut Meat and Fish Dead,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 20, 1896, pg. 5. The group held a picnic outside the home of a member of the society in Evanston that was attended by more than one hundred people.

⁸⁴ “Chicago Enthusiasm,” *Food, Home and Garden*, hereafter referenced as *FHG*, 1, no. 8 (June 1897): 117.

Home and Garden began marketing the development of a Vegetarian Society Mill that produced a variety of vegetarian victuals.⁸⁵

The sale and marketing of the mill reflects the new dietary choices of vegetarians, including the nuts, legumes and meat substitutes advocated by J.H. Kellogg. The society mill starkly resembled a metallic meat grinder, furthering the association began in the experimental kitchen of the Battle Creek Sanitarium of vegetarian food as merely a meat analog. Just as products like Protose and Nuttose could approximate the taste and touch of flesh foods, the VSA's mill could break down non-meat foodstuffs and allow the user to recapitulate the grinds into a meat substitute. A raised cup stood at the center of the mill, where vegetarians would place nuts, beans and vegetables to be ground down, all produced by a simple gear system fueled by a hand crank.⁸⁶

The Vegetarian Society Mill promised a “supply of good, clean, wholesome food” that was provided “at very moderate cost.” The mill not only ground wheat into flour, but it also was “equally adapted to the grinding of nuts which cannot be said of other grist and coffee mills” that would “choke up” given their oily properties. The modern, ingenious design of the mill ensured that the entire wheat kernel, including the bran, was ground so fine that it was even superior to Graham flour.⁸⁷ The mill was versatile, made simple flour out of lentils, peas and wheat, and ground nuts into a paste allowing users to bake mock meat croquettes. The mill was popular enough that merely a year later the VSA was marketing its “Improved Vegetarian Society Mill” that was lighter and easier to

⁸⁵ For the first mention of the mill, see *FHG* 1, no. 4 (February 1897): 54.

⁸⁶ “Vegetarian Society Mill,” *FHG* 1, no. 8 (June 1897): 129.

⁸⁷ “Vegetarian Society Mill,” *FHG* 1, no. 12 (October 1897): 176.

crank. The new mill was presumably aimed at both new customers and those who purchased the original, somehow already outdated model.⁸⁸

The VSA supported its product's effectiveness by providing testimonials from satisfied vegetarians whose lives improved after purchasing the mill. One satisfied customer reported that thanks to the mill his family "have no medicine. . .and no use for a Doctor."⁸⁹ The Rev. Elmer F. Krause from Leechburg, Pennsylvania explained that his mill was "in constant use" and that he "could not do without it." The minister reported he continually found "new possibilities in the mill" including a peanut butter that it produced "to perfection."⁹⁰ Mrs. N. E. Arnold from Dayton, Florida prized her mill because she could roast, salt and grind peanuts "into paste which no meat eater can tell from meat by look or taste." Utilizing the language of vigor that was increasingly attached to vegetarians, another consumer noted that the mill was "strong and durable," concluding that he was "well pleased with it."⁹¹ The mill had even cured the bowel troubles that one former member of the Confederate Army "contracted in the army. . . during our unpleasantness between the North and South." The product had "many profitable uses" not the least of which was the reconciliation and reunion of the Alabaman's stomach and appetite.⁹²

⁸⁸ "New and Improved Vegetarian Society Mill," *FHG* 2, no. 14 (February 1898): 33.

⁸⁹ "Butchering Day Never Comes," *FHG* 2, no. 15 (March 1898): 38.

⁹⁰ "New and Improved Society Mill," *FHG* 2, no. 15 (March 1898): 49.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² "Advertising in Food, Home and Garden," *FHG* 2, no. 22 (November 1898): 149.

The Vegetarian Society Mill was just the first of a spectrum of products marketed to vegetarians in the pages of the VSA's publications. In addition to books and pamphlets—which had long been sold to vegetarians through a variety of reform publications—the VSA also produced and advertised everything from vegetarian soap to coffee substitutes, nut cheese and fruit butters.⁹³ Vegetarianism had become a commercial enterprise, profitable for business owners and helping advocates gain a sense of community, legitimacy and advancement. The society sold ad space to a variety of health food entrepreneurs, including the burgeoning Battle Creek Sanitarium Health Food Company.⁹⁴ Just as J.H. Kellogg and the Battle Creek Sanitarium began marketing and selling meat substitutes, the VSA also marketed products—its own and those sold by others—to a new generation of vegetarians willing to spend money on products that promised to improve their lives.

In October 1899 the VSA's national magazine was renamed *The Vegetarian Magazine*, reflecting the publication's transformation into the singular authoritative voice of vegetarianism in the United States.⁹⁵ The new publication placed an emphasis on advertising vegetarian products, providing space for a wide variety of items including Protose, Wahl's Concentrated Pea Soup, Shredded Wheat Biscuits and Ko-nut, a butter

⁹³ *FHG* 2, no. 23 (December 1898): 182-4.

⁹⁴ *FHG* 1, no. 4 (February 1897): 54.

⁹⁵ *The Vegetarian Magazine* previously was the name of a newsletter that the Chicago VSA was publishing. The fact that *Food, Home and Garden* merged with *The Vegetarian Magazine* further illustrates the predominance of Chicago as a vegetarian hotbed. For a copy of a letter written by Henry S. Clubb explaining the merger, see *History of the Bible Christian Church*. . . , 179.

made from coconut oil.⁹⁶ The magazine's first issue included six full pages of advertisements, out of a total of thirty-one.

Vegetarianism was now a growing capitalist enterprise. New York opened the nation's first vegetarian restaurant on February 5, 1895, the very literally named Vegetarian Restaurant Number 1, on West 23rd Street between 7th and 8th Avenue. The restaurant's menu left little doubt as to its goals, reminding diners of an axiom from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, "Take not away the life we cannot give; For all things have an equal right to live."⁹⁷ An illustration of a young boy dressed in red, feeding rose petals to a young woman laying in a field adorned the menu, reminding vegetarians of the natural bliss the diet produced. Local New York VSA members and representatives from the national organization, including Henry S. Clubb, were welcomed with bowls of fruit soup and bean entrees. Clubb welcomed diners with a speech marking the momentous occasion, calling for similar restaurants to be opened throughout the United States.⁹⁸

Chicago's vegetarians met their goal of opening a restaurant in the middle of a busy business district five years later. The city's first vegetarian restaurant, the Pure Food Lunch Room, opened in 1900 at 176 East Madison Street, in the middle of Chicago's central business district known as "the Loop."⁹⁹ The Pure Food Lunch Room

⁹⁶ *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures*, (hereafter *TVOFC*) 5, no. 1 (15 October 1900): 24, 28, 32.

⁹⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (London: Wordsworth Editions, 2001): 505.

⁹⁸ "Vegetarians in Their Restaurant," *New York Times*, February 6, 1895, pg. 3; "No Flesh, Fish or Fowl But Plenty of Cauliflower, French Peas, Watercresses and Pickles in New York's Vegetarian Restaurant," *The North American*, February 15, 1895, pg. 2.

⁹⁹ This was about three blocks away from the Art Institute, which hosted the vegetarian meeting at the Columbian Exposition. "A New Pure Food Lunch Room," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 4, no. 12 (September 1900): 17.

promised customers a “clean, airy” restaurant with “good ventilation” and “appetizing food.” The restaurant also emphasized its “moderate prices,” “lunch counters” and “quick service” that provided instant, nutritious lunches to workers in Chicago’s growing office culture that emphasized efficiency.

The establishment of the restaurant marked the beginning of a windfall of vegetarian businesses in Chicago, most located throughout the city’s commercial and business districts. A Vegetarian Publishing Company—the home of *The Vegetarian’s* printing press—was located at 84 Madison Street, two blocks north of the Art Institute. The publishing company housed a storefront that served as a vegetarian book and grocery store.¹⁰⁰ The Vegetarian Company also had administrative offices in the McVickers Theatre Building at 82 Madison Street, an Adler and Sullivan designed entertainment palace surrounded by a shell of offices.¹⁰¹

The city featured a variety of vegetarian businesses, including Benold’s Pure Food Store on North Avenue near Lincoln Park, Berhalter’s Health Food Store and Bakery in Old Town, the Ionia restaurant, which had two locations, at 187 Dearborn Street and 276 Clark Street both in the Loop, and the Vegetarian Good Health Restaurant in the posh Gold Coast.¹⁰² The city also featured a variety of vegetarian establishments located near the University of Chicago, including a vegetarian dining club at 5622 Ellis

¹⁰⁰ “Meatless Dishes,” in *TVOFC* 6, no. 3 (15 December 1901): 63.

¹⁰¹ Carl W. Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 40.

¹⁰² *The Vegetarian Magazine* 14, no. 2 (October 1910): 69-71, 73; *Lakeside Classified Directory 1911* (Chicago: The Chicago Directory Company 1911): 1761.

Avenue and the Hygiea Dining Room at 5759 Drexel Avenue.¹⁰³ All of these businesses served the purpose of providing vegetarians public locales in the city's landscape, helping further foment the notion of community. In addition, they were attempts to financially capitalize on the growing vegetarian craze.

Benold's specialized in unfermented wheat bread, illustrating that while the vegetarian movement had moved far away from its Grahamite roots, the issue of healthy, pure bread still occupied the minds of vegetarian reformers.¹⁰⁴ One enthusiast described Benold's wheat bread as being "more nourishing than meat" and a cure for stomach aches and constipation. Just as importantly, the writer noted, "Mr. Benold's Bread finds its way into the homes of scores of Chicago's most prominent families."¹⁰⁵ In addition to its wheat bread, Benold's also carried a "full line of reform foods" including nuts, peanut butter, honey, fruit preserves and vegetarian literature, in order to "set your thoughts into successful action" and ensure "a sound, vigorous and active body." All of Benold's products could be shipped throughout the United States, up to one hundred pounds of pre-packaged vegetarian success foods.¹⁰⁶

At Berhalter's, shoppers found a variety of products "in accordance with Vegetarian Dietetics" that guaranteed, "progress in physical health." The store sold a wide range of goods, including gluten flour, olives, raisins, figs and olive oil by the quart.

¹⁰³ *City Directory for Chicago 1897* (The Chicago Directory Company: 1897): 1462; *City Directory for Chicago 1905* (Chicago: The Chicago Directory Company, 1905): 1087.

¹⁰⁴ *The Vegetarian Magazine* 13, no. 12 (August 1913): 65.

¹⁰⁵ William A. Huckins, "The Real 'Staff of Life'" in *Tomorrow Magazine* (April 1907): 57.

¹⁰⁶ "The Sanitarium Pure Food Store and Bakery of Benold's Unfermented Whole Bread," Henry Edward Lee, *Diagnosis From the Eye* (Chicago: Kosmos Publishing Company, 1904), 164; *The Vegetarian Magazine* 11, no. 7 (November 1907): 1.

The store utilized the language of advancement in noting that it carried “such a fine variety of foods that it enables vegetarians to select suitable supplies to carry on a vegetarian life successfully.” The proprietors also had enough experience that they “can also supply all the knowledge necessary to begin a vegetarian diet successfully.” Medical degrees and scientific knowledge were not the hallmarks of vegetarian expertise; rather a diverse, fairly priced stock of vegetarian products was. Berhalter’s also shipped products throughout the United States. The shipping of vegetarian goods around the country by stores like Benold’s and Berhalter’s illustrated that vegetarians were increasingly connected as a community, though through the process of consumer, product consumption.¹⁰⁷

The Mortimer Pure Food Company was a favored vegetarian restaurant in the Loop by 1906, when its popularity was so great that it employed a staff of fifty workers.¹⁰⁸ The restaurant symbolically represented the new intersection between vegetarianism and commercial success. Alonzo (A.H.A.) Mortimer, a naturalized Canadian immigrant and local business leader, owned the restaurant and also helped manage the Illinois Athletic Club.¹⁰⁹ The restaurant was co-managed by Rufus Fisher Chapin, a prominent Chicagoan and Secretary Treasurer of the International Association

¹⁰⁷ *The Vegetarian Magazine* 14, no. 3 (November 1910): 70. Berhalter’s still was in business in 1930, receiving a patent for its invention of “Figrain,” a coffee substitute. *Index of Trademarks Issued From the United States Patent Office*, Volume 930 (Washington D.C.: United States Patent Office, 1930): 239.

¹⁰⁸ *Annual Report of the Factory Inspectors of Illinois* 13 (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., 1906), 838.

¹⁰⁹ “Alonzo H. Mortimer,” Year: 1910; Census Place: Chicago Ward 7, Cook, Illinois; Roll T624_247; Page: 16A; Enumeration District: 391; Image: 472; Quick Reply “A Rotary Roster Fifteen Years Ago” *The Rotarian* 16, no. 2 (February 1920): 65; “New Move by Athletic Club,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan. 31, 1909, pg. 6. Mortimer was personally involved in establishing a State Pure Food Association in Illinois in 1900. See “Few Pure Food Men Turn Out,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jun. 2, 1900, pg. 16.

of Rotary Clubs, further illustrating vegetarianism's new connection to economic mobility.¹¹⁰ The restaurant's notoriety, as reflected by its name, connected with notions of quality and wholesomeness amongst its customers. It was no coincidence that the restaurant opened its doors soon after the passing of the Pure Food and Drug Act, the first legislation to provide federal inspection of meat products. Utilizing the phrase "Pure Food" in its name, the restaurant emphasized that vegetable-based products were inherently healthier and more trust worthy than the diseased and contaminated meats packed in the Back of the Yards.

Chicago was the city that experienced the greatest proliferation in number of vegetarian businesses, but it was hardly the only site of growth. According to a directory of vegetarian businesses published in a 1904 meatless cookbook, twenty-two vegetarian restaurants could be found throughout the United States. This list was not, however, comprehensive (Chicago's Pure Food Lunch Room, for example, was not included and remained open in 1904). The directory identified vegetarian restaurants in such varied locations as San Francisco, Des Moines, Milwaukee, Colorado Springs, Salt Lake City and Washington, D.C.¹¹¹ Thirty-five vegetarian sanitariums from the United States were also noted by the directory, each of which offered a vegetarian dining room.¹¹² Whatever the exact number of vegetarian restaurants there were in the early years of the twentieth century, the lifestyle was clearly making its presence known in urban areas. The

¹¹⁰ John W. Leonard, Albert Nelson Marquis, *The Book of Chicagoans: A Biographical Dictionary of Leading Living Men of the City of Chicago*, Vol. 2 (Chicago: A.N. Marquis & Co., 1911), 131.

¹¹¹ Edward Guyles Fulton, *Substitutes for Flesh Foods; Vegetarian Cook Book* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, Publishing Company), 251.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 252.

proliferation of such establishments solidified group identity and provided centralized locations for vegetarian living and communal interaction.

The VSA, through its official mouthpiece *The Vegetarian Magazine*, linked vegetarian living explicitly with survival and success in a competitive world. An advertisement from Dr. D.D. Richardson of Chicago grabbed the attention of readers with large block letters proclaiming the virtues of the “Acquirement of Power” that “is a dominant and worthy motive in the lives of men, for ambition is the lever that moves the world.” The doctor’s plan included a distinctive sexual component for acquiring power; the ad warned against the dangers of the nervous system becoming “enfeebled” thanks to varicocele, an unnatural enlargement of the vein in the scrotum that drains the testicles. The disorder caused the “downfall of men whose natural endowments should raise them to the ranks of those whom the world counts successful.” With the doctor’s help, “a combination of vital force” and “inherent nerve power” would create “a masterful will” that “knows no defeat.”¹¹³

As the twentieth century progressed, VSA publications increasingly emphasized vegetarianism as a vehicle towards success. The notion that a meatless diet created productive economic bodies also ensured the continued commercialization of the movement. *The Vegetarian Magazine* advertised itself as such, informing readers of *The Phrenological Journal* that if they “Become a Vegetarian” they will “grow stronger, healthier, happier, clearer-headed” and would be able to “save money.”¹¹⁴ Advertising in

¹¹³ “Acquirement of Power,” *TVOFC* 6, no. 6 (15 January 1902): 145.

¹¹⁴ “Become a Vegetarian,” *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 124, no. 1 (January 1911): 42.

The Vegetarian Magazine, one Chicago-based vegetarian business made these connections even more explicit, marketing its products asking the question, “Would You Like to Be a Successful Vegetarian?”¹¹⁵ The question had a clear double meaning— noting the difficulties in practicing a meatless diet while also implicating that vegetarianism produced financially and socially accomplished individuals.

By 1910 *The Vegetarian Magazine* moved its publishing headquarters from Madison Street to the more visible Michigan Boulevard, continuing to house a bookstore into the second decade of the century.¹¹⁶ Vegetarian restaurants and health food stores opened throughout the country, as far west as Seattle and Los Angeles, as well as throughout Chicago and New York City.¹¹⁷ The VSA itself was already the longest lasting vegetarian society in the history of the United States and continued to thrive under the leadership of Henry S. Clubb. Nearing the end of his life, Clubb began the arduous task of authoring a complete history of vegetarianism to appear in *The Vegetarian Magazine*. As vegetarianism was growing in the United States, and the first generation of vegetarian leaders were nearly all gone, the group was becoming interested in understanding its collective past. The multi-part series was planned to cover the movement from biblical times through the modern vegetarian societies and movements that Clubb was personally involved in establishing. However, Clubb completed only a

¹¹⁵ “Berhalter’s Health Food Store and Bakery,” *TVOFC* 14, no. 2 (October 1910): 90.

¹¹⁶ *TVOFC* 14, no. 2 (October 1910): 25.

¹¹⁷ A partial list of vegetarian restaurants in the United States in 1910 is available at “Vegetarian Restaurants and Homes,” *TVOFC* 14, no. 2 (October 1910): 37; also for more health food stores, see *TVOFC* 14, no. 3 (November 1910): 66, 68. The issue also reported on the opening of the first Jewish vegetarian restaurant, at 168 Henry Street on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. See *TVOFC* 14, no. 3 (November 1910): 99. Vegetarian restaurants in New York City will be considered in greater detail in the final chapter.

small part of the project, publishing the thirteenth and final chapter in December of 1909.¹¹⁸

The VSA continued its growth until Clubb's death in 1921 at which point the organization disbanded. The closing of the VSA so soon after Clubb's passing illustrates just how reliant the group was on a centralized figure with a long connection to American dietary reform. In addition the end of the organization also reflected vegetarianism's development into a more individualized movement by the 1920s, far more concerned with the individual rather than the community at large. In the face of this shift a national organization became less vital for vegetarians.

Clubb's importance to the movement was noted with his death, regarded at the advanced age of ninety-four as a testament to the longevity possible thanks to a vegetarian life. Clubb was remembered in the Philadelphia press as "a well-known figure. . .with his white, flowing beard and sturdy appearance, and always attributed his good health and long life to the vegetarian diet." Vegetarians paid homage to their long time leader as "a veteran" of the cause "who retained to an advanced age enthusiasm and hopefulness and energy."¹¹⁹ The individual vegetarian societies that comprised the national organization continued to exist, though the closing of the VSA led to a weakening of the connective bonds needed to unite geographically disparate groups.

¹¹⁸ For an example, see Henry S. Clubb, "History of Vegetarianism: Chapter II" in *The Vegetarian Magazine* 10, No. 12 (): 6-9. Clubb was so detailed in his history that even though he completed thirteen (though brief) chapters, his last chapter focused on vegetarianism amongst early Christians. See Henry S. Clubb, "History of Vegetarianism: Chapter XIII," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 13, no. 4 (December 1909): 26-30. Clubb's wife Anne became ill to the point of immobility around this time, which probably explains Clubb's failure to finish the history. See *History of the Bible Christian Church...*, 85-7.

¹¹⁹ *History of the Bible Christian Church. . .*, 89.

Conclusion

Thanks to the establishment and growth of the VSA and its emphasis on local organization, vegetarian societies flourished throughout the United States by the turn of the twentieth century. The new vegetarianism was a visible part of urban landscapes from coast-to-coast, not just in obvious locations like New York, Boston and Philadelphia that had long standing vegetarian traditions, but also in Chicago, St. Louis and Portland, Oregon, areas that previously witnessed little vegetarian consciousness. The VSA took advantage of a progressive reform spirit that emphasized local, civic works in order to improve urban living. This style of reform was decidedly incremental, a spirit that the new vegetarianism reflected in its distinctly less radical notions of social change. The VSA recognized the social realities of a newly ordered, consumerist culture and used them for its own purposes in growing a nationally linked organization of smaller groups.

In Chicago, vegetarianism grew considerably in the 1880s, leading to the city's hosting of the World's Vegetarian Congress in 1893 at the Columbian Exposition. The success of vegetarians' efforts at the world's fair propelled Chicago into a position of leadership within the American vegetarian community. As a result, vegetarian publications, health food stores, restaurants and organizations proliferated within the city, most located near Chicago's rapidly expanding centers of business. Vegetarianism was quickly becoming embraced as a viable solution to modern, competitive capitalist society, a route to personal health for improved productivity, strength and vitality. Vegetarians staked their claim to a visible place in the meat capital of the United States of

all places. And while the city remained a bastion of carnivorous activities, the group illustrated that there was also plenty of room for industrious, socially mobile plant eaters.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PHYSICAL CULTURE AND VEGETARIANISM

*Weakness is a Crime. Don't be a Criminal*¹

—Masthead, *Physical Culture Magazine*

The participants attending the World's Vegetarian Congress were not the only individuals interested in the human body to walk the grounds of the Columbian Exposition in 1893. The fair featured displays of strength and physical fitness, wowing visitors with muscularity, power and the suggestion of the link between corporeal and social advancement. Famed boxing champion “Gentleman Jim” Corbett—fresh off of his knockout victory over John L. Sullivan the previous year—placed his pugilistic expertise on display to the gathered crowds. Corbett was known for his measured, scientific approach to boxing, similar qualities that the vegetarians meeting at the Art Institute emphasized in explaining their approach to dietary choices.²

The body and human form were not far from the minds of visitors to the Columbian Exposition in the summer of 1893. Peoples from around the world were on

¹ “Weakness is a crime” was utilized in the magazine’s first introductory editorial, though would later appear in the magazine’s masthead. See Bernarr Macfadden, “Weakness is a Crime” *Physical Culture* 1, no. 1 (March 1899): 3.

² Elliott J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 240-5; Michael T. Isenberg, *John L. Sullivan and His America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994) 300-12. For speeches at the Congress emphasizing this theme, see Louis Paroli, *Rational Selection of Food* in *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 335; Charles W. Forward, “Food of the Future,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 355-59; W.P. Alcott, “Vegetarianism and Progress,” *The Hygienic Review* 2 (1893): 346-50.

display on the Midway, contrasting societies deemed modern and enlightened with those believed to be uncivilized. Fairgoers paid a nominal fee to have their measurements taken and compared to the shapes documented as “normal” by Harvard physical education expert, Dr. Dudley Sargent.³ Revelers visiting Chicago thanks to the fair also flocked to gaze at the rippling, bulging muscles of the recently imported Prussian body builder Eugen Sandow. Large audiences eagerly gathered at the Trocadero Theater on State Street, drawn by the promise of watching a “veritable Colossus of Rhodes” flex and pose in classical Greek forms. Sandow—a living embodiment of strength, power, control and seeming perfection—captivated spectators for three months, inspiring some audience members to sculpt their bodies as well.⁴

Amongst the spellbound onlookers enthralled by Sandow’s majestic poses was a twenty-four year old, formerly often sickly young man visiting from St. Louis for a few weeks in order to experience the Columbian Exposition. Bernard Adolphus McFadden decided to trek to Chicago thanks to an unsatisfied case of wanderlust and a desire to make his mark professionally. The rise of McFadden (eventually to be popularly known as Bernarr Macfadden) reflected a larger connection between vegetarianism and a burgeoning physical culture movement in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Body builders as well as professional and amateur athletes adhered to a vegetarian diet because of the physical benefits it provided. These new vegetarians cared little of the potential social or political benefits of dietary reform.

³ John F. Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 52-4; David L. Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent: Eugen Sandow and the Beginnings of Bodybuilding* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 60-4.

Instead a new generation of vegetarians advocated for the diet while also reassuring the public at large that they were not driven by or beholden to a singular philosophy or movement. Rather they were individuals who chose the diet that most benefited themselves. Vegetarianism throughout much of the nineteenth century was associated with weakness. The new vegetarian athletes and strongmen—largely separated from the social and political streams of vegetarianism—sought to illustrate that powerful, vital bodies and minds could be crafted by a meatless diet.

Born in August 1868 on a small farm in the eastern Ozark Mountains in Missouri, Bernard McFadden was the son of William, a Union army veteran and Mary, the daughter of a local farming family. The early years in the McFadden household were filled with discord, fueled by William’s crippling fondness for alcohol and gambling. By 1873 the family had broken up; a pregnant Mary had enough of William’s drunken abusiveness and took her children to live with her parents. William passed away a year later, suffering from the harsh effects of delirium tremens, extreme withdrawal symptoms caused by alcohol abuse.⁵

Bernard McFadden suffered from a variety of serious illnesses during his formative years, including a six month-long recovery from the effects of the “arm-to-arm” method of smallpox vaccination common in the 1870s.⁶ Emotional scarring only compounded the physical pains the young child faced. Three years after his father’s death, McFadden’s mother sent Bernard to an orphanage in southern Missouri while also

⁵ Robert Ernst, *Weakness is a Crime: The Life of Bernarr McFadden* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), 1-5.

⁶ Patients would literally place their arm onto the scab of a smallpox patient’s arm. The method was not only ineffective in preventing smallpox, but also helped transfer other diseases to the recipient. Donald R. Hopkins, *The Greatest Killer: Smallpox in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 85-88.

placing her two daughters' care in the hands of other relatives. While McFadden's stay at the orphanage was short, there was no reprieve from a childhood of flux. Mary collected the frail young boy from the orphanage, only to send him off to live with relatives who owned a hotel in Mount Sterling, Illinois.

At only nine years of age McFadden was sent away from his birth mother, forced to perform manual labor at the small hotel in western Illinois. Between sweeping, laundry, shoe shining and carrying guests' luggage, McFadden was perpetually ill and exhausted. Within a few years the couple sent McFadden to work for a farmer in Macomb in exchange for cash and produce. During his years in Macomb, McFadden—perhaps hastened by rigorous, constant farm work—began to grow out of his weakened, delicate state. Having scrounged up enough money to ensure safe transit, McFadden escaped from the farm and boarded a train heading back to Mount Sterling. Soon after, McFadden made arrangements to move to St. Louis where his uncle and grandmother lived.

McFadden worked a variety of jobs upon arriving in St. Louis, delivering groceries while also serving as a clerk at the general store where his uncle worked. But dissatisfaction led once again to physical ailments. The teenager quickly weakened, suffering from a constant, irritating cough and chronic headaches. Doctors and medicine offered no relief. McFadden, however, soon discovered a potential cure for his illnesses, noticing an advertisement exhorting the benefits of the exercise program at a local gymnasium. Lacking the funds to afford the gymnasium's fees, McFadden instead

invested fifty cents in a pair of dumbbells. The decision pushed Bernard down a path of physical fitness that would define his long life.⁷

Immediately McFadden began a regimen of repeated, vigorous lifting of the dumbbells, each curl an attempt to undo years of ill health, fragility and frailty. The newly developed strength gave McFadden a sense of control, something he previously lacked while his fate was at the whims of a variety of guardians. Brisk, long walks back and forth to work helped the growing young man gain fresh air and exercise. McFadden even built a home gymnasium in his cellar, complete with a horizontal bar for pull-ups and an improvised trapeze set for swinging. Physical exertion was starting to become an obsession for McFadden, finding time to work out during breaks from the grocery store as well as in the early morning and late into the night. A variety of jobs ranging from clerking, dry goods delivery and bill collecting offered the quickly growing McFadden little mental or physical satisfaction. His only respite could be found in the gymnasium.⁸

Gymnasiums first became popular in the Midwest in the 1850s, appearing in cities such as Cincinnati and St. Louis with large populations of German immigrants. Followers of the Turner movement—adherents to the athletic principles of German nationalist and physical educator Friedrich Ludwig Jahn— imported the *turnverein* (“gymnastics clubs”) to the United States in the years following the failed 1848 German revolution. German immigrants utilized these clubs to acclimate to their new American surroundings; gymnasiums served simultaneously as social, political and athletic clubs.

⁷ On McFadden’s early life, see Ernst, 1-16; Mark Adams, *Mr. America* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009), 74-76; William R. Hunt, *Body Love: The Amazing Career of Bernarr Macfadden* (Madison, WI: Popular Press, 1989), 1-17.

⁸ Adams, 24-7; Ernst, 8-11.

As the years progressed, the *turnverein* movement itself shifted from a largely working-class phenomenon to one dominated by a growing German-American bourgeois, middle class. By the time McFadden became a regular visitor to the gymnasium, it had become a national craze and spread throughout the United States, appealing to a postbellum society that emphasized the development of the individual.⁹

At first gymnastics captured McFadden's attention. Soon after though with his body starting to sculpt into classical, muscular form, McFadden became enthralled with another sport. Greco-Roman wrestling brought McFadden the two things that he craved the most—physical fitness and popular recognition. McFadden also began experimenting with a vegetarian diet, a temporary change that provided mixed results but did lead the young grappler to significantly cut down his overall meat consumption. While McFadden was not converted to vegetarianism, he did find that a decrease in meat and increase in vegetables provided him with increased energy and stamina.¹⁰

McFadden soon after opened his first professional office, operating out of his apartment. A sign outside proclaimed to the world that it was the home of “Bernard McFadden, Kinistherapist.”¹¹ The meaning of the term was not entirely clear to McFadden or his students, other than an amorphous connection to healing through

⁹ Robert Knight Barney, *Forty-Eighters and the Rise of the Turnverein Movement in America*, in *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History and Culture*, ed. George Eisen, David Kenneth Wiggins (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1994), 19-32; Steven A. Riess, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 23, 96-99.

¹⁰ Clement Wood, *Bernarr McFadden: A Study in Success* (New York: Copeland, 1929), 63, 66-70. The biography needs to be approached with a critical eye as McFadden commissioned it. At times the work reads as hagiography. Peeling through the romanticized language, however, it does offer a detailed summary of McFadden's wrestling years.

¹¹ This was the first of a variety of name variations and changes that McFadden chose to utilize in order to market his services.

movement. McFadden emphasized exercise and moderation in diet as the cures for weak bodies, believing that gluttony and immobility caused great bodily harm. Part of this moderation was a lessening of meat consumption by his students. McFadden had yet to fully embrace vegetarianism, though he did emphasize the primary use of vegetables in healthy diets. More important to McFadden at the time was the importance of limiting diet, believing that only a single meal was necessary in a day.¹²

In the fall of 1892, Macfadden began teaching gymnastics and coaching football at the Marmaduke Military Academy in Sweet Springs, where he became known as “Professor B.A. McFadden” despite not having received a formal education. But the draw of notoriety was too strong to keep Bernard in Missouri. When he learned that a friend was demonstrating a new piece of exercise equipment at the Columbian Exposition, McFadden immediately left for Chicago hoping that the “White City” could provide opportunity. McFadden found that inspiration in Sandow, witnessing the exhibition first hand and subsequently imitating his poses while walking the grounds of the fair.¹³

McFadden was sufficiently encouraged by his experience in Chicago to head east to further his re-invention, arriving in New York City in early 1894 intent on putting into practice what he witnessed while observing Chicago’s growing fascination with Sandow. Immediately McFadden went to work, renting two rooms in a building at 24 East Twentieth Street, just east of Broadway. While one room served as living quarters, the

¹² Ernst, 12.

¹³ Ibid., 17.

other functioned as a studio, open to the public to witness free spectacles of “Physical Culture” in order to convince patrons to sign up for training courses.¹⁴

With the press and public gaining notice of a new, modern Hercules, McFadden completed his reinvention and cut ties with his difficult past. A master marketer, McFadden decided that his name sounded weak, common and forgettable. But if he changed it slightly, perhaps he would stand out amongst the usual horde of newspaper advertisements. He changed his last name from the more common McFadden to the somewhat more distinct Macfadden and shifted his first name slightly from Bernard to Bernarr. The distinctive name Bernarr sounded strong, like the roar of a lion. And thus, early in 1894, Bernarr Macfadden, physical culturist was born, a product of marketing, imagination and self-promotion.¹⁵

The new, reinvented Macfadden was part of a growing American physical culture phenomenon, rooted in the antebellum years but experiencing its peak in popularity during the Progressive Era. As this movement evolved, it became indelibly linked to American vegetarianism. Physical culture (the linguistic precursor to the term physical education) referred to a general regimen of health, strength and physical fitness, all tied to the development of individual morality. Gymnastics and calisthenics gained popularity in the United States during the 1850s and 60s but the movement to utilize athletics for physical health remained largely fractured and decentralized. By the 1880s the physical culture movement began the process of professionalization, introduced into the curriculum of colleges and universities. The movement coalesced with the founding of

¹⁴ Ibid., 17-20; Adams, 36-8.

¹⁵ Ernst 18; Adams, 36-8.

the American Physical Education Association in 1895 and its monthly journal the *American Physical Education Review*. Physical culture advocates represented a wide spectrum of Progressive Era reformers, supported by politicians, urban reformers, journalists and the athletes themselves.¹⁶ A turn towards dietary reform was a logical evolution for those interested in the connections between the strenuous life and the development of individual character.

Early in 1897 Macfadden invented and patented a new piece of exercise equipment and decided to travel to England to market the machine. Macfadden's physique impressed a local sporting goods firm enough that it sent him around the country on a publicity tour, offering Macfadden as proof of the equipment's effectiveness. Just as Sandow had done in the late 1880s, Macfadden wowed British audiences with his classical poses clad in a tight leopard skin cloth in front of a black backdrop. The tour was a wild financial success earning high gate returns and selling a fair number of exercisers; he also noticed that a small pamphlet of health articles that he had authored was drawing praise and curiosity. Macfadden decided it was time to bring his physical culture quest to the masses in the form of a new, popular magazine.¹⁷

¹⁶ Dorothy Porter, *Health, Civilization, and the State: A History of Public Health From Ancient to Modern Times* (London: Routledge, 1999), 303-5; Mark Dyreson, "Regulating the Body and the Body Politic: American Sport, Bourgeois Culture, and the Language of Progress, 1880-1920," in *The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives*, ed. S.W. Pope (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 121-37; Matthew Schneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America, 1893-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 137-9.

¹⁷ On Sandow's exploits in England, see Kasson, 35-9; on Macfadden's tour of Great Britain, see Ernst, 19-20; 38-40.

Physical Culture Magazine

Macfadden returned to the United States early in 1898 intent on succeeding where he had previously failed in getting his health tracts published by a major publishing company. If no one else would publish his writings he would simply do it himself. Macfadden rented an office on Gold Street in lower Manhattan and established the Physical Culture Publishing Company, home to the new magazine *Physical Culture*. The nascent publication proclaimed in large block letters on the cover that, “Weakness is a Crime” exhorting its readers, “Don’t be a Criminal.” The declaration was sure to grab potential readers’ attention, but what did the warning actually mean? Macfadden explained in the first issue’s editorial that while weakness was criminal, readers “had no more excuse for being weak.” Similar to J.H. Kellogg’s explanation for illness, Macfadden believed that disease was indicative of the body warning the individual of injurious practices, “a result of the victim’s own ignorance or carelessness.” It was the goal of *Physical Culture* to “preach the gospel of health, strength and the means of acquiring it” in order to produce “vigorous, pulsating health.”¹⁸ The message was clear; by reading this new magazine and applying its principles, strength, power and vitality would follow.

Macfadden’s reinvention—glorified throughout the pages of *Physical Culture*—exemplified what John Kasson has labeled “the recovery of lost manhood,” the crafting of the male body as a means to illustrate the ability to succeed in society through hard work and determination.¹⁹ During the late Progressive Era body builders like Macfadden

¹⁸ Bernarr Macfadden, “Weakness is a Crime” *Physical Culture* 1, no. 1 (March 1899): 3.

¹⁹ Kasson, 30-1.

and Sandow promoted a narrative of bodily conversion to prove their worth in a society fascinated with tales of self-improvement. These stories of physical transformation mirrored the life story of the period's most iconic political figure, Theodore Roosevelt, who overcame a childhood battle with sickness and frailty to transform into a national symbol of strength, adventurism and bravery.²⁰ It is little surprise that early issues of *Physical Culture* frequently praised Roosevelt as an emblem of vigor and vital masculinity.²¹

The new publication appeared bimonthly, packed with articles on physical fitness and exercise. And while *Physical Culture* was primarily obsessed with sculpting muscular, physically powerful, productive bodies, dietary choice was also a principal focus. The first issue of *Physical Culture* dealt with the importance of proper foods as a vital step in the development of vitality and health. In early issues of the magazine Macfadden did not advocate specifically for vegetarianism, though he did support the benefits of the diet. Meat was a highly stimulating food only to be used in moderation if at all. A diet composed of wheat bread, fruits, vegetables, milk and eggs was most beneficial, creating the greatest amount of strength while maximizing the body's capabilities.²²

Macfadden explained that his dietary decisions were based on an ever-evolving process of understanding the most beneficial foods rather than staunch adherence to a

²⁰ On Roosevelt's reinvention, see Kasson, 31; Gail Bederman, *A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 170-84.

²¹ George Ruskin Phoebus, "Theodore Roosevelt, Rough Rider and Athlete," *Physical Culture* 2, no. 2 (November 1899): 123; Governor Roosevelt as a Wrestler," *Physical Culture* 3, no. 1 (April 1900): 36.

²² Bernarr Macfadden, "The Development of Energy, Vitality and Health," *Physical Culture* 1, no. 1 (March 1899): 7-8.

doctrinal philosophy. When the evidence pointed towards the advantages of vegetarianism, Macfadden advocated for the diet. In instances when individuals benefited from moderate amounts of meat, it was permissible. Macfadden was not a staunch, ideological vegetarian. Yet his publication was *the* most read source of vegetarian information and articles through the first two decades of the twentieth century.²³ By November 1899 the magazine already had 40,000 subscribers, far more than the Vegetarian Society of America's *Vegetarian Magazine*. While the VSA's publication had a more dedicated reader base of staunch vegetarians, *Physical Culture* by far exposed more people to the benefits of vegetarianism.

As *Physical Culture* grew, so did its explicit support of a vegetarian diet. However, the magazine also—at times—exhorted the benefits of meat in building short-term energy and strength.²⁴ This development reflects vegetarianism's less politicized identity in the modern age, tied to theories of personal advancement and less concerned with ideological dedication. It was even possible for the benefits of vegetarianism to share magazine space with advice on how to gain the most advantages from a limited flesh diet.

Macfadden assured readers that he was not an “extremist” when it came to his dietary choices. However, he also did believe that a vegetarian diet had the potential to save “thousands of lives” and provided an “energy and power to go on and on without

²³ For the number of subscribers to *Physical Culture*, see *Physical Culture* 2, no. 2 (November 1899): 241.

²⁴ For examples, see “The Development of Great Muscular Vigor,” *Physical Culture* 1, no. 4 (June 1899): 78; Bernarr Macfadden, “No Meat Diet,” *Physical Culture* 2, no. 2 (November 1899): 189.

fatigue.”²⁵ Despite Macfadden’s misgivings in being attached to a distinct vegetarian identity, his magazine explicitly supported the benefits of the diet. Writing in the November 1900 issue, one *Physical Culture* columnist repeated a traditional argument in favor of vegetarianism, pointing out that humans’ teeth were flat, made to grind vegetables and grains rather than rip through meat and sinew. The author supported physiological evidence with a critique of the meat industry, pointing out that cattle were confined in small, diseased pens. Those eating the subsequent processed meat were liable to catch the same diseases that plagued the animals en route to slaughter.²⁶ Meat eaters were labeled as “gluttonous,” a quality in direct contrast to the crafted, muscular images presented throughout the magazine, the result of careful dietary planning and dedicated self-control.²⁷

As the magazine gained in popularity, Macfadden began branching out his burgeoning publishing empire to include books and instructional manuals. As early as 1901 Macfadden turned his attention specifically to the issue of diet. In introducing his book *Strength From Eating*, Macfadden explicitly connected physical fitness with economic vigor, explaining that strength was, “like money. You can never secure enough.” Macfadden concluded, emphasizing the importance of physical strength for social worth, explaining that strength was necessary “to accomplish anything of value of life.”²⁸ Macfadden explained that while some “eat to live” and others “live to eat,” in

²⁵ Bernarr Macfadden, “No Meat Diet,” *Physical Culture* 2, no. 2 (November 1899): 189.

²⁶ J.R. Blake, “The Food We Eat,” *Physical Culture* 4, no. 2 (November 1900): 73-4.

²⁷ John R. Stevenson, “Meat-Eating Folly,” *Physical Culture* 4, no. 4 (January 1900): 173-4.

²⁸ Bernarr Macfadden, *Strength from Eating* (New York: Physical Culture Publishing Co., 1901), 7.

order to experience the “highest and most intense” life, individuals had to eat in order to stimulate “every nerve with surplus power.”²⁹

In order to understand how to achieve strength through nutrition it was necessary to analyze all components of the process of eating in order to maximize efficiency. Chapters on topics ranging from mastication to the perils of overindulgence aimed to give readers a complete analysis of how to achieve dietary success.³⁰ Macfadden provided information on all diets, giving advice even to those that included meat. Much like Ella Kellogg did in her first cookbook, Macfadden explained how to utilize meat in the least injurious ways possible. Macfadden conceded that meat had positive qualities, reflecting modern vegetarianism’s more accommodating viewpoint of meat. In fact, Macfadden argued, an individual living on a mixed diet that included moderate amounts of meat, regular exercise and periodic fasting to purge their system could potentially live a healthy, long life. Macfadden warned that meat was “stimulating in character” and full of “impurities” that would spread throughout the body. However, as unfortunate as it may have been to the physical culturist, most individuals would blindly prefer a diet that included meat. It was up to Macfadden to simultaneously encourage a diet that avoided over indulgence while also affording for the realities of a nation that preferred meat eating.³¹

²⁹ Ibid., ii.

³⁰ Macfadden advocated for Fletcherism, a system of chewing aimed at total maceration of foodstuffs for ease of digestion and nutritional value. Fletcherism had strong popular appeal at the turn of the twentieth century, particularly amongst vegetarians, including J.H. Kellogg. For more on Fletcherism and its appeal to reformers, see James C. Whorton, *Inner Hygiene: Constipation and the Pursuit of Health in Modern Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 159-62.

³¹ Macfadden, *Strength From Eating*, 73-4.

The chapter on a vegetarian diet begins with a promise of ideological moderation. Despite being “inclined to favor a vegetable diet,” Macfadden reassured readers that he was not fanatical in his adherence.³² Vegetarianism, once radical and unforgiving, was appealing to larger audiences at the turn of the twentieth century precisely because of its moderate outlook. Macfadden’s vegetarianism, in fact, was inherently flexible, driven by the whims of his appetite. The body knew itself best, far better than any ideology or movement could. Individualism and knowledge of self trumped communal adherence. Macfadden did believe, however, that in most instances a meatless diet was most beneficial. While meat tended “to fill the blood with elements that cannot be rapidly eliminated by the depurating organs,” a vegetarian diet provided “far greater endurance” and made “a better quality of muscle.”³³ Macfadden, who experimented with a vegetarian diet with some success in the early 1890s as a wrestler, advanced to more explicit support for the lifestyle.

According to Macfadden vegetarianism had a wide array of benefits, including a “better quality of blood,” while also tempering the desire to overeat or abuse alcohol. A vegetable based diet ensured lean, healthy looking bodies exhibiting natural signs of vitality. But Macfadden warned that it was important for vegetarians to avoid the tendency to be poorly nourished by eating too much white bread and other foods that contained little nutritional value. When practiced wisely, vegetarianism was “unquestionably the natural diet of man,” promising a long, healthy and productive life.³⁴

³² Ibid., 76.

³³ Ibid., 79.

³⁴ Ibid., 80.

Macfadden's first book exploring dietetics provided little specific information on recipes or ways to best prepare the foods that he presented as most nutritious. Perhaps this was an attempt to maximize profits; in the same year he published his first cookbook, the *Physical Culture Cookbook*. The cookbook was intended to help build strong and beautiful bodies through proper cooking techniques. Knowledge of cooking contained "as much importance as that of reading or writing" because incorrect cooking methods ensured constant trips to doctors to treat a variety of stomach ailments.³⁵ The goal of Physical Culture cookery was to enhance strength, beauty and intelligence—potent bodies built by nutritious foods.

With a nod towards vegetarianism's past, the cookbook provided three different recipes for Graham Bread, including one sweetened version aimed at dyspeptics.³⁶ "Americans eat far too much meat," warned Macfadden, "and too little vegetable food." Vegetables had medicinal, healing qualities, he claimed. Spinach could improve ailing kidneys, while asparagus helped cleanse the blood stream. Starchy vegetables such as potatoes helped the body produce heat and legumes helped muscle development.³⁷ Vegetables were actually more effective than meat in providing the body with nutritional elements and were best served when cooked slowly on a low heat for long periods of time.

³⁵ Bernarr Macfadden, *Physical Culture Cookbook* (New York: Physical Culture Publishing Co., 1901), iv-ii.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 30-2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

The cookbook included a diverse set of recipes, from simple boiled asparagus to lentil cutlets fried to a crispy golden brown in a spoonful of butter.³⁸ Macfadden provided meat-based recipes, allowing for the carnivorous tendencies amongst Americans. It was important to ensure that if meat was going to be consumed that its nutritional value was maximized. Past generations of vegetarians presented bombastic attacks aimed at humankind's carnivorous inclinations and the ethical implications connected. Macfadden, as part of a more moderate generation of health reformers, simply explained that "every one must decide for himself" whether or not to consume flesh foods.³⁹

In the early years of *Physical Culture*, vegetarian advice was an ancillary concentration of the publication. Isolated articles appeared advocating for flesh free diets; however, it was just a component of or even an optional aspect of a complete, vigorous lifestyle. This focus shifted as early as April of 1901 when Macfadden began experimenting with a raw, vegetarian diet and utilized the pages of *Physical Culture* to exhort the benefits of uncooked foods for their thriftiness and energy building properties.⁴⁰ A year later the role of vegetarianism in the pages of Macfadden's pilot publication was noticeably different, reflecting a new business venture that profited from the significant growth of vegetarianism as a profit maker.

³⁸ Ibid., 65-6.

³⁹ Ibid., 88.

⁴⁰ Bernarr Macfadden, "The Five Cents-A-Day Experiment," *Physical Culture* 5, no. 1 (April 1901): 8.

The Physical Culture Restaurant

In April 1902 Macfadden expanded his business interests, opening his first Physical Culture restaurant at the corner of Pearl Street and City Hall Place in lower Manhattan. Within two years the venture expanded, opening two more restaurants in Manhattan, one in Brooklyn, two in Philadelphia, and one in Boston. By 1908 the geographic reach of the restaurants expanded even further with twenty Physical Culture restaurants, adding Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Chicago to its reach.⁴¹ Macfadden's affordable dining establishments were the first chain of vegetarian restaurants in the United States. The restaurants were so popular in New York City that eight different locations operated simultaneously by 1911.⁴² One observer noted that in one of the New York locations, "at noon, every one of its 200 seats is occupied."⁴³ Similar to other vegetarian restaurants of the time, Macfadden's Physical Culture restaurants were largely located near urban, commercial centers.⁴⁴ Macfadden explained his motives for opening the restaurant, expressing his hope to prove "how cheaply and satisfactorily the human body can be nourished." Macfadden assured potential customers that the food would not only be affordable but also nourishing and delicate in flavor.⁴⁵

⁴¹ *Physical Culture* (October 1908): 7.

⁴² Henry Edward Lane, *Diagnosis From the Eye* (Chicago: Kosmos Publishing Company, 1904), 160; "Vegetarian Restaurants and Homes," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 14, no. 2 (October 1910): 37.

⁴³ Jules Lefèvre, *A Scientific Investigation Into Vegetarianism* (London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., 1922), 19.

⁴⁴ *Physical Culture* (October 1908): 7.

⁴⁵ Bernarr Macfadden, "The Editor's One-Cent-Meal Restaurant," *Physical Culture* 7, no. 1 (April 1902): 26.

The Physical Culture restaurants provided healthy meals at low prices.

Restaurants were split into two levels, a basement that served basic meals at only one cent a serving, and an upstairs self-service café where more elaborate dishes cost five cents. The fare was simple and filling vegetarian foods—at such prices meat substitutes would have been cost prohibitive. Despite the straightforwardness of the fare, the food and cost were enticing enough that the first Physical Culture Restaurant had to temporarily close down after just two days of service because immediate popularity resulted in a shortage of food.⁴⁶

The pages of *Physical Culture* illuminated the restaurant chain's relationship to the new vegetarianism of the twentieth century, even mocking those who would adhere to a radical vegetarian identity. The restaurant was called a physical culture restaurant and not a vegetarian restaurant because vegetarians were “prone to be people of one idea.” Rather than caring about physical and mental development, vegetarians were only concerned with eating, thinking and dreaming of vegetables. The article's author noted that this resulted in vegetarians often looking like vegetables. Vegetarianism had surely shifted; the most widely read magazine that advocated for a meatless diet was mocking those who crafted an identity based on that very diet. The Physical Culture Restaurant, the magazine claimed, drew physically fit patrons with “clear complexions, deep chests, broad shoulders, finely developed muscles and the joy of health in their eyes.” Contrasted to the intellectually inflexible vegetarian, these physical culturists were not

⁴⁶ “The One-Cent Meal Restaurant,” *Physical Culture* 7, no. 2 (May 1902): 102.

mere people of solely one idea—more importantly they defined themselves as athletes, Wall Street workers, body builders and Yale University alumnae.⁴⁷

Diners had a choice of cereals, soups, steamed vegetables, whole wheat bread, steamed wheat, beans, rice, hominy grits, eggs, stewed fruit or a variety of sweet and savory puddings. One-cent meals offered few accoutrements (a bowl of plain, steamed hominy, for example), while five-cent meals provided flavor enhancers such as sugar and butter.⁴⁸ Advertisements promised visitors an opportunity to enjoy “nature’s diet,” emphasizing in big, block letters the physical culturist’s tacit endorsement of the restaurant, proclaiming the restaurant to be Macfadden’s eatery.⁴⁹ The cache worked, the restaurants were a financial success for the original 600 stockholders, paying a one hundred percent dividend on investments in 1902.⁵⁰

The chain of restaurants was supported by a new focus in the magazine on the benefits of vegetarian living. In February 1904 *Physical Culture* began featuring monthly vegetarian recipes, entitled “Fifty Valuable Meatless Recipes.”⁵¹ The feature provided simple vegetarian dishes along with meat analogues such as a roast made of lentils or faux stewed marrowfats made from green peas, lemon juice and lemon zest.⁵² A vegetarian diet was presented as being a key component to success. A January 1904

⁴⁷ Harria Gray, “Physical Culture Restaurant,” *Physical Culture* 9, no. 3 (March 1903): 206.

⁴⁸ “The One-Cent Meal Restaurant,” *Physical Culture* 7, no. 2 (May 1902): 102-104.

⁴⁹ *New York Times*, Feb. 15, 1910, pg. 10; *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1910, pg. 7; *New York Times*, August 26, 1910, pg. 15.

⁵⁰ “One-Cent Restaurant Making Money,” *Physical Culture* 7, no. 6 (September 1902): 347.

⁵¹ Amelia M. Calkins, “Uncooked Foods,” *Physical Culture* 11, no. 2 (February 1904): 131.

⁵² Albert Broadbent, “Fifty Valuable Meatless Recipes,” *Physical Culture* 23, no. 3 (March 1910): 364.

photograph-laden article featured the powerful physiques of vegetarian physical culturists whose forms refuted the notion that vegetarians had weak, flimsy bodies.⁵³ The magazine emphasized vegetarianism's long term benefits, highlighting the life of one vegetarian centenarian who still swung an ax, planted seeds, gathered grains and went for daily brisk walks. A diet of fruits, vegetables, whole wheat bread, milk and eggs had sustained the elderly vegetarian for over fifty years, and explained his vitality even at 106 years old.⁵⁴ A vegetarian diet was so beneficial, the magazine reported, that it even allowed Lieutenant Robert Peary to explore the Arctic, subsisting on a diet of only compressed pea soup and baked beans.⁵⁵

The Vegetarian Society of America and Physical Culture

Physical Culture often relied upon the advice of experts and professional athletes to illustrate the advantages of the diet. The magazine also provided proof of its effectiveness through populist testimonials of the magazine's lay readers. Each issue of the magazine from October 1903 forward featured a section entitled "The Virtues of Our Methods Proven" that highlighted letters written to the magazine by adherents to Macfadden's plan, those who practiced a combination of dietary restraint and muscular development. A.W. Wefel, a firefighter from Portland, Oregon, explained that his life had long been filled with stomach, liver, heart, lung, kidney and bowel problems. However, since he began reading *Physical Culture* and turning to a vegetarian diet, Wefel reported a weight gain of nineteen pounds of solid muscle and the cure of all physical

⁵³ "Vegetarian Physical Culturists," *Physical Culture* 11, no. 1 (January 1904): 25.

⁵⁴ Grace H. Potter, "An Athlete at 106 Years of Age," *Physical Culture* 7, no. 6 (September 1902): 350-2.

⁵⁵ W.E. Meehan, "Food and Drink of an Arctic Explorer," *Physical Culture* 9, no. 1 (January 1903): 13-4.

illnesses. To prove his new strength and vigor, Wefel provided the magazine with a picture of himself flexing his muscles, emphasizing the size and definition of his biceps.⁵⁶

The victory of vegetarians in a walking race proved that “flesh foods should therefore be avoided as much as possible” particularly for those involved in competitions that necessitated endurance. A vegetable-based diet guaranteed the energy reserve needed to claim victory. *Physical Culture* claimed that vegetarian foods were muscle builders, particularly whole grains, nuts and vegetables. The “sustaining power” of a vegetarian diet had been proven repeatedly by the success of vegetarian athletes in long distance running and walking races.⁵⁷ The perspective reflected Macfadden’s vegetarian advocacy that supported vegetarianism for increased stamina.

The Vegetarian Magazine caught onto the growing association between vegetarianism and athletics embodied and popularized by Macfadden and began presenting the lifestyle as central to building strong, muscular, healthy bodies, able to best advance in a competitive society. The Vegetarian Society of America lionized the athletic accomplishments of professional and amateur vegetarian athletes around the world, presenting victories as proof of the diet’s advantages over meat eating. The magazine implied that sporting accomplishments illustrated that individuals were best suited for vegetarianism in order to succeed in both private life and in the business world. The *Vegetarian* reported on the exploits of Germany’s champion walker Carl Mann, noting that his winning time eclipsed the second place finisher, a meat eater, by nearly two hours. Mann defeated an international roster of competitors, walking from Berlin to

⁵⁶ “The Virtues of Our Methods Proven,” *Physical Culture* 22, no. 1 (July 1909): 84.

⁵⁷ Otto Carque, “Meat Eaters vs. Vegetarians,” *Physical Culture* 7, no. 6 (September 1902): 330-1.

Dresden at a quick, powerful pace. Only thirteen athletes completed the entire course, ten of whom were vegetarians. Meat eaters who did complete finished seventh, eighth and thirteenth.⁵⁸

The *Vegetarian* also reported on the success of boxer William “Kid” Parker, a west coast-based pugilist. Parker noted that becoming a strict vegetarian had multiple benefits. “I have gained a mental power and increased my physical endurance,” he proclaimed. “I believe I am a better man in every way—physically, mentally and morally.”⁵⁹ Canadian champion swimmer G.H. Corsan saw vegetarianism at the center of his success, allowing him to have higher levels of speed and endurance than his meat-eating opponents. Thanks to his vegetarianism, Corsan claimed he required less sleep, slept better and was physically and mentally stronger. “Right food in the right quantity,” allowed Corsan the physical tools to succeed.⁶⁰

The publication also noted the success of the Amos Alonzo Stagg-led 1907 University of Chicago football team, which trained on a strict vegetarian diet under the orders of their coach.⁶¹ Stagg was one of college football’s most important figures, both on the field and off, building the University of Chicago into a college football powerhouse during the early years of the twentieth century. Stagg was named the university’s head football coach and director of the Department of Physical Culture in 1892, remaining in those posts until 1933. During those years Stagg changed college

⁵⁸ “Another Great Triumph for Vegetarianism,” *TVOFC* 6, no. 9 (June 1902): 198-9.

⁵⁹ “The Conversion of a Noted Pugilist,” *TVOFC* 6, no. 7 (April 1902): 147.

⁶⁰ “What Must a Man Do To Be Strong?” *TVOFC* 6, no. 5 (February 1902): 99.

⁶¹ “Vegetarianism and Football,” *TVOFC* 11, no. 6 (October 1907): 4; “Vegetarian Diet for the Chicago University Football Team,” *TVOFC* 11, no. 6 (October 1907): 6.

football considerably, introducing such varied innovations as the tackling dummy, the huddle, lateral pass and even uniform numbers.⁶² Stagg's ascension to the head coaching position and his role as a member of the university faculty as director of physical culture marked a significant shift in college athletics' push towards professionalization. As a result, the college coaching profession gained a newfound respectability. Emphasizing the morally transformative properties of sport, Stagg enforced proper decorum and respectable behavior amongst his roster, banning players from drinking, smoking or using profanity.⁶³

Stagg had been living a vegetarian lifestyle for two years at the time and believed the diet had cured him of all physical ailments. However, Stagg—similar to Macfadden's proclamations to his readers regarding diet—was no vegetarian ideologue. In fact, the *Chicago Tribune* reported, Stagg lived his vegetarian lifestyle “unbeknownst to his friends.” Stagg was so pleased with the personal results of the diet that he believed they could only improve his team's performance.⁶⁴ Stagg's ideological underpinnings and devotion to the cause of physical culture explain his motivation to train his team on a vegetarian diet. Physical culture and athletics were valuable because they helped build individual character, discipline and dedication, qualities that vegetarianism could only enhance.

⁶² Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 60.

⁶³ Robin Lester, *Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 19; John Sayle Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 40-5; Putney, 60-1.

⁶⁴ “Kickers to Train on Squash,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*. September 18, 1907, pg. 11.

Stagg believed in what one biographer referred to as a “gridiron gospel,” the notion that football—when regulated by strict standards and regulations—helped develop morality through a life of muscular Christianity. Thus, Stagg emphasized a vegetarian training regimen because of the dual physical and moral benefits. Stagg believed vegetarianism would create better dispositions amongst his players, resulting in better teamwork, while also creating faster more agile athletes. Meat produced overly aggressive, violent players who resorted to injuring their opponents. On the other hand, vegetarianism produced a “gentle and gentlemanly” squad that brought football the respectability that Stagg desired.⁶⁵

The mixture of athletic development with ethical uplift displayed stark similarities with the rapidly developing new vegetarianism of the early twentieth century. Each emphasized physical health and improvement as routes towards social ascension and respectability. In addition, both stressed the importance of individual advancement, achievable through personal choice and actions. The connection also illustrates that vegetarianism—once viewed as threatening and dangerous—was associated with a new ethos that connected physicality with personal betterment.

The *Chicago Tribune* took an interest in Stagg’s training regimen, part of the paper’s larger, growing interest in vegetarianism. The *Tribune* reported that the “blood red” rare roast beef that was usually the preferred food article of training football players was giving way to a vegetable diet. Vegetarianism not only helped players increase their strength, weight and agility, it also provided “quicker and more accurate thinking.” Stagg’s two-year experimentation with the diet cured him of all physical maladies and he

⁶⁵ Ibid.

hoped it would do the same for his team. The diet was vigorously supported by a variety of players, including starting halfback and team captain Leo De Tray who had already lived a vegetarian life to cure a re-occurring bout of indigestion.⁶⁶

The article equated the team's collective vegetarianism with skills deemed necessary to succeed on the gridiron and in life, including positive dispositions, strong teamwork and poise. As vegetarians the Maroons would be faster and play the game with discipline and respectability, a stark contrast to their "beef-fed" opponents "with all their leg breaking and ear twisting savagery." The narrative of a more genteel and character-building style of football through vegetarianism perfectly fit within Stagg's efforts to promote football as a builder of moral character.⁶⁷

The team's vegetarianism gained enough notoriety that supporters of the Maroons even crafted a new rallying cry, shouting, "Sweet potatoes, rutabagas, sauerkraut, squash! Run your legs off, Cap'n De Tray! Sure, our milk fed men, by gosh! Will lick 'em bad today!"⁶⁸ Writing in the *Tribune*, former University of Chicago star and Stagg player Walter Eckersall continuously referred to the team simply as "the vegetarians," illustrating that the team had built an identity separate from their football skills. Despite Eckersall's personal preference for habits that Stagg viewed as inherently immoral like drinking and smoking, the former Maroon reported positively on the team's development

⁶⁶ "Kickers to Train on Squash," *Chicago Daily Tribune*. September 18, 1907, pg. 11.

⁶⁷ Lester, 95-8.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

during the 1907 season.⁶⁹ The diet seemed to work; the Maroons won four of their five games and were crowned the Western Conference champions.⁷⁰

In a similar manner to its coverage of vegetarian athletes, the *Vegetarian Magazine* emphasized the power, strength and skill of vegetarian wild animals as evidence of the diet's effectiveness for humanity. The *Vegetarian* explained that the biggest members of the animal kingdom such as rhinoceroses, elephants, camels and horses ate no meat. The article concluded that "if the largest, strongest, fleetest, tamest. . . of the living creatures subsist. . . on vegetation only. . . surely then we have proof beyond question that the vegetarian diet excels a thousandfold the dead-flesh re-past in its results to both man and beast."⁷¹ Meat eating was equated to violent, wild animals like the tiger and hyena "whose fangs and claws seem formed for the purpose of rending and tearing." Vegetarian humans were more like the "ox, the horse, the dromedary and the elephant . . . in every respect upon the upper plane of life."⁷²

Vegetarians in the animal kingdom were projected as irrefutable scientific, rational proof of the diet, connected to Darwinian notions of an ordered natural world. One article noted that, "many advance the argument that meat is necessary for hard-working men" to gain the strength of a lion. This was a mistaken analysis, illustrating

⁶⁹ Walter H. Eckersall, "Eckersall Discusses Early Football Practice," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 26, 1907, pg. 7; Walter H. Eckersall, "Outlook for the Eastern Elevens," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 27, 1907, p. 11; Walter H. Eckersall, "Big Contests on Gridiron," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 12, 1907, pg. 10; Walter H. Eckersall, "'Big' Games Begin in West and East," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 19, 1907, pg. 12. On Eckersall and Stagg's complex and often contentious relationship, see Lester, 55-62.

⁷⁰ The Western Conference was the progenitor of the eventual famed Big Ten Football Conference. Lester, xx, 104.

⁷¹ "Size, Strength, Sweetness and Docility," *TVOFC* 5, no. 1 (15 October 1900): 7.

⁷² "Why I am a Vegetarian," *TVOFC* 5, no. 1 (15 October 1900): 17.

“that viciousness, anger and animal passion are mistaken for courage, endurance and strength.” It was far more advantageous to emulate the vegetarian elephant who “can carry two or three lions on his back” or like the horse or camel whose endurance was well renowned.⁷³ While the VSA emulated themes of physical fitness and strength associated with vegetarianism, *Physical Culture* remained by far the most popular publication advocating for vegetarianism in the United States in the early years of the twentieth century.⁷⁴ However, a new connection between Bernarr Macfadden and a newly popular author writing on the subject of meat production further connected *Physical Culture* with the growing, new vegetarianism.

Upton Sinclair, The Jungle and B.M.

In the July 1906 issue of *Physical Culture*, Bernarr Macfadden extolled the virtues of a new, muckraking author, canonizing “Upton St. Claire” for his exposé uncovering “the filthy secrets of the Meat Trust.” *Physical Culture* offered an excerpt of Upton Sinclair’s rapidly popularizing novel, *The Jungle*, exhorting its readers to read the novelist’s scathing attack on conditions in Chicago’s Packingtown. Sinclair’s novel was a wake up call, Macfadden argued, one that should coax the magazine’s readers to advocate for the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act.⁷⁵ Thus began a close personal and working association between Macfadden and Sinclair. The relationship was so intimate that Sinclair dedicated his 1911 treatise on the benefits of fasting—a notion that

⁷³ J. George Heid, “Advantages of Vegetarian Diet From a Scientific Standpoint,” *TVOFC* 6, no. 9 (15 April 1902): 196-6.

⁷⁴ Ernst, 39. The magazine had a readership of 200,000 by 1910.

⁷⁵ *Physical Culture* (July 1906): 112.

Macfadden first exposed him to—with recognition of his good friend, Bernarr Macfadden, “in cordial appreciation of his personality and teachings.”⁷⁶

Upton Sinclair’s early years mirrored many of the challenges that Bernarr Macfadden overcame. Born in Baltimore, Sinclair faced the difficulty of growing up with an alcoholic, frequently absent father. Unlike Macfadden, Sinclair channeled his spirit towards mental exertion rather than physical. A few years after moving to the Bronx in 1888, Sinclair enrolled at the College of the City of New York at the youthful age of thirteen, supporting his studies by writing articles for a variety of magazines. Upon graduating from college Sinclair briefly attended law school at Columbia University, only to have his interests focused more on literature and politics by 1900. Sinclair adopted a socialist political worldview, an ideology that fueled his sense of social justice and sparked an interest in writing about unfair labor practices. In 1904 Sinclair spent nearly two months working undercover in Chicago’s Packingtown, documenting worker abuse and conditions, research that he utilized to write his first widely-read novel. *The Jungle* exposed the harsh, exploitative conditions found throughout the meat packing industry and became an instant best seller in 1906. The novel also, albeit unintentionally, placed Sinclair at the forefront of a growing national debate on the quality and purity of American meat.⁷⁷

Sinclair first contacted Macfadden in 1907 suffering from stress, stomachaches and despair following the failure of a leftist writers’ commune that he founded with the profits from *The Jungle*. Sinclair wrote to Macfadden searching for advice on how to

⁷⁶ Upton Sinclair, *The Fasting Cure* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1911), 1.

⁷⁷ Anthony Arthur, *Radical Innocent: Upton Sinclair* (New York: Random House, 2006), 1-18.

best cure his maladies. With Macfadden's coaxing, Sinclair visited the Bernarr Macfadden Healthatorium in Chicago 1909, a health institute similar to J.H. Kellogg's Battle Creek Sanitarium.⁷⁸ The Healthatorium was originally located in Battle Creek, across the street from Kellogg's Sanitarium. Macfadden, bold as always, attempted to challenge Kellogg's predominance in the health resort business. C.W. Post, the inventor of Postum and Grape-Nuts, and J.H. Kellogg's chief rival, owned the building. By renting out space to Macfadden for the Healthatorium, Post was keen to take business away from his arch nemesis.⁷⁹

The appearance of the Healthatorium presented interested vegetarians a choice of resorts to visit in Battle Creek. However, the two locations were remarkably similar in methods. Macfadden's resort offered programs in dietary instruction including fasting and diets heavy in milk. In addition massage, gymnastics and fresh air were prescribed to visitors. One notable difference was within the founders' themselves. While Kellogg emphasized his scientific knowledge in gaining customers by lecturing at the San, Macfadden attempted to illustrate his program's success through the purely physical. Macfadden provided guests with poses and living statues of his physical form every Friday night.⁸⁰

After just two years in Battle Creek the venture was unprofitable thanks to the prevailing popularity of Kellogg's San and to what Macfadden believed to be exorbitant

⁷⁸ Adams, 50.

⁷⁹ Adams, 71.

⁸⁰ Ernst, 50.

rental charges from Post.⁸¹ Macfadden moved his Healthatorium to Chicago's South Side where the resort took over a five story Gothic building on the sprawling Grand Boulevard. However Macfadden was facing significant personal, financial stress. Despite *Physical Culture*'s wild popularity, by 1910 expensive legal fees incurred from fighting charges of sending obscene materials through the mail had mounted.⁸² Under the threat of having *Physical Culture* banned entirely from the mail system, Macfadden resigned his post as president of the Physical Culture Publishing Company and sold his interest in the Healthatorium.⁸³ The magazine would continue publication with Macfadden temporarily resigning his presidency of the Physical Culture Publishing Company. Macfadden also ended his direct involvement with the Healthatorium in 1911, though the resort continued to function with his name attached to it into the 1920s.⁸⁴ While Macfadden's Healthatorium was a personal financial failure, it did impress Upton Sinclair enough to become a spokesman for Macfadden's methodologies, extolling the benefits of his stay in Chicago.⁸⁵

While Sinclair and Macfadden differed in many ways politically, they found commonality in their obsession with health cures and a general distrust of orthodox medicine. Further, both figures faced condemnation for their deepest held beliefs.

⁸¹ Adams, 75.

⁸² Moral reformer Anthony Comstock originally had Macfadden arrested for distributing flyers for a Physical Culture exhibition at Madison Square Garden in October 1905 that featured scantily clad male and female body builders. In 1907 Macfadden was also arrested for distributing obscene materials through the mail, his *Growing Into Manhood* series of pamphlets. Macfadden was found guilty, though eventually received a pardon from President William Howard Taft. See Adams, 55-7, 66-8.

⁸³ Ernst, 50-1.

⁸⁴ Ernst, 51.

⁸⁵ "Bernarr Macfadden Healthatorium," *Physical Culture* 24, no. 1 (January 1911): 120.

Sinclair described both himself and Macfadden as symbols of “vulgarity and cheapness” to the highbrow elements of American society. Sinclair, however, was enamored with Macfadden and his promotion of a “laboratory of ideas,” an open mind and a willingness to experiment to understand how to best benefit each individual. Most importantly, Macfadden’s advice and a free stay at the Healthatorium provided Sinclair with remarkably improved health and energy.⁸⁶

In January 1910, Sinclair began writing a semi-regular column for *Physical Culture*, advocating for a variety of meatless dietary options. A month later, Sinclair wrote extolling the benefits of an uncooked, raw, vegetarian diet. Unprocessed and uncooked foods provided the most nutritional benefits. It was the “lean people who live longest, and do most of the real work in the world,” Sinclair explained to readers. A clean, raw diet that was closest to its natural state ensured fit, productive and healthy bodies, avoiding the dual perils of overeating and disease.⁸⁷

The April 1910 edition of *Physical Culture* featured a cover explaining that the magazine would consider “The Jungle’s Aftermath.” The issue included essays on the topic written by Sinclair and Milo Hastings, *Physical Culture’s* food editor.⁸⁸ Both writers reflected on the lasting effects of *The Jungle* on American food culture. Hastings noted that while Sinclair’s book was important for its role in the passage of the Pure Food

⁸⁶ Upton Sinclair, *The Autobiography of Upton Sinclair* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), 158-60.

⁸⁷ Upton Sinclair, “The Raw Food Table,” *Physical Culture* 23, no. 2 (February 1910): 137.

⁸⁸ Hastings had a long and diverse career that included stints as a science fiction writer, WPA playwright, health advocate, urban planner and pioneer in chicken husbandry. No single definitive account of Hastings varied life exists, for his relationship with Macfadden, see Adams, 84 and Ernst, 91, 115.

and Drug Act, it also led to an increase in vegetarianism particularly amongst those “who were at first sentimentally turned against flesh foods.”⁸⁹

Sinclair similarly noted the effects of his famous novel, both on himself and the public at large. The muckraker explained that he “was not particularly interested in the question of meat” when he first wrote the novel. Instead, “the dishonesty and greed that I found in the preparing of the food products. . . was to me simply one of many forms of graft.” Sinclair in another publication had previously and remorsefully noted that he “aimed at the public's heart” and accidentally “hit it in the stomach” with *The Jungle*; his goal was to advocate for workers’ rights, not to expose the malevolent effects of compromised meat.⁹⁰ Yet years of despair, ill health and misfortune following the book’s success led Sinclair to also be hit in the stomach. Sinclair explained that those “who have pledged themselves to abstain from meat until. . . the rapacity of the Meat Trust is curbed, will gain more enduring and substantial benefit than the reduction of prices.” Mental and physical improvements were guaranteed and as a result he had come to a “broadened view of the diet question.” Sinclair—who originally bemoaned the fact that his novel had affected people’s culinary choices—had eventually come to a similar opinion of flesh foods.⁹¹

Similar to Macfadden, Sinclair emphasized intellectual flexibility over ideological and identity-driven devotion in trying to describe the ideal diet. While Sinclair adhered to a vegetarian diet, preferring fruits, nuts and raw foods to all others, he admitted that he

⁸⁹ Milo Hastings, “The Case Against Meat as a Staple Food,” *Physical Culture* 23, no. 4 (April 1910): 341-4.

⁹⁰ Upton Sinclair, “What Life Means to Me,” *Cosmopolitan* 45 (October 1906): 591-95.

⁹¹ Upton Sinclair, “The Jungle’s Aftermath,” *Physical Culture* 23, no. 4 (April 1910): 354-58.

believed it was "very difficult to lay down rules that will apply to everyone."⁹²

Sinclair himself despised beans—a staple of the more modern vegetarian diet—for being too difficult to digest. A raw diet filled with nuts, fruits and uncooked green vegetables worked best for Sinclair, yet he was hesitant to advocate the diet for all. Sinclair described himself as "a rigid vegetarian—in practice, if not upon principle," personifying the new vegetarian identity, focused almost solely on the individual rather than emphasizing unwavering dedication to an ideological cause.⁹³

While Sinclair was the most well known writer advocating for vegetarianism in the pages of *Physical Culture*, he certainly was not the only. Macfadden himself—despite his own constant changing dietary habits—continued advocating for vegetarianism. Writing in response to one reader's query on kidney pain, Macfadden advised that "if you will stop eating meat. . .you can practically depend upon no further trouble, especially if you spend considerable time out-of-doors and observe the general rules of health."⁹⁴ Macfadden's perspective on vegetarianism was decidedly non-ideological, explaining that while he believed a vegetarian diet to be most beneficial, that he was "not one of the rabid kind. I usually eat whatever my appetite calls for."⁹⁵ Meat was, however, a stimulant and therefore inherently unhealthy. Macfadden even went so

⁹² Upton Sinclair, "The Ideal Diet—How May We Find It?" *Physical Culture* 23, no. 6 (June 1910): 575.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 579.

⁹⁴ "Questions from Health-Seekers Answered by Bernarr Macfadden" in *Records, Physical Culture Magazine*, hereafter referenced as RPCM, American Medical Association Department of Investigations, Chicago, Box 649, Folder 9.

⁹⁵ Macfadden, *Strength From Eating*, 78.

far as to compare the desire for flesh foods as being similar to a drug addict desiring a fix.⁹⁶

Vegetarianism provided long lasting strength and vitality, argued Macfadden, superior to the short-term burst of energy provided by flesh foods. The physical culturist believed that vegetarians, particularly those adhering to a raw diet, would dominate the future of athletics in “the civilized world.” A vegetarian diet was easier to digest and provided greater nutritional energy, helping support the rigors of athletic competition.⁹⁷ Macfadden—perhaps not coincidentally as his restaurant venture continued to grow—continued his support of meatless dietetics, explaining that he had yet to meet an individual “who has not felt stronger and more energetic as the result” of a switch to a fleshless regimen.⁹⁸ However, while Macfadden was advocating for what was seen as a vegetarian diet—abstaining from meat—by avoiding the use of the term vegetarian, he often separated the diet from the more rigid, traditionally unforgiving identity.

As a central figure in the new, modern vegetarianism of the twentieth century that emphasized food as a vehicle for personal success, Macfadden presented his dietary choices as being driven by an acknowledgement of what worked best for each individual at any given time. While vegetarianism might best treat deficient kidneys, “if a meat diet will save human lives. . .then I am in favor of a meat diet,” noted Macfadden, explaining

⁹⁶ Bernarr MacFadden, “How Scientific Dieting Builds Strength,” *Physical Culture* 23, no. 5 (May 1910): 454.

⁹⁷ Bernarr Macfadden, “Vegetarian Athletes,” *Physical Culture* 7, no. 4 (July 1902): 228.

⁹⁸ Bernarr Macfadden, “How the Meat Trust Was Scared,” *Physical Culture* 8, no. 2 (November 1902): 121-2.

that flesh foods were particularly effective in treating harsh cases of consumption.⁹⁹

Macfadden served as a voice of expertise on questions of dietetics, but reflected the new vegetarianism's flexibility, even allowing for the use of meat by those who it would benefit.

While Macfadden's perspective vis-à-vis vegetarianism in the pages of *Physical Culture* was constantly changing, other writers utilized the pages of *Physical Culture* to advocate for vegetarianism directly. One article reporting on the activities of Henry S. Clubb noted the vegetarian leader's rugged appearance and "physical and mental youthfulness" at the advanced age of eighty-two, a similar development that readers could expect if they adhered to dietary reform.¹⁰⁰ Another writer, explaining the state of vegetarianism in Central Africa, noted that "in America and in Africa the finest, cleanest, most vigorous physical specimens of manhood and womanhood. . .are developed and sustained on a vegetable diet."¹⁰¹

Vegetarianism was connected directly with the successful, "most brilliant minds" of both antiquity and the modern age. One article pointed out that vegetarianism produced triumphant, vigorous individuals throughout history. A vegetarian diet provided strength for the ancients, allowing Cyrus the Great to expand the Persian Empire, while also supplying modern giants like Thomas Edison, Leo Tolstoy, Richard Wagner and George Bernard Shaw with the mental and physical tools to contribute to the

⁹⁹ Bernarr Macfadden, "Animal Diet in the Treatment of Consumption," *Physical Culture* 23, no. 1 (January 1910): 5-6.

¹⁰⁰ Henry G. Hedden, "A Vegetarian From Childhood," *Physical Culture* 23, no. 1 (January 1910): 107-8.

¹⁰¹ Guy Walter Sarvis, "Vegetarianism in Central Africa," *Physical Culture* 23, no. 2 (February 1910): 169.

betterment of the contemporary world.¹⁰² Similarly, a November 1909 article reported on “How the Great Preserve Health,” making the connection between dietary choice and personal success explicit. Senator Robert La Follette—a staunch critic of big business and a leader of Progressive Era reform—was purported to have gained his health, dedication and vigor directly from his strict vegetarian diet.¹⁰³

Physical Culture continued focusing its praise on the successes of vegetarian athletes. Max Unger, an amateur body builder, utilized his letter to the magazine as an opportunity to confront Arthur Saxon, a famous strong man who performed in the Ringling Brothers Barnum and Bailey Circus.¹⁰⁴ Unger’s challenge to Saxon and declaration of greater strength was suffused in a debate over diet. Saxon had previously claimed that he ate beef three times a day, believing meat to be fundamental to increase and preserve strength and muscle. Unger, on the other hand, was a vegetarian and desired a test of strength against Saxon in order to prove the dominance of a meat-free diet over a carnivorous one. Unger’s challenge went unanswered.¹⁰⁵

The lightweight boxing champion of England, “The Welsh Wizard” Fred Welsh was lauded because he quit smoking cigarettes, drinking coffee, tea and eating meat. The article emphasized Welsh’s speed, agility and stamina, all provided by his vegetarian

¹⁰² George Howard Jackson, “The ‘Cleverness’ of Dr. Woods Hutchinson,” *Physical Culture* 22, no. 3 (September 1909): 220-2.

¹⁰³ H. Mitchell Watchett, “How the Great Preserve Health,” *Physical Culture* 22, no. 5 (November 1909): 398-9.

¹⁰⁴ Saxon had a famous encounter with Sandow in England in 1897 that ended in a somewhat disputed result. Saxon began billing himself as “The Man that Defeated Sandow” which led Sandow to file (and win) a lawsuit against Saxon for libel. See Chapman, 105-8.

¹⁰⁵ “Arthur Saxon Challenged to a Weight-Lifting Contest,” *Physical Culture* 22, no. 1 (July 1909): 93-4; *Physical Culture* 22, no. 3 (October 1909): 340.

diet.¹⁰⁶ Another vegetarian boxer reported that a meatless diet had transformed his success in the ring, providing quicker hands and feet as well as improved endurance.¹⁰⁷

A third young pugilist was so enamored with *Physical Culture* that he considered it “the greatest benefactor to humanity that ever lived.” The young athlete described remarkable muscular development thanks to vegetarianism, providing a photograph as proof of his strength.¹⁰⁸

An article reporting on the training habits of well-known baseball stars emphasized the vegetarian diet of “the grand old man of baseball,” pitcher Cy Young. Though Young was the oldest player in the major leagues in 1910, his vegetarian diet, rigorous outdoor life and relentless training regimen allowed the Cleveland pitcher to be a “real marvel of the diamond” at forty-three years of age.¹⁰⁹ The benefits of a vegetarian diet applied to both professionals and amateurs alike; a young Illinoisan was lauded for his “wonderful endurance” provided by a vegetarian diet that led to victory in a local swimming race.¹¹⁰ Emphasizing athletic accomplishments made the explicit connection that vegetarianism led to personal, individualized success and dominance over the adherents of a carnivorous diet. Very little attention, however, was paid to the social benefits of the diet in the pages of *Physical Culture*.

¹⁰⁶ John R. Coryell, “Fred Welsh and How He Trains,” *Physical Culture* 23, no. 5 (May 1910): 456-57.

¹⁰⁷ “A Celebrated Society Athlete,” *Physical Culture* 23, no. 3 (March 1910): 282.

¹⁰⁸ “Young Boxer Gains Benefit From Our Literature,” *Physical Culture* 23, no. 5 (May 1910): 430.

¹⁰⁹ Sam Miller, “Tuning Up the Ball Players of the Big Leagues,” *Physical Culture* 23, no. 5 (May 1910): 469.

¹¹⁰ “Marvelous Swimming Record,” *Physical Culture* 9, no. 1 (January 1903): 21.

Macfadden began 1911 with mounting legal fees and decided to embark on another tour of England, the location of his first great notoriety and success. Around the same time Macfadden published the first edition of his enormous *Encyclopedia of Physical Culture*, a reference work that promised to give instructions on how to cure disease and build health through the proven methods of “physcultopathy.”¹¹¹

Macfadden’s bible of physical culture began as a five-volume work in 1912, and would expand all the way to eight volumes by 1928. The encyclopedia’s popularity remained throughout the first half of the twentieth century, receiving continuous re-printing until 1948.¹¹² At nearly 3,000 total pages, the original volume of Macfadden’s masterwork on physical culture covered a wide scope of topics regularly found in the pages of *Physical Culture*, ranging from sports and exercise to sexual relations between men and women. Macfadden often utilized the pages of *Physical Culture* to challenge social taboos and push the buttons of moral crusaders; his encyclopedic tome did the same, with its desire to demystify “the physiological laws of sex” whose ignorance had caused “millions of unhappy marriages.”¹¹³

The encyclopedia treated vegetarianism throughout its musings on all things health related. In the section on sexuality, Macfadden noted that diet was “an important factor” in living a life of “vigorous sexuality.” In fact, sexual depravity (though it was not explicitly explained as to what precisely was a depraved act) could be caused by overabundant and unwholesome foods. Meat was amongst the criminal foods that could

¹¹¹ Bernarr Macfadden, *The Encyclopedia of Physical Culture, Vol. 5* (New York: Physical Culture Publishing Company, 1912): iii.

¹¹² An excellent, concise summary of each of the first five original volumes can be found in Adams, 76-9; also see Ernst, 51.

¹¹³ Macfadden, *The Encyclopedia of Physical Culture*, 2483.

cause sexual degeneracy because of its stimulating characteristics. Flesh foods were particularly dangerous for those who had pre-existing “abnormal desires,” as the arousing qualities in meat would surely lead an already tempted individual down the path of sexual decadence. A vegetarian diet, on the other hand, could help control sexual passion.¹¹⁴

Vegetarianism had changed significantly from its roots in Grahamism, but clearly some similarities continued to exist well into the twentieth century. Yet the correlation between proper diet and sexuality was not solely based on self-denial. Macfadden also noted that a healthy diet would help individuals attain “the highest degree of sexual power.” For Macfadden—in his written theories to the masses, though certainly not in practice for himself—this power implied virility and the ability to produce strong, healthy offspring within the boundaries of marriage.¹¹⁵ Macfadden’s physical culture and dietary theories were centered on notions of how to best succeed within normative society. In the realm of sexuality Macfadden was a staunch critic of prudery but also advocated for sexual gratification as a vehicle for conventional, social acceptance.

The encyclopedia outlined practical advice for vegetarian dietetics, promoting the use of legumes as high protein foods while also advocating for butter, milk, cheese, olive oil and nuts as sources of fat. Cheese was a vital component of a vegetarian diet, two times as nourishing as flesh foods since it contained no wasteful components such as fat,

¹¹⁴ Macfadden, *Encyclopedia of Physical Culture*, 2447.

¹¹⁵ While Macfadden was a strong advocate for the sanctity of marriage—even publishing a book filled with advice on how to have a successful marriage—he was known to be quite the womanizer and was rarely faithful to any of his four wives. For details of Macfadden’s repeated infidelities, see Adams, 66 and Ernst, 218. For Macfadden’s manual on marriage, see Bernarr Macfadden, *Marriage: A Lifelong Honeymoon; Life’s Greatest Pleasures Secured by Observing the Highest Human Instincts* (New York: Physical Culture Publishing Company, 1903).

gristle or bone. Nuts and fruits were necessary because they provided sugar in its most pure form. Cereals and starchy vegetables supplied needed carbohydrates.¹¹⁶

Macfadden continued to publish books linking dietary advice with physical and social advancement. In *Vitality Supreme*, Macfadden provided a unified theory for building the strongest, most energetic bodies possible. The book enjoyed considerable success, receiving consistent re-publication from 1915 all the way through 1929.

Advertisements for the book rhetorically asked readers if they knew what it was that made “men and women fail in business or social life?” The answer was simple—a lack of vitality. Those who attained supreme vitality had the ability to work fourteen-hour workdays and feel as energetic as they did when the day began. The resultant happiness would cause readers to “sing and shout from the sheer joy of living.”¹¹⁷

What precisely was vitality though, and why was it so desirable? Macfadden explained that vitality was comprised of two main components, “endurance and the ability to live longer.” More importantly vitality promised a particular quality of life, providing unending energy, enthusiasm, vigor and social advancement. Macfadden urged his readers to embrace “the importance of success” since “everyone is guided to a large extent by the desire to succeed.” Vitality, health and strength helped individuals secure “life’s most gratifying prizes,” and were attainable by anyone with the right knowledge, dedication and discipline.¹¹⁸ Macfadden mixed the language of success with

¹¹⁶ Macfadden, *Encyclopedia of Physical Culture*, 2896-2900.

¹¹⁷ “Vitality Supreme—For Men and Women,” *Illustrated World* 24, no. 6 (February 1916): 863.

¹¹⁸ Bernarr Macfadden, *Vitality Supreme* (New York: Physical Culture Publishing Company, 1915), 1-6.

a populist promise of social mobility for those who were dedicated enough to try, in order to coax readers towards a vital life.

A proper diet of fruits, vegetables and nuts nourished the body's powers. Meat, Macfadden claimed, caused a variety of physical ailments that inhibited the individual's ability to succeed, ranging from serious thyroid disorders to daily constipation.¹¹⁹ A raw, vegetarian diet provided foods in their "natural condition" filled with life and "energy vivacity." Macfadden emphasized the use of fruits, nuts, vegetable salads, cereals and dairy products to provide the most balanced meatless diet possible. Vegetarianism built better quality tissue, provided more endurance and guaranteed a longer, healthier life than one filled with flesh foods. However, despite wholeheartedly advocating for the benefits of a vegetarian diet, Macfadden continued to avoid the potential pitfalls of being labeled a faddist or ideologue, promising his followers that "One can, however, maintain good health without being might be termed a dietetic crank."¹²⁰ For Macfadden, dietary choice was centered on individuals making choices for health and physical perfection, rather than intellectual, political, moral or spiritual advancement.

Physical Culture marked just the beginning of Macfadden's ascendance to the position of publishing magnate and popular culture icon in the United States. By 1915 Macfadden was back in the United States and regained control over the Physical Culture Publishing Company. With the profits from *Physical Culture* Macfadden expanded his company, starting first with *True Story*, a magazine that featured salacious, confessional first-person narratives of real events provided by reader submissions. The magazine was

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 22, 102.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 89-101.

an immediate, immense success, growing to more than two million readers per issue by 1926.¹²¹ Macfadden's publishing empire continued to grow, including such varied titles as *True Detective*, *True Romances* and *Ghost Stories*, and even branched out into the newspaper business with the popular tabloid *The New York Evening Graphic*. His career included attempts to grab the Republican presidential candidacy in 1936, a Senate seat from Florida in 1940, a brief fascination with Benito Mussolini and fascism, and an appearance as a celebrity "mystery guest" on the popular television program *What's My Line* in 1951.

Most importantly, in regards to the evolution of vegetarian identity in the United States, Bernarr Macfadden helped complete the transformation of a new style of vegetarianism. The connection between physical culture and vegetarian dietetics finished a cycle that started with politically radical, social pariahs into a community linked together through a common self-obsession and dedication to personal success. Vegetarians in the process continued a turn towards social acceptance through the language of the individual. However, the results also shifted the movement further away from its more socially conscious roots.

The Government Goes Meatless

For years Bernarr Macfadden and *Physical Culture* magazine sought to define strength and masculinity through dietary choices. When the United States entered World War I, *Physical Culture* magazine attempted to deal with the delicate question of vegetarians' role in the expanding war effort. *Physical Culture* had spent the previous two decades advocating for the personal and physical strength building capabilities of a

¹²¹ Ernst, 75-7.

vegetarian diet. Responding to the onset of war, *Physical Culture* emphasized the need for what Bernarr Macfadden labeled “men in brain and body.” Macfadden believed that “the manhood” of the United States had been collectively called to reckoning, that the values he had spent his professional life advocating for were being put to the test. Macfadden argued that the fate of the war would be decided by those “nations that can furnish the best, the most capable, the most courageous men.”¹²²

Five months after the United States officially entered World War I, *Physical Culture* attempted to directly answer the question of the role of vegetarians in the war effort. An editorial in the August 1917 issue of the magazine asked the question, “Are Vegetarians Good Fighters?” Predictably, *Physical Culture* fell squarely on the side of vegetarians as assets to the country’s fighting efforts. The author, Melville Durant, explained that vegetarians were not any less patriotic than all other Americans and no less apt to “come to the defense of their country than any other group.” Durant evoked the magazine’s long-standing support of Theodore Roosevelt in his rationale for supporting vegetarians as fighters, explaining that, “Anyone who knows anything about the bull moose knows that there is no more dangerous animal in the world. He is a vegetarian.”¹²³

While *Physical Culture* raised the issue of dietary choice and fighting fitness early on, the question remained vitally important throughout the war in a direct way that affected civilians on the home front. In October 1917, the recently formed United States

¹²² Bernarr Macfadden, “What We Need to Win This War,” *Physical Culture* 38, no. 3 (September 1917): 1.

¹²³ Melville Durant, “Are Vegetarians Good Fighters,” *Physical Culture* 38, no. 3 (August 1917): 90. There is no other record of Durant contributing to *Physical Culture* and no other trace of him within the historical record. It is possible that it was Macfadden writing under a pen name, or a member of his regular writing staff, a practice that occurred frequently throughout the history of *Physical Culture* to make the publication seem more diverse in its contributors. See Hunt, 24.

Food Administration under the direction of Herbert Hoover began encouraging American citizens to take part in its “Meatless Tuesdays” program, as well as pledge to have one meatless meal a day in order to save meat to ship to allied troops abroad. The idea was a means to prove the administration’s overriding slogan and notion that “Food Will Win the War.” The campaign was aimed primarily at women, exploiting the growing home economics movement and connecting it with a notion of civic duty during a worldwide crisis.¹²⁴

Meatless and wheatless days were necessary because of reduced productivity and agricultural harvest in Europe as well as the interruption of long distance trade routes. President Woodrow Wilson’s resolution explaining the meatless program was bathed in the language of patriotism, duty and honor. Wilson described dietary restriction as being “one of the most pressing obligations of the war,” and necessary because it served “the national interest.” The President called on “every loyal American” to follow the guidelines of the Food Administration and emphasized the role of women in ensuring that households follow the new rules. It was, as explained by Wilson, their “national service.”¹²⁵

Meat abstention, if only a once a week, was ostensibly presented to the American public as a patriotic act of self-control. The program targeted private citizens as well as businesses, as restaurants and large hotels were mandated to follow the meatless day each

¹²⁴ Julian E. Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy: The Politics of National Security—From World War I to the War on Terror* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 28; George H. Nash, *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Master of Emergencies, 1917-1918* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), 229.

¹²⁵ For a full copy of Wilson’s presidential proclamation, see “President’s Proclamation Calling on Citizens for Meatless, Porkless and Wheatless Periods,” *New York Times*, Jan. 27, 1918, pg. 2.

week.¹²⁶ The campaign certainly did not advocate for complete meat abstention or even vegetarianism in name, defining meatless food as being those “without any cattle, hog, or sheep products.”¹²⁷ Chicken, fish, seafood and other poultries were acceptable alternatives. However, the nature of the program—how it was presented to the public, and the dietary advice that it contained—were clearly affected by the growth of vegetarianism in the United States in the years leading up to the war, advocating many of the same dishes that vegetarians popularized.

The Food Administration utilized an intense public relations campaign to encourage Americans to give up meat at least once a week. A massive propaganda operation was launched under Hoover’s watchful eye, employing 1,500 public employees who produced 43,000 posters and 2,000 press releases urging Americans to observe meatless Tuesdays.¹²⁸ Dietary choice was connected with individual duty and given governmental validation as having significant social and cultural power. Pamphlets, posters, newspaper advertisements and cookbooks were all published encouraging Americans to do their part in winning the war. Private individuals wrote manuals advising on how to best live a meatless lifestyle once a week, supplementing materials printed by the American government. The contents of these manuals illustrated the concrete effects that vegetarian ideals, identity and cuisine had on American culture by the start of American involvement in World War I.

¹²⁶ William Clinton Mullendore, *History of the United States Food Administration* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1941), 115.

¹²⁷ United States Food Administration, *War Economy in Food* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 10.

¹²⁸ Harold L. Platt, *The Electric City: Energy and the Growth of the Chicago Area, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 225.

The United States Food Administration itself, in its advice on how citizens could best survive one meatless day per week, provided information influenced by the new vegetarianism. The government did not have any objections to the use of poultry, fish or other less necessary animal products as proteins. However, the government endorsed methods first developed and embraced by American vegetarians in its advice on how to substitute for flesh foods during the war. The Food Administration advised Americans to utilize nuts, peas, beans and other legumes as substitutes for beef, bacon, mutton and pork.¹²⁹ Vegetarians had made similar suggestions for more than two decades, emphasizing nuts and legumes as healthy delicacies that could be easily manipulated to replace flesh foods.

The Council of National Defense—a policy group formed by President Wilson that included the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor—was formulated in order to coordinate the use of industrial production and goods for the war effort. The group worked in conjunction with an advisory commission composed of business and industrial leaders in order to best plan for the war effort. On a local level, the commission functioned through the coordinated efforts of smaller councils and woman's committees that worked to coordinate female volunteers and advise individuals on how to best serve the war effort at home.¹³⁰ As part of their duties the woman's committees produced guides and cookbooks to distribute to local households on how to best prepare meatless meals.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 11.

¹³⁰ Christopher Joseph Nicodemus Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and The Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 94.

The St. Louis County Unit of the woman's committee published its *Win the War* cookbook in 1918, providing home epicures with meatless menus that utilized the vegetarian methodology of mock meat recipes. The cookbook advised home cooks on how to best prepare vegetable soup without the benefit of beef or animal bones, while also giving instruction on how to prepare soy bean as well as rice and peanut croquettes, cooked in a thick heavy cream sauce. Similar recipes could be found in vegetarian cookbooks in the early years of the twentieth century. A recipe for mock mincemeat called for green tomatoes, apples, raisins, allspice, cloves, cinnamon and nutmeg. The result was so tasty that it was tested on a group of 500 soldiers on a transport who deemed the pie to be "perfect" while clamoring for extra helpings.¹³¹ The recipe could be found in vegetarian cookbooks as early as the late nineteenth century and throughout the early years of the twentieth.¹³² The dish was even utilized by vegetarians as early as the second meeting of the American Vegetarian Society in the fall of 1851, though conceived of as a fruit, mince pie rather than as a meat substitute.¹³³

The woman's committee of Cleveland also offered meatless advice to local women, explicitly emphasizing the duty of meatless living in the title of its *Patriotic Cookbook*. The book explained that home cooks were being called to service for the country, begging readers to do what they could in the hour of "extreme peril to the

¹³¹ *Win the War Cookbook* (St. Louis: St. Louis County Unit, Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, 1918), 76, 106, 139.

¹³² The recipe can be found as a vegetarian dish in cookbooks such as Francis Emugene Owens, *Mrs. Owens' New Cook Book and Complete Household Manual* (Chicago: Owens' Publishing Company, 1899), 668; Edward E. Howe, *Vegetarian Cook Book* (New York: Squire Publishing, 1887), 74; Sarah Tyson Rorer, *Mrs. Rorer's Vegetable Cookery and Meat Substitutes*, (Philadelphia: Arnold & Company, 1909), 214.

¹³³ "The Festival," *American Vegetarian and Health Journal* 1, no. 10 (October 1851): 176.

democratic people of the world.” A variety of vegetarian recipes were provided, including green peppers and tomatoes stuffed with cowpeas instead of meat, a pea loaf made of cooked green peas, breadcrumbs and eggs, and a peanut loaf that resembled many of J.H. Kellogg’s meat substitutes developed at the Battle Creek Sanitarium.¹³⁴ Pittsburgh’s woman’s committee put together a wartime cookbook as well, including recipes for mock sausage made from lima beans and a variety of dried spices.¹³⁵

Private cookbook authors who were not directly connected to the federal government also sought to spread the message of meatless days through a proliferation of cookery guides that offered vegetarian-influenced dishes and ideology. Eugene Christian, a twenty-one year vegetarian and raw food advocate who wrote extensively on the issue of dietary habits, provided a book filled with meatless and wheatless recipes and menus. Christian explained that humanity did its best thinking during “abnormal periods” where habitual acts were questioned and often overturned. The self-proclaimed “food scientist” explained that the Meatless Tuesdays program was proof of this observation, as the war caused the government to advocate for the cause of less meat as a patriotic duty. Christian’s largely raw, vegetable-based meatless menus were similar to the uncooked dietary advice found in the pages of *Physical Culture* magazine during the early years of the 1900s. Other recipes, including nut and vegetable roasts were similar to those found in vegetarian restaurants throughout the United States.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ *Patriotic Cook Book* (Cleveland: Mayor’s Advisory War Board, 1918), 1, 27-8.

¹³⁵ Twentieth Century Club of Pittsburgh, *Twentieth Century Club War Time Cook Book* (Pittsburgh: Pierpont, Siviter & Co., 1918), 47.

¹³⁶ Eugene Christian, *Meatless and Wheatless Menus* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1917), 5-7, 40-3, 125-6.

Alice Bradley, a teacher at Fannie Farmer's famed Miss Farmer's School of Cookery in Boston, published her own meatless and wheatless tract in order to "satisfy the appetites of the family, meet their requirements for nutrition and follow the suggestions of the Food Administration to conserve meat."¹³⁷ Bradley explained that meat was expensive and if used at all during the war should be limited to just once a day, on non-meatless days. However, Bradley's implication was clear; during the war it would be most beneficial for individuals and the soldiers alike if households cut all meat from their diet. A meat substitutes section closely mimicked those found in vegetarian cookbooks of the early twentieth century, placing vegetable-based quasi-meats as replacements for flesh foods rather than as foods of their own merit. The book included recipes for a soybean loaf, rice and peas, vegetable roast and a rice nut loaf that was already popular with vegetarians starting in the early twentieth century.

The cookbook *Wheatless and Meatless Days* made the connection between vegetarian victuals and American nationalism explicit through nomenclature, giving meat substitutes patriotic sounding titles. The authors—home economics teachers from a San Diego high school—explained that conservation of food was part of the "battle array" in empowering housewives to help win the war. The "practical self-denial" of meatless days helped ensure success both at home and on the battlefield, "strengthening the arms

¹³⁷ On Farmer's school, see Laura Shapiro, *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008), 112-5; Alice Bradley, *Wheatless and Meatless Menus and Recipes* (Boston: Miss Farmer's School of Cookery, 1918), i.

and hearts” of all Americans. Most importantly, substituting for meat was a sacrifice possible to all who “follows the flag” with sincerity in their hearts.¹³⁸

A section of the book explicitly labeled foods as “meat substitutes,” in the same manner as previous years’ vegetarian cooking guides. Recipes for common meat substitutes were provided, including a peanut loaf as well as a bean and nut loaf. Less common meat substitutes including a mock crabmeat made of stale bread, mustard, flour and eggs expanded home cooks’ meatless repertoires. However, many of the recipes went further in their appropriation of vegetarian foods for the war effort. Recipes were given explicitly patriotic names, implying that the act of cooking and consuming were rife with political meaning. Combining and baking walnuts, rice, breadcrumbs, cheese and Worcestershire created a “Liberty Loaf,” a meatless meal associated with democratic freedom. Baked beans cooked with breadcrumbs, eggs, ketchup, onion and a mustard sauce produced a “Navy Loaf” with a “Gunner Sauce” that could make any midshipmen proud.¹³⁹ Another cookbook introduced the American public to “Liberty Meat,” made of cooked cornmeal, walnuts and peanut butter fried in oil.¹⁴⁰ Utilizing such names made the point explicit; food had political, social, patriotic and cultural meaning, a notion that American vegetarians had expressed for nearly one hundred years.

During the war years debates over the power of food language were not isolated to the newly re-christened patriotic meatless fare. Food language and choices took on

¹³⁸ Hester Martha Conklin and Pauline Dunwell Partridge, *Wheatless and Meatless Days* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918), vii-viii.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 169-88. Other cookbooks of the time that emphasized meatless living through a patriotic lens include, Mary Elizabeth Evans, *Mary Elizabeth’s War Time Recipes* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1918) and Amelia Doddridge, *Liberty Recipes* (Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company, 1918).

¹⁴⁰ *Twentieth Century Club War Time Cook Book*, 44.

added nationalistic flavor. Sauerkraut, because of its national roots, was re-named “liberty cabbage” in a fit of jingoistic, anti-German sentiment.¹⁴¹ A similar change occurred with the identity of the hamburger, often referred to instead as a “liberty steak” or “liberty sandwich.”¹⁴² Just as vegetarians had done with the marketing of meat substitutes, zealous, American nationalists manipulated the nature of food through the power of language. By re-naming these products consumers actively manipulated the very identity of the food they ate, disconnecting hamburgers and sauerkraut from their roots that were deemed as socially and politically problematic. Modern society, with its emphasis on empowerment of the self, even allowed individuals to re-define the nature of food products. Food was no longer characterized by its chemical properties, ingredients or national origin. Rather, it was defined through the preferences of individuals, often guided by marketing, the press, governmental propaganda or even xenophobic fear.

The popular press picked up on the association between patriotism and temporary, once-a-week meat abstinence, emphasizing that dietary choice helped support American war efforts. An October 13, 1917 *Chicago Tribune* editorial argued in favor of meatless days by pointing out that throughout history “great wars were won by soldiers who never tasted meat.” The author noted that the armies of Cyrus the Great, the ancient Romans and Napoleon thrived through the sustenance of meatless diets.¹⁴³ Two weeks later on October 29, the paper exhorted its readers to “shun meat tomorrow” to prove

¹⁴¹ John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 208. For an example of the use of the term “liberty cabbage” in a recipe, see Marion Harris Neil, *The Thrift Cook Book* (Philadelphia: David McKay Publishers, 1919), 109.

¹⁴² David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 68; Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 292.

¹⁴³ Jean Roberts Albert, “A Vegetarian Diet,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 13, 1917, pg. 6.

their patriotism.¹⁴⁴ The *Tribune*'s domestic, culinary guide Jane Eddington—who popularized meat substitutes in the pages of the newspaper as early as 1910—provided readers with regular meatless menus. While the government's meatless advice often included fish and poultry, Eddington advised readers that, “the truest meatless meals are those in which a dish of peas or beans is chief.”¹⁴⁵ Legumes were already a preferred meat substitute for vegetarians as early as the turn of the century. Eddington's meatless menus and recipes geared towards patriots continued until March 1918.¹⁴⁶

The *Tribune* made an explicit connection between meatless Tuesdays and vegetarianism by suggesting the use of meat substitutes as patriotic and delicious. One article reported that at a downtown luncheon to raise funds for the local woman's committee of the Council of National Defense, a hungry diner experienced a “palpitating moment” as she “drove the carving fork into the breast of what looked like a perfectly good barnyard specimen of roast turkey.” However, this was no fowl. Instead it was a meatless turkey roast made of lima beans, peas, Brazil nuts, eggs, flour, onion and celery. The mock turkey was described as “absolutely marvelous” and “proved to be of the most delectable flavor, the texture tender and juicy.” The roast so accurately approximated a real turkey that it even included imitation white and dark meat, the darker version including grated, rolled wheat to give the food its hue.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ “Patriot? Shun Meat Tomorrow,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 29, 1917, pg. 1.

¹⁴⁵ For examples, see Jane Eddington, “Tribune Cook Book: Many Meatless Menus,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 6, 1917, pg. 1917; Jane Eddington, “Tribune Cook Book,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 13, 1917, pg. 14; Jane Eddington, “Cream of Carrot Soup,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 27, 1917, pg. 14.

¹⁴⁶ Jane Eddington, “Tribune Cook Book: This is Meatless Day!” *Chicago Daily Tribune* Mar. 19, 1918, pg. 12.

¹⁴⁷ “Have You Ever Dined Upon the Mock Turkey,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb. 20, 1918, pg. 3.

The *Tribune* reported on one Great Lakes region restaurant that had gone almost completely flesh free, save for a little bit of lake trout served with lunch. Readers who were afraid that diners might have starved were asked to peruse the day's delectable menu of scrambled eggs and hominy grits for breakfast, bean soup and potatoes for lunch, and baked beaks with hot slaw for dinner.¹⁴⁸ Meat consumption was associated with treasonous gluttony, including one restaurateur whose insistence on serving steak caused what the paper described as a "rumpus." The restaurant's owner, Carl Witte, was actually a German born national, whose menu continued to include dishes such as filet mignon, mutton chops, pork shank and spareribs. The implication was clear: serving meat on meatless days was an inherently anti-American act.¹⁴⁹

In contrast, the owner of a restaurant who survived a beating when he refused to serve nine patrons a meat-based meal on a Tuesday was labeled a "patriotic restaurant man" for his decision to stick by his culinary principles.¹⁵⁰ The paper also suggested that Marion F. Sturgis—a housewife who wrote to the paper about her patriotic domesticity—deserved a medal for her ability to make flavorful meatless mincemeat pies with green tomatoes instead of meat.¹⁵¹ In another instance, the paper went as far as suggesting that President Wilson sign an executive order calling for all Americans to observe at least one meatless day a week.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ "Food, Food, Food, At Great Lakes 'Meatless Day,'" *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1917, pg. 7.

¹⁴⁹ "Raids Uncover Food Violations on South Side," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 29, 1917, pg. 17.

¹⁵⁰ "Observance of Meatless Day Causes Beating," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1917, pg. 11.

¹⁵¹ "Quick! A Medal for Mrs. Sturgis," *Chicago Daily Tribune* Dec. 23, 1917, pg. D4.

¹⁵² "Meatless Day for Everybody," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 21, 1917, pg. 8.

The *New York Times* similarly described the meatless program, emphasizing the patriotism attached to weekly meat abstention, labeling the idea a “patriotic rule” soon after its enactment.¹⁵³ The *Times* labeled households that did not adhere to meatless Tuesdays as being “pro-German,” proven by families’ lack of desire to sacrifice for a greater good. Those who ignored the call for a meatless day who were not treasonous were either “food slackers” or “delinquent Americans,” driven by pure selfishness.¹⁵⁴ Even the employed domestic help of New York’s elite pledged to do their part and observe meatless days. Henry Physick, J.P. Morgan’s butler and a founder of the Butler’s Committee in New York, organized to spread the notion of sacrifice throughout the city’s domestic help. Physick explained that he was saving food “for our own boys at the front,” believing that it was incumbent upon the city’s domestics to work for such a goal. Physick pointed out that even if domestics’ employers signed pledges to abstain from meat, it would do little good if their employees did not adhere to this policy. The butler viewed his work as thus being “patriotic” and an “honor.”¹⁵⁵

The *Times* reported on the efforts of posh Manhattan hotels to execute meatless Christmas dinners in 1917, despite the fact that the holiday did not even fall on a Tuesday. While some hotels utilized less popular meats such as turtle and guinea hen, others served a full Christmas dinner without an ounce of flesh. The Park Avenue Hotel on 32nd Street and the west side of Fourth Avenue served a Christmas dinner that was “simple. . . plain, wholesome food” that had been entirely “Hooverized.” Instead of flesh,

¹⁵³ “Beefless Day Effective: Hotels in New York and Throughout Country Keep Patriotic Rule,” *New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1917, pg. 4.

¹⁵⁴ “Extending Mr. Hoover’s Powers,” *New York Times*, Jan. 17, 1918, pg. 12.

¹⁵⁵ “Servants in Big Houses Join For Saving,” *New York Times*, February 10, 1918, pg. 44.

a mock turkey roast known as a “Vermont Turkey” was served along with cream of tomato soup, mashed potatoes, mashed turnips and a salad of romaine lettuce.¹⁵⁶

Previous to the Progressive Era vegetarians and their food were mocked by normative society, even demeaned as being anti-American in their supposed ability to build weak individuals. As America entered a world war, vegetarian cuisine was being described as strong and patriotic, some dishes even tied to branches of the military in their name. The path of development that vegetarianism followed from the radical antebellum era politics of the American Vegetarian Society to the twentieth century, muscular vegetarianism of Bernarr Macfadden logically led to the eventual correlation between vegetarianism and military victory.¹⁵⁷

While the government’s program did not explicitly advocate for vegetarianism as an ideology, it did prescribe meat abstention as a brave, patriotic act of self-sacrifice. In addition, the drive for meatless Tuesdays emphasized the use of meat substitutes that vegetarians helped conceive of and popularize. Vegetarians had consumed these meat analogues for nearly two decades and made non-vegetarians aware of these fleshless products. Perhaps, in no small way, vegetarians helped socially prepare Americans and their palates for their brief and limited dalliance with meatless living during the war.

The push for meatless Tuesdays and meatless meals were driven by a logistical need to export meat overseas. However it was also highly influenced by vegetarian

¹⁵⁶ “No Meat Christmas in the Big Hotels,” *New York Times*, Dec. 16, 1917, pg. 28. Vermont turkey as a mock turkey is referenced in “Have You Ever Dined Upon the Mock Turkey,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb. 20, 1918, pg. 3. On the Park Avenue hotel, see Sarah Bradford Landau, Carl W. Condit, *Rise of the New York Skyscraper: 1865-1913* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 60.

¹⁵⁷ The phrase “muscular vegetarianism” was first coined in studying these vegetarians by James C. Whorton in his essay “Muscular Vegetarianism; The Debate over Diet and Athletic Performance in the Progressive Era,” *Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine*, ed. Jack W. Berryman, Roberta J. Park (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 303-15.

ideals of the time. Meat substitutes similar to those served at the Battle Creek Sanitarium, in innumerable vegetarian restaurants throughout the United States and prescribed in vegetarian cookbooks and the press were associated with selfless sacrifices that could affect events on battlefields in Europe. Americans were told that their choices in avoiding meat, even just one day a week, had the power to even ultimately win the war. Vegetarianism and vegetarian foods were once associated explicitly with physical and mental weakness. The government's marketing of meatless Tuesdays and the fact that significant portions of the public responded positively illustrate that by 1917 vegetarianism—at least as a diet—was viewed largely in an opposite, positive way.¹⁵⁸

Conclusion

Bernarr Macfadden and *Physical Culture* magazine played centrally important roles in the development of American vegetarianism nearly a century after the identity began developing with a small group of English immigrants building their Bible Christian Church in Philadelphia. By the time Macfadden began advocating for a variety of vegetarian diets in the pages of *Physical Culture*, normative culture had already begun embracing the diet, viewed as a possible path to physical and mental perfection. Vegetarians argued for their cause through notions of individualism and personal advancement. Macfadden pushed this development even further, linking vegetarianism with the perfectly sculpted, productive body that used brute strength and power to conquer anything that it sought to accomplish. A fleshless diet, combined with a dedication to physical exertion was promised to readers as a guaranteed path to success.

¹⁵⁸ The United States Food Administration reported that Meatless Tuesdays helped increase the amount of meat shipped to soldiers abroad by over 844 million pounds from fiscal year 1916-1917 to 1917-1918. See Mullendore, 118.

But Macfadden, in both the pages of *Physical Culture* and his numerous books, underscored the need to avoid displaying intellectual rigidity, dietary faddism or radical points of view when advocating for vegetarianism. The diet was only acceptable through a prism of ideological moderation. This development appealed to vegetarians both old and new, those who already helped in the process of shifting the identity during the 1890s as well as individuals brought into the vegetarian fold because of a dedication to physical culture and exercise.

At the very moment that a vegetarian diet became most popular within American culture, the vegetarian identity was most isolated from the reform principles upon which it was originally founded, even advocated by the government as a means to support the war effort. Abstaining from meat had become aligned with concern for one's own physical and social condition. On the flipside, being an inflexible, philosophically driven vegetarian was equated with dogmatism, an objectionable radicalism that placed adherence to principle over intellectual flexibility and scientific rationalism. Vegetarians embraced these perceptions as a means of gaining social acceptance, crafting their arguments via the language of the body rather than through the heart or mind.

The new, modern vegetarianism argued for its cause based on principles of individualism; anyone could improve him or herself through a vegetarian diet and dedicated physical fitness, as outlined in the pages of *Physical Culture*. The implication of this ethos was, of course, that those who did not follow these proscriptions were doomed to a life of sickness, non-productivity and ultimately personal failure—qualities that defined the modern social outcast. Vegetarians strove to avoid such labels, advocating for their cause precisely because it made them industrious members of

society. The effects of the movement's change could be seen within the American government's meatless Tuesday program; vegetarian cuisine and ideology pre-dated and predicted many of the ideas utilized to convince Americans to cut down on their flesh consumption during the war. The group was successful in pushing for a larger social change, illustrating that not only steaks and mutton could build strength, but that also fruits, vegetables, nuts and grains had the power to build beefy individuals of power, vitality and strength.

CONCLUSION

*Modern Food For Up-to-Date People.*¹

—Advertisement for Graham Cracker, 1911

Vegetarianism had come full circle in the one hundred years since the arrival of the Bible Christians to Philadelphia. What began as a politically radical, communal based movement evolved into a primarily apolitical ideology of individual performance, advancement and perfection. That shift was so strong that even when vegetarian living was advocated for as a communal act in the twentieth century—such as the case with Meatless Tuesdays during World War I—it was not for the benefit of oppressed individuals or as a route towards social justice. Rather, it was a communal movement directed by and aimed at supporting the state. Self-sacrifice was not commendable for the benefit of others who were treated unfairly; rather it was proposed as a means to ensure battlefield victory. It was a new type of communally-oriented group of individuals connected by food choice to be sure. However, the new vegetarianism was also highly compromised in terms of its larger social and political goals in comparison to its progenitors.

¹ “Modern Food for Up-To-Date People,” *New York Observer and Chronicle* 89, no. 8, Feb. 23, 1911, pg. 248.

Vegetarians, however, also had the most influence on larger social trends during the time period where their identity was most flexible and least radical. Despite this change in focus and methodologies, the movement experienced success in ways it never had before. Meat consumption in general dropped in the early years of the twentieth century, as consumers responded to the high price of meat and often-low quality of flesh products. Much of the decrease in meat consumption was a direct, public response to the low quality of meat exposed by Upton Sinclair as well as an increase in prices of flesh foods.² While these larger social trends and reactions are more central to the larger story of the decline of American meat consumption in the early years of the twentieth century, the role of vegetarians—given the movement’s embrace by normative culture—cannot be ignored altogether. Modern vegetarians with their ideology of personal advancement and cuisine of meat substitutes undoubtedly had an important impact as well.

The role of vegetarianism throughout American history has been largely ignored or obfuscated, even by those adhering to the lifestyle. And yet the movement was indelibly intertwined with important and complex social and political changes that occurred throughout the United States. The process of social change that led vegetarians to evolve from abstainers to consumers was wrought with complexities and contradictions that ultimately illustrate much about the changes happening in the country from the arrival of the Bible Christians until America’s entrance into World War I.

² Wilson J. Warren, *Tied to the Great Packing Machine: The Midwest and Meatpacking* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007), 146.

Bible Christians arrived in the United States at a time ripe for social change as the nascent republic sought to define itself. Individual ideologies had the opportunity to grow into national movements, in the process effecting widespread reform. Such efforts culminated in the formation of the American Vegetarian Society, proliferating during a time when organizations ranging from abolitionist to suffragist helped re-define the nature of American society. The Civil War, however, ensured that vegetarians and vegetarianism would become entangled with the larger contradictions and issues that plagued the Union. Vegetarians were forced to respond—some kept to their principles and refused to fight, others took up arms for what was deemed a higher calling than dietary reform.

The immediate postbellum era was marked by vegetarianism's turn towards individualism, connecting itself to a growing evangelical individualism of perfecting oneself for productivity and social mobility. This shift continued, as vegetarians became consumers, dining on vegetarian foods and patronizing vegetarian restaurants all with the promise of success. These changes culminated in the coming of vegetarian physical culture; not only could a vegetarian diet provide health, but by the turn of the twentieth century it could produce strength, muscularity and vitality.

Vegetarianism's evolution from the Early Republic through the Progressive Era illustrates that ideological movements—even those rooted within the purest of motivations for humanity at large—are affected and changed by the society in which they function and interact, just as these movements effect and change society.³ Ultimately

³ A similar shift occurred for Spiritualists in the nineteenth century, evolving away from communalism to a far more competitive, individualized movement. See Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 162-191.

vegetarianism gained popular recognition and embrace precisely because it broke from its past. Historical amnesia paid dividends for the movement at the turn of the twentieth century.

Modernity, Memory, Identity and the Graham Cracker

Vegetarianism and its adherents had surely changed, as did many of society's perceptions of the movement. This shift even applied to cultural perceptions of the older generation of vegetarians, once decried as apocryphal and dangerous, now marketed as health luminaries ahead of their time. The Graham cracker—the now iconic biscuit that became an integral part of the most American of desserts, the s'more—was marketed as a healthy digestive by a variety of biscuit companies at the turn of the twentieth century. The new, modern cracker had little to do with Graham's original, pure whole wheat bread and derivative products such as Graham gems and biscuits. However, the Graham Cracker was marketed as being originally conceived of by Sylvester Graham, only to have been improved upon by science and modernity. The modern Graham cracker, in fact, was filled with sugar, a quality that would have made the product entirely abhorrent to Graham with his denunciations of stimulants and overly flavored foods.⁴

A variety of companies marketed and sold Graham crackers at the turn of the twentieth century, emphasizing its healthy attributes despite its wild departure from Sylvester Graham's unbolted bread. The Graham cracker as a distinct product from Graham bread was first sold by Russell Trall, founding member of the American Vegetarian Society and owner of the Our Home health resort that inspired the

⁴ A 1914 nutritional study claimed that the National Biscuit Company's Graham crackers were composed of seventeen percent sugar. See, Anne Lewis Pierce, Harvey Washington Wiley, *1001 Tests of Foods, Beverages and Toilet Accessories: Good and Otherwise* (New York: Hearst's International Library Co., 1914), 32.

development of the Battle Creek Sanitarium. The first iteration of the product was sold as packages of cracker-sized, hard biscuits made of the original Graham flour.⁵ By the 1890s numerous biscuit companies tried to capitalize on American society's turn towards healthy eating habits and marketed Graham crackers as vital foods for both adults and children alike. The crackers had changed away from their pure, wheat etymology, now including sugar and shortening helping them to attain what one company called, "a delicious nut-like flavor."⁶

Companies emphasized the crackers' healthful properties as a digestive agent.⁷ Despite the efforts of numerous Graham cracker producers, one food company became the dominant producer of biscuits by the turn of the twentieth century, largely fueled by an intense, nationwide marketing campaign. In 1898, the National Biscuit Company began selling Graham crackers via mail order and in stores throughout the United States. The company marketed its Graham crackers as a healthy, high quality product that was free of impurities and produced with the utmost care. In this sense, the modern Graham cracker was positioned in a similar manner that Graham advocated for his bread. However, the National Biscuit Company was sure to distance itself from the bland, unforgiving Graham bread of yore, assuring customers that while Graham crackers were

⁵ For examples of the term Graham cracker, referring to a literal cracker of Graham flour, see *Indiana Directory and Business Mirror for 1861* (Indianapolis: Bowen, Steward & Co., 1861), 134; P.F. M'Cune, "The Proper Management of Very Young Children," *The Herald of Health and Journal of Physical Culture* 9, no. 1 (January 1867): 29.

⁶ "An Inexpensive Delicacy," *New York Observer* 89, no. 14, Apr. 6, 1911, pg. 447.

⁷ "Leader Graham Wafers," *New York Times*, Oct. 12, 1901, pg. 3.

a "delicacy. . . .made from the best of the wheat" that they also had a "flavor far different from old-fashioned Graham bread."⁸

Advertisements explicitly associated Graham crackers with Sylvester Graham while also removing the biscuits from Graham's seemingly antiquated cooking methodologies. Graham's original flour while containing "healthful properties" was also "coarse and unpalatable in its crude state." However, thanks to "modern science" the flour had been improved significantly, producing "modern, wholesome dainties." Another advertisement remarked—with considerable and unwitting irony given Graham's harsh criticism of established medicine and medication in the 1830s—that the "old-fashioned" crackers of Dr. Graham were "so tasteless and uninviting that it almost required a prescription to get people to eat them."⁹

The use of the crackers varied, ranging from a digestive for small children, a light breakfast biscuit as well as a dessert item, even used to compose an ice cream sandwich.¹⁰ This reality reflected the National Biscuit Company's own marketing of the crackers' versatility that provided "flavor such as you never before tasted in a Graham Cracker."¹¹ The crackers were described as being "something choice," adding "zest" to one's appetite. Advertisements emphasized the product's healthy properties and freshness

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ "National Biscuit Company," *The Outlook* 80 (19 August 1905): 987.

¹⁰ For an examples of Graham crackers used in a savory dish, see Lewis Webb Hill, *Clinical Lectures on Infant Feeding* (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Company, 1917), 313, where the crackers are advised to be broken up and served in hot broth. As an item in dessert recipes, see Pearl L. Bailey, *Domestic Science, Principles and Application* (St. Paul, MN: Webb Publishing Co., 1914), 339, as part of an ice cream sandwich and Carlotta Cherryholmes Greer, *A Text-Book of Cooking* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1915), 253, for a recipe for Graham cracker pie crust.

¹¹ "Keeping Quality in the Pantry," *The National Geographic Magazine* 28, no. 4 (October 1915): 390.

thanks to modern technology that kept the crackers protected from a variety of outside elements. The product's packaging ensured that the crackers maintained their "original crispness, freshness, healthfulness, and flavor."¹²

While Graham crackers were not explicitly associated with vegetarianism, the product's marketing shared common values and associations with the new, twentieth century vegetarianism that promoted modernity and personal advancement. One advertisement proclaimed that progressiveness was "in no way more clearly demonstrated than in the betterment of foods," and that "up-to-date people" who preferred "modern food" enjoyed Graham crackers.¹³ Vegetarianism had shifted enough that the memory one of its American progenitors was being manipulated to promote the new ethos of personalized, individual dietary reform.

The mythologized and manipulated associations with vegetarianism's early American advocate can still be found in one of the many locales that Sylvester Graham called home. Not far from Graham's final resting place at the Bridge Street Cemetery in Northampton, Massachusetts sits Sylvester's Restaurant, housed in the Federal-style home that Graham lived in at 111 Pleasant Street during his semi-retirement from active reform in the 1830s and 40s. Opened in 1983, the restaurant is filled with stimulants like coffee, tea, meat and spices that Graham would have found to overtax the human system.

The restaurant serves breakfast, lunch and weekend brunch, and as its name suggests does not shy away from the association with the dietary reformer, going so far as referring to its customer base as "Grahamites" on the restaurant's website. Graham

¹² Ibid.

¹³ "Modern Food for Up-To-Date People," *New York Observer and Chronicle* 89, no. 8, Feb. 23, 1911, pg. 248.

certainly would be impressed by the restaurant owners' self-described "hard work and determination" that had made the establishment the "premiere breakfast spot in the Pioneer Valley" where two previous had failed. Graham, however, would be quite aghast with his name's association with much of the restaurant's fare.¹⁴

The restaurant's menu offers a variety of breakfast options, including a staggering amount of meats. Bacon, sausage, lox and corned beef hash are available to all interested consumers. Even "Sylvester's Special" flies in the face of Graham's dietary principles, including a choice of breakfast meats, though allowing for vegetarians to remain more faithful to history by ordering vegetarian sausage. Perhaps most offensive to the king of bran's memory is the wide availability of white bread as an accompaniment to most meals.¹⁵

The menu is poetically symbolic. Vegetarians underwent a similar historical amnesia and shift during their first one hundred years in the United States. The group actively distanced itself from its radical, politicized roots, morphing the movement into one obsessed with the power and potential of the individual rather than the community at large. Just as occurred with the marketing of the Graham cracker and the association of Sylvester's Restaurant with Sylvester Graham, vegetarians re-invented themselves through a particular dislocation from their past. In the process vegetarians changed the nature of their diet as well, favoring meat substitutes over plain preparations of fruits and vegetables. All three examples illustrate that ideologies and identities are not inherent,

¹⁴ "History" *Sylvester's Restaurant*, see FTP Address: <http://www.sylvestersrestaurant.com/history>.

¹⁵ "Breakfast Menu," *Sylvester's Restaurant*, FTP Address: <http://www.sylvestersrestaurant.com/menus/breakfast>; "Lunch Menu," *Sylvester's Restaurant*, FTP Address: <http://www.sylvestersrestaurant.com/menus/lunch>.

but rather depend upon a collective understanding of history and a group's relationship with the larger world.

The evolution of vegetarian cuisine reflected social shifts both within and towards vegetarian identity. Food shifted from plain, harsh wheat bread and cold water to flesh-like meat substitutes, and with it changed vegetarians' perception of food. This dietary evolution indicated and predicted further developments for a vegetarian and health food movement that was a real moneymaker for its producers. J.H. Kellogg remained at the center of this movement through the re-named Battle Creek Sanitarium Food Company until his death in 1943. Protose itself outlasted its originator, remaining a popular choice amongst vegetarians throughout the twentieth century, marketed as a meat substitute by Worthington Foods, an Adventist-owned company that was the first to market frozen vegetarian, meat substitute entrees in supermarkets in the United States.

Protose, however, it turns out had a shelf life. Even though it lasted much longer than its inventor, it also could not escape the implications of J.H. Kellogg's business decisions. The Kellogg Company—formed by W.K. after falling out with his brother in the early twentieth century—became an enormous multinational corporation. Cereals like Corn Flakes—the original source of tension between the Kellogg brothers—could be found on breakfast tables around the world. The company was financially empowered enough that it purchased Worthington Foods in 1999, absorbing the brand into the Kellogg food empire. A year later the Kellogg corporate behemoth broke the heart of many longtime vegetarians with its decision to discontinue the sale of Protose, nearly a

century after the product's birth in Battle Creek.¹⁶ Vegetarianism struggled in the nineteenth and early twentieth century in defining its larger relationship to normative society. By the end of the twentieth century the movement was innately tied to market forces of consumption.

¹⁶ "About Us: Worthington Foods Company" see FTP Address:
<http://www.worthingtonfoods.com/brand/worthington/about.shtml>.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Secondary Source Books

Abbot, Richard H. *Cotton & Capital: Boston Businessmen and Antislavery Reform, 1854-1868*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991.

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

Adams, Mark. *Mr. America*. New York: Harper Collins, 2009.

Alderfer, E.G. *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985.

Anderson, Godfrey T. "Sectarianism and Organisation, 1846-1864." In *Adventism in America: A History*, edited by Gary Land. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998.

Archer, John E. *Social Unrest and Popular Protest in England, 1780-1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Arthur, Anthony. *Radical Innocent: Upton Sinclair*. New York: Random House, 2006.

Balmer, Randall and John R. Fitzimer. *The Presbyterians*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993.

Barney, Robert Knight. "Forty-Eighters and the Rise of the Turnervein Movement in America." In *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History and Culture*, edited by George Eisen and David Kenneth Wiggins. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1994.

Barrett, James R. *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1894-1922*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Bederman, Gail. *A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Bellesiles, Michael A. *Revolutionary Outlaws: Ethan Allen and the Struggle for Independence on the Early American Frontier*. Charlottesville: University of

Virginia Press, 1993.

Bernstein, Iver. *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Bickman, Marty. *Minding American Education: Reclaiming the Tradition of Active Learning*. New York: Teachers College Press, 2003.

Blanchard, Mary Warner. *Oscar Wilde's America: Counterculture in the Gilded Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

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

Brooke, John L. *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Bull, Malcolm and Keith Lockhart. *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-Day Adventism and the American Dream*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Burstein, Andrew. *Jefferson's Secrets: Death and Desire at Monticello*, New York: Basic Books, 2006.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Cayleff, Susan. *Wash and Be Healed: The Water-Cure Movement and Women's Health*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

Chapman, David L. *Sandow the Magnificent: Eugen Sandow and the Beginnings of Bodybuilding*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Charles Colton, Ray. *The Civil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984.

Chinn, Sarah E. *Technology and the Logic of American Racism: A Cultural History of the Body as Evidence*. London: Continuum, 2000.

Cline Cohen, Patricia. *The Murder of Helen Jewett*. New York: Vintage Books, 1998.

Cline Cohen, Patricia, Timothy J. Gilfoyle and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz. *The Flash Press: Sporting Male Weeklies in 1840s New York*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

- Condit, Carl W. *The Chicago School of Architecture: a History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Capozzola, Christopher Joseph Nicodemus. *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and The Making of the Modern American Citizen*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Deutsch, Ronald M. *The Nuts Among the Berries*. Ballantine Books: New York, 1967.
- Diggins, John P. *John Adams*. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2003.
- Dublin, Thomas. "Women and Outwork in a Nineteenth-Century New England Town: Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, 1830-1850." In *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America*, edited by Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.
- Dyreson, Mark. "Regulating the Body and the Body Politic: American Sport, Bourgeois Culture, and the Language of Progress, 1880-1920." In *The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives*, edited by S.W. Pope. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.
- Engs, Ruth C. *Clean Living Movements: American Cycles of Health Reform*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001.
- Enstad, Nan. *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Ernst, Robert. *Weakness is a Crime: The Life of Bernarr McFadden*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991.
- Etcheson, Nicole. *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004.
- Fitzgerald, Daniel. *Ghost Towns of Kansas: A Traveler's Guide*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988.
- Foner, Eric. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*. New York: Perennial Classics, 1988.

- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality, Volume I*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- Fowler Koehn, Nancy. *Brand New: How Entrepreneurs Earned Consumers' Trust From Wedgwood to Dell*. Boston: Harvard Business School Publishing, 2001.
- Franklin, John Hope and Alfred A. Moss Jr. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African-Americans*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000.
- Fredrickson, George M. *The Black Image in the White Mind*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1987.
- Friedman, Walter A. *Birth of a Salesman: The Transformation of Selling in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Gately, Iain. *Drink: A Cultural History of Alcohol*. New York: Gotham Books, 2008.
- Gamber, Wendy. *The Boardinghouse in Nineteenth-Century America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.
- Giehl, Dudley. *Vegetarianism, A Way of Life*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.
- Gilfoyle, Timothy. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992.
- Gordon, John Steele. *An Empire of Wealth: The Epic History of American Economic Power*. New York: Harper Collins, 2004.
- Gorn, Elliott J. *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Graham Carpenter, Helen. *The Rev. John Graham of Woodbury, Connecticut and His Descendants*. Chicago: Monastery Hill Press, 1942.
- Grout, Pam. *Kansas Curiosities: Quirky Characters, Roadside Oddities and Other Offbeat Stuff*. Guilford, CT: Morris Book Publishing, 2007.
- Guy, Roger. *From Diversity to Unity: Southern and Appalachian migrants in Uptown Chicago*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007.
- Haber, Barbara. *From Hardtack to Home Fries: An Uncommon History of American Cooks and Meals*. New York: The Free Press, 2002.
- Haller Jr., John S. and Robin M. Haller. *The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian*

- America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1974.
- Hayden, Dolores. *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982.
- Higham, John. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002.
- Hodson, Jane. *Language and Revolution in Burke, Wollstonecraft, Paine, and Godwin*. Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2007.
- Holl, Steven. *Rural and Urban House Types in North America*. Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1983.
- Hooker, Richard J. Hooker. *Food and Drink in America: A History*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1981.
- Hopkins, Donald R. *The Greatest Killer: Smallpox in History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Rereading Sex: Battles Over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002.
- Hoy, Suellen. *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Hunnicut, Benjamin. *Kellogg's Six-Hour Day*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996.
- Hunt, William R. *Body Love: The Amazing Career of Bernarr Macfadden*. Madison, WI: Popular Press, 1989.
- Iacobbo, Karen and Michael. *Vegetarian America: A History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2004.
- Inness, Sherrie A. *Secret Ingredients: Race, Gender, and Class at the Dinner Table*. New York: Macmillan, 2006.
- Isenberg, Michael T. *John L. Sullivan and His America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- Kanigel, Robert. *The One Best Way: Frederick Winslow Taylor and the Enigma of Efficiency*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005.

- Kasson, John F. *Houdini, Tarzan and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.
- Kennedy, David M. *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Knight, George R. *A Brief History of Seventh-Day Adventists*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2004.
- Knight, George R. *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*. Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993.
- Kolko, Gabriel. *Triumph of Conservatism*. New York: Free Press, 1977.
- Landau, Sarah Bradford, and Carl W. Condit. *Rise of the New York Skyscraper: 1865-1913*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Lause, Mark A. *Race and Radicalism in the Union Army*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009.
- Leavitt, Sarah Abigail. *From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart: A Cultural History of Domestic Advice*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Leach, William. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
- Lender, Mark Edward. *Drinking in America: A History*. New York: The Free Press, 1987.
- Lerner, Gerda. *The Grimké Sisters From South Carolina: Pioneer for Women's Rights and Abolition*, 2nd Edition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Lester, Robin. *Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Maintenance Committee, Bible Christian Church. *History of the Philadelphia Bible-Christian Church for The First Century of its Existence*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1922.
- Mangels, Reed, Virginia Messina and Mark Messina. *The Dietitian's Guide to*

Vegetarian Diets: Issues and Application. Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett Learning, 2004.

Maurer, Donna. *Vegetarianism: Movement or Moment?* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002.

McClelland, Gordon T. and Jay T. Last. *California Watercolors: 1850-1970*. Santa Ana, CA: Hillcrest Press, 2002.

McGerr, Michael. *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

McGinnis, Ralph Y and Calvin N. Smith. *Abraham Lincoln and the Western Territories*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Inc., 1994.

McPherson, James. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

McPherson, James. *Drawn With the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Morgan, John. *A Worker and Workers' Friend, P.P. Stewart, A Life Sketch*. New York: John J. Reed, 1873.

Muccigrosso, Robert. *Celebrating the New World: Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993.

Nash, George H. *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Master of Emergencies, 1917-1918*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996.

Neil, Marion Harris. *The Thrift Cook Book*. Philadelphia: David McKay Publishers, 1919.

Nelson, Daniel. *Frederick W. Taylor and the Rise of Scientific Management*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980.

Nissenbaum, Stephen. "Sylvester Graham and Health Reform," in *A Place Called Paradise: Culture and Community in Northampton, Massachusetts*. Northampton, MA: Historic Northampton Museum and Education Center, 2004.

Numbers, Ronald L. *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2008.

- Nye, David E. *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992.
- Oates, Stephen B. *To Purge this Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984.
- Ouédragogo, Arouna P. "The Social Genesis of Western Vegetarianism to 1859." In *Food, Power and Community: Essays in the History of Food and Drink*, edited by Robert Dare. Adelaide, Australia: Wakefield Press, 1999.
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*. London: Wordsworth Editions, 2001.
- Paulsson, Marin. *The Social Anxieties of Progressive Reform: Atlantic City, 1854-1920*. New York: NYU Press, 1996.
- Peagram, Thomas R. *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800-1933*, Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1999.
- Peirce, Henry B. "The City of Battle Creek," in *History of Calhoun County, Michigan*. Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1877.
- Platt, Harold L. *The Electric City: Energy and the Growth of the Chicago Area, 1880-1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Porter, Dorothy. *Health, Civilization, and the State: A History of Public Health From Ancient to Modern Times*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Putney, Clifford. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Reps, John W. *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Reynolds, David S. *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man Who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War and Seeded Civil Rights*. New York: Vintage Books, 2005.
- Riess, Steven A. *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.
- Rorabaugh, W.J. *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Rosenberg, Charles E. *The Cholera Years*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962.

- Sanborn, F.B. and William T. Harris. *A. Bronson Alcott: His Life and Philosophy, Volume 1*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1893.
- Sanborn, F.B. Sanborn and William T. Harris. *A. Bronson Alcott: His Life and Philosophy, Vol. 2*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1893.
- Sandage, Scott A. *Born Losers: A History of Failure in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Sandoval-Strausz, A. K. *Hotel: An American History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Sayle Watterson, John. *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Scharf, John Thomas and Westcott Thompson. *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884, Volume 2*. Philadelphia: L.H Everts and Company, 1884.
- Schneirov, Matthew. *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America, 1893-1914*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.
- Schwartz, Richard. *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.: Pioneering Health Reformer*. Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2006.
- Sears, Clara Endicott, ed. *Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915.
- Sellers, Charles. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Shapiro, Laura. *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008.
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe. "Queen Mab: A Philosophical Poem." In *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Volume 1*, edited by George Edward Woodberry. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1892.
- Shepard, Odell. *Pedlar's Progress: The Life of Bronson Alcott*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937.
- Silver-Isenstadt, Jean L. *Shameless: The Visionary Life of Mary Gove Nichols*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

- Smith, Andrew F. *Eating History: Thirty Turning Points in the Making of American Cuisine*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.
- Sondik Aron, Cindy. *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Spencer, Colin. *Vegetarianism: A History*. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002.
- Stampff, Kenneth M. *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Stern, Alexandra. *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Stuart, Tristram. *The Bloodless Revolution: A Cultural History of Vegetarianism from 1600 to Modern Times*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2008.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. *The Incorporation of America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.
- Vogel, Morris J. *The Invention of the Modern Hospital: Boston, 1870-1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Denneen Volo, Dorothy and James M. Volo. *The Antebellum Period*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
- Wade, Louise Carroll. *Chicago's Pride: The Stockyards, Packingtown, and Environs in the Nineteenth Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
- Walters, Kerry S. and Lisa Portness, eds. *Ethical Vegetarianism: From Pythagoras to Peter Singer*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999.
- Walters, Roger G. *American Reformers, 1815-1860*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1997.
- Warner, Jr., Sam Bass. *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Warren, Wilson J. *Tied to the Great Packing Machine: The Midwest and Meatpacking*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007.
- Manchip White, Jon Ewbank. *Everyday Life of the North American Indian*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2003.
- Whorton, James C. "Muscular Vegetarianism; The Debate over Diet and Athletic

Performance in the Progressive Era.” In *Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine*, edited by Jack W. Berryman and Roberta J. Park. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

Whorton, James C. *Nature Cures: The History of Alternative Medicine in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Whorton, James C. *Inner Hygiene: Constipation and the Pursuit of Health in Modern Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Wiebe, Robert H. *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.

Williams, Susan. *Food in the United States 1820s-1890*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Wood, Clement. *Bernarr McFadden: A Study in Success*. New York: Copeland, 1929.

Young, Michael P. *Bearing Witness Against Sin: The Evangelical Birth of the American Social Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Zelizer, Julian E. *Arsenal of Democracy: The Politics of National Security—From World War I to the War on Terror*. New York: Basic Books, 2009.

Zunz, Olivier. *Making America Corporate, 1870-1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Primary Source Books

A.E. Wright's Boston, New York, Philadelphia & Baltimore, Commercial Directory. New York: A.E. Wright, 1840.

Alcott, Bronson A. *Concord Days*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1872.

Alcott, Bronson A. *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*, edited by Odell Shepard. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1938.

Alcott, William. *The Use of Tobacco: Its Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Effects on The Human System*. New York: Fowler and Wells, 1836.

Alcott, William. *The Young Man's Guide*. Boston: Lilly, Wait, Colman, & Holden, 1833.

Bailey Allen, Ida C. *Mrs. Allen's Book of Meat Substitutes*. Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1918.

- Bailey, Pearl L. *Domestic Science, Principles and Application*. St. Paul, MN: Webb Publishing Co., 1914.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Book of the Fair*. Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893.
- Bates, Charles Austin. *American Journalism from the Practical Side: What Leading Newspaper Publishers Say Concerning the Relations of Advertisers and Publishers and About the Way a Great Paper Should be Made*. New York: Hughes Publishing Co., 1897.
- Battle Creek Centennial, 1831-1931*. Battle Creek, MI: Press of Ellis Pub. Co., 1931.
- Battle Creek Sanitarium and Hospital*. Battle Creek: The Sanitarium Publishing Company, 1912.
- Blackmar, Frank W. *A Cyclopedia of State History, Vol. 2*. Chicago: Standard Publishing Company, 1912.
- Boston Almanac for the Year 1860*. Boston: J.P. Jewett.
- Bradley, Alice. *Wheatless and Meatless Menus and Recipes*. Boston: Miss Farmer's School of Cookery, 1918.
- Carpenter, Frank Oliver. *Foods and Their Uses*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.
- Christian, Eugene. *250 Meatless Menus and Recipes to Meet the Requirements of People Under the Varying Conditions of Age, Climate and Work*. New York: Mollie Griswold Christian, 1910.
- Christian, Eugene. *Meatless and Wheatless Menus*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1917.
- Clarke, James. *Memorials of the Clarke Family: Formerly of the County of Northampton, in Great Britain their Immigration to Shelby County, Ind.* Indianapolis: Indianapolis Publishing and Printing House, 1845.
- Clubb, Henry S., ed. *The Illustrated Vegetarian Almanac of 1855*. New York: Fowler and Wells, 1855.
- Clubb, Henry S. Clubb. *Journal of the Constitutional Commission of Michigan*. Lansing, MI: W. S. George & Co, 1873.
- Clubb, Henry S. *The Maine Liquor Law: Its Origin, History, and Results*. New York:

Fowler and Wells, 1856.

Colt Davis, Miriam. *Went to Kansas; Being a Thrilling Account of an Ill-Fated Expedition to That Fairy Land, and its Sad Results*. Watertown, NY: L. Ingalls & Co., 1862.

Conklin, Hester Martha and Pauline Dunwell Partridge. *Wheatless and Meatless Days*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918.

Cooper, Lenna Frances. *The New Cookery: A Book of Recipes, Most of Which Are In Use at the Battle Creek Sanitarium*. Battle Creek, MI: The Good Health Publishing Co., 1913.

Currier, Nathaniel and Louis Maurer. *The Great Republican Reform Party, Calling on Their Candidate*. New York: Currier & Ives, 1856.

Dana, C. W. *The Great West, or the Garden of the World: Its History, Its Wealth, Its Natural Advantages, and Its Future*. Boston: Wentworth and Company, 1856.

Davis, Kate Buffington, ed. *Practical Vegetarian Cookery*. San Francisco: Mercury Publishing, Co., 1897.

Dickens, Charles. *American Notes for General Circulation*. New York: Penguin Books, 2000.

Doddridge, Amelia. *Liberty Recipes*. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company, 1918.

Dunglison, Robley. "Vegetarianism," in *Medical Lexicon: A Dictionary of Medical Science*. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1851.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *Heart of Emerson's Journals*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1926.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911.

Esther Beecher, Catherine. *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book: Designed As A Supplement To Her Treatise On Domestic Economy*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846.

Evans, Mary Elizabeth. *Mary Elizabeth's War Time Recipes*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1918.

Farmer, Fanny Merritt. *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book*. Boston: Little,

Brown and Company, 1896.

Finn, John Joseph. *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition*. Chicago: The Columbian Guide Co., 1893.

Fitch, William Edward. *Mineral Waters of the United States and American Spas*. Philadelphia: Lee and Febiger, 1927.

Foote, E.B. *Home Cyclopaedia*. New York: Murray Hill Publishing Co., 1901.

Forward, C.W. *Fifty Years of Food Reform: A History of the Vegetarian Movement in England*. London: Ideal Publishing Union, 1898.

Fowler, Orson Squire. *A Home for All: Or the Gravel Wall and Octagon Mode of Building*. New York: Fowler and Wells, 1854.

Russell Lorraine Sharpe Freshel, Maud. *The Golden Rule Cook Book: Six Hundred Recipes for Meatless Dishes*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1910.

Fulton, Edward Guyles. *Substitutes for Flesh Foods; Vegetarian Cook Book*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, Publishing Company, 1904.

Graham, Sylvester. *A Lecture on Epidemic Diseases Generally, and Particularly the Spasmodic Cholera: Delivered in the City of New York, March, 1832, and Repeated June, 1832, and in Albany, July 4, 1832, and in New York, June, 1833: With an Appendix, Containing Several Testimonials, and a Review of Beaumont's Experiments on the Gastric Juice*. Boston: David Cambell, 1838.

Graham, Sylvester. *A Defence of the Graham System of Living: or, Remarks on Diet and Regimen. Dedicated to the Rising Generation*. New York: W. Applegate Publisher, 1835.

Graham, Sylvester. *Lectures on the Science of Human Life*. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon and Webb, 1849.

Graham, Sylvester. *A Treatise on Bread and Bread-Making*. Boston: Light and Stearns, 1837.

Greeley, Horace. *Recollections of a Busy Life*. New York: J.B. Ford and Company, 1868.

Greer, Carlotta Cherryholmes. *A Text-Book of Cooking*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1915.

- Gunn, Thomas Butler. *The Physiology of New York Boarding-Houses*, New York: Mason Brothers, 1857.
- Handy, Moses P., ed. *The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition, May 1st to October 30th, 1893: A Reference Book of Exhibitors and Exhibits, and of the Officers and Members of the World's Columbian Commission*. Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893.
- Harding, Walter and Carl Bode, eds. *The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau*. New York: New York University Press, 1958.
- Hemstreet, Charles. *Nooks & Corners of Old New York*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.
- Higinbotham, Harlow N. *Report of the President to the Board of Directors of the World's Columbian Exposition*. Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., 1898.
- Webb Hill, Lewis. *Clinical Lectures on Infant Feeding*. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Company, 1917.
- Howe, Edward E. *Vegetarian Cook Book*. New York: Squire Publishing, 1887.
- Index of Trademarks Issued From the United States Patent Office*, Vol. 930. Washington D.C.: United States Patent Office, 1930.
- Indiana Directory and Business Mirror for 1861*. Indianapolis: Bowen, Steward & Co., 1861.
- Interstate Commerce Commission Reports: Decisions 26*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1913.
- Jefferis, B.G. and J.L. Nichols. *Safe Counsel: The Science of Eugenics and Other Health Secrets*. Atlanta: J.L. Nichols and Company, 1919.
- Jefferis, B.G. and J.L. Nichols. *Search Lights on Health: Light on Dark Corners; A Complete Sexual Science and a Guide to Purity and Physical Manhood*. Atlanta: J.L. Nichols and Company, 1904.
- Kellogg, Ella Eaton. *Every-Day Dishes and Every-Day Work: A Collection of Choice Recipes for Preparing Foods, with Special Reference to Health*. Battle Creek, MI: Modern Medicine Publishing Company, 1897.
- Kellogg, Ella Eaton. *Healthful Cookery: A Collection of Choice Recipes for Preparing Foods*. Battle Creek, MI: Modern Medicine Publishing Company, 1904.

- Kellogg, Ella Eaton. *Science in the Kitchen*. Chicago: Modern Medicine Publishing Company, 1893.
- Kellogg, John Harvey. *The Battle Creek Sanitarium System: History, Organization, Method*. Battle Creek, MI: Gage Printing Co., 1908.
- Kellogg, John Harvey. *The Household Manual of Domestic Hygiene, Foods and Drinks, Common Diseases, Accidents and Emergencies, and Useful Hints and Recipes*. Battle Creek, MI: The Office of the Health Reformer, 1875.
- Kellogg, John Harvey. *The Natural Diet of Man*. Battle Creek, MI: Modern Medicine Publishing Company, 1919.
- Kellogg, John Harvey. *Practical Manual of Health and Temperance: Embracing the Treatment of Common Diseases, Accidents and Emergencies, the Alcohol and Tobacco Habits, Useful Hints and Recipes*. Battle Creek, MI: Good Health Publishing Co., 1885.
- Kemble, Frances Anne. *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839*. London, England: Longmans & Co., 1863.
- Latham Dwight, Henrietta. *The Golden Age Cook-Book*. New York: The Alliance Publishing Company, 1898.
- Lee, Henry Edward. *Diagnosis From the Eye*. Chicago: Kosmos Publishing Company, 1904.
- Le Favre, Carrica. *Mother's Help and Child's Friend*. New York: Brentano's, 1890.
- Lefèvre, Jules. *A Scientific Investigation Into Vegetarianism*. London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., 1922.
- Leonard, John William. *Woman's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada, 1914-1915*. New York: The American Commonwealth Co., 1914.
- Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register and City Directory for 1839*. New York: Thomas Longworth, 1839.
- Lust, Hubert Confield. *United States. Interstate Commerce Commission, Supplemental Digest of Decisions Under the Interstate Commerce Act*. Washington, D.C.: The Traffic Law Book Company, 1914.

- Lust, Louise. *The Practical Naturopathic-Vegetarian Cook Book: Cooked and Uncooked Foods*. New York: Benedict Lust, N.D., 1907.
- Macfadden, Bernarr. *The Encyclopedia of Physical Culture, Vol. 5*. New York: Physical Culture Publishing Company, 1912.
- Macfadden, Bernarr. *Marriage: A Lifelong Honeymoon; Life's Greatest Pleasures Secured by Observing the Highest Human Instincts*. New York: Physical Culture Publishing Company, 1903.
- Macfadden, Bernarr. *Physical Culture Cookbook*. New York: Physical Culture Publishing Co., 1901.
- Macfadden, Bernarr. *Strength From Eating*. New York: Physical Culture Publishing Co., 1901.
- Melville, Herman. *Piazza Tales and Other Prose Pieces, 1839-1860: Volume Nine, Scholarly Edition*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1987.
- Merrill, Walter M., ed. *Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, Vol. 3*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Metcalf, William. *Bible Testimony, On Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals as Food; Being an Address Delivered to the Bible Christian Church*. Philadelphia: J. Metcalfe & Company, 1840.
- Metcalf, William. "History of the Bible-Christians." In *History of All the Religious Denominations in the United States*, edited by Israel Daniel Rupp. Harrisburg, PA: John Winebrenner, V.D.M., 1849.
- Metcalf, William. *On Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals as Food; Being an Address Delivered to the Bible Christian Church*. Philadelphia: J. Metcalfe & Company, 1840.
- Minnesota Farmers' Institute Annual*. Minneapolis: Tribune Job Printing Co., 1835.
- Moore, J. Howard. *Why I Am a Vegetarian: An Address Delivered Before the Chicago Vegetarian Society*. Chicago: Purdy Publishing, 1895.
- Mullendore, William Clinton. *History of the United States Food Administration*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1941.
- Nicholson, Asenath. *Annals of the Famine in Ireland*. New York: E. French, 1851.

- Nicholson, Asenath. *Annals of the Famine in Ireland*, edited by Maureen Murphy. Dublin, Ireland: The Lilliput Press, 1998.
- Nicholson, Asenath. *Nature's Own Book*. New York: Wilbur and Whipple, 1835.
- Octagon Settlement Company. *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas, Containing Full Information for Inquirers*. New York: Fowler and Wells, 1856.
- Owens, Francis Emugene. *Mrs. Owens' New Cook Book and Complete Household Manual*. Chicago: Owens' Publishing Company, 1899.
- Patriotic Cook Book*. Cleveland: Mayor's Advisory War Board, 1918.
- Pennsylvania Society for Discouraging the Use of Ardent Spirits. *Report of a committee appointed by the Pennsylvania Society, for discouraging the use of ardent spirits, to examine and report what amendments ought to be made in the laws of the said state, for the suppression of vice and immorality, particularly those against gaming*. Philadelphia: Atkinson and Alexander, 1828.
- Pierce, Anne Lewis and Harvey Washington Wiley. *1001 Tests of Foods, Beverages and Toilet Accessories: Good and Otherwise*. New York: Hearst's International Library Co., 1914.
- Priessnitz, Vincent. *The Cold Water Cure, Its Principles' Theory, and Practice*. London: William Strange, 1842.
- Race Betterment Foundation, *Proceedings of the first National Conference on Race Betterment*. Battle Creek: Race Betterment Foundation, 1914.
- Randolph, Mary. *The Virginia House-Wife*, edited by Karen Hess. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses*. New York: Century Co., 1902.
- Rorer, Sarah Tyson. *Mrs. Rorer's Vegetable Cookery and Meat Substitutes*. Philadelphia: Arnold & Company, 1909.
- Sandburg, Carl. "Chicago," in *Chicago Poems*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1916.
- "Sanitas Nut Preparations and Specialties." Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Co., 1898.

Shew, Mary Louise and Joel Shew. *Water-cure for ladies: a popular work on the health, diet, and regimen of Females and Children, and the Prevention and Cure of Diseases*. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1844.

Sinclair, Upton. *The Autobiography of Upton Sinclair*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962.

Sinclair, Upton. *The Fasting Cure*. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1911.

Sinclair, Upton. *The Jungle*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004.

Taylor, Bayard. *A Journey to Central Africa; or Life and Landscapes from Egypt to the Negro Kingdoms of the White Nile*. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1854.

The Tribune Almanac and Political Register. New York: G. Dearborn and Co., 1856.

Twentieth Century Club of Pittsburgh. *Twentieth Century Club War Time Cook Book*. Pittsburgh: Pierpont, Siviter & Co., 1918.

Tyler, W.S. *History of Amherst College during its First Half Century, 1821-1871*. Holyoke, Mass.: C. W. Bryan, 1873.

United States Food Administration. *War Economy in Food*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918.

Wheeler, Candace. *Columbia's Emblem, Indian Corn: A Garland of Tributes in Prose and Verse*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1893

White, Ellen G. *A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*. Saratoga Springs, NY: James White, 1851.

Williams, Edwin, ed. *New-York As It Is*. New York: J. Disturnell, 1834.

Win the War Cookbook. St. Louis: St. Louis County Unit, Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, 1918.

Historical Newspapers/Journals

American Phrenological Journal (1860)

American Vegetarian and Health Journal (1850-1854)

Atkinson's Casket (Philadelphia, 1832)

Bismarck Daily Tribune (1893)

Boston Herald (1860)

Boston Medical and Surgical Journal (1835-1836, 1853)

Charleston Mercury (1860)
Chicago Clinic (1898)
Chicago Daily Tribune (1856, 1859-60, 1892, 1894, 1899, 1902, 1907, 1910-1911, 1913, 1917, 1918)
Circular (1855)
Daily Evening Bulletin (Philadelphia, 1862)
Daily Inter Ocean (Chicago, 1892-1893)
Daily Missouri Democrat (1856)
The Dial (Boston, 1840, 1842)
Everyday Housekeeping (1894)
Food, Home and Garden (1896-1900)
Good Housekeeping (1903)
Graham Journal of Health and Longevity (1837-1839)
Harper's (1860)
The Herald of Health and Journal of Physical Culture (1867)
Home Journal (1851)
Hygienic Review (1893)
Illustrated World (1916)
The Independent (Dearborn, MI, 1899)
The Jewelers' Circular and Horological Review (1899)
Journal of Health (1840-1841)
The Knickerbocker (1860)
Library of Health (1838, 1840-1841)
The Liberator (1853, 1857, 1860)
The Literary Digest (1899)
Louisville Daily Journal (1861)
Lowell Daily Citizen and News (1862)
Medical and Surgical Reporter (Philadelphia, 1860)
Modern Medicine (Battle Creek, 1900)
Morning Oregonian (1892, 1895)
National Geographic Magazine (1915)
New Hampshire Statesman (1861)
New York Evangelist (1851)
New York Evening Post (1832)
New York Herald (1853, 1862-1864)
New York Observer and Chronicle (1911)
The New York Times (1851-1852, 1869-1861, 1895, 1901, 1907, 1910, 1917, 1918)
New York Tribune (1863)
The North American (1895)
The Nut Cracker (Battle Creek, 1900-1901)
Ohio Observer (Hudson, Ohio, 1852)
The Outlook (1905)
Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier (1837)
Penny-Satirist (London, 1844)

Phrenological Journal and Science of Health (1892, 1906, 1911)
Physical Culture (1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1906, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1917)
The Portland Magazine; Devoted to Literature (1833)
Review and Herald (Battle Creek, 1877)
San Francisco Call (1904)
Saturday Evening Post (1850)
Savannah Daily Morning News (1852)
Scientific American (1850)
Sciotto Gazette (1861)
Spirit of the Times (1848, 1853)
The Tomorrow Magazine (1907)
Truth-Tester (Boston, 1847)
Vanity Fair (1860)
The Vegetarian (1893)
The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures (Philadelphia, Chicago, 1900-1902, 1907, 1910, 1913)
Vegetarian Messenger (London, 1886, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1894-1896)
Washington Times (1904)
Water-Cure Journal (1845-1847, 1849-1850, 1853, 1855, 1857-1858, 1861)
Weal-Reaf (Boston, 1860)

Censuses

National Archives and Records Administration. "First Census of the United States, 1790." M637, RG 29, 12 rolls.

Year: 1840; Census Place: New York Ward 14, New York, New York, Roll 307, Page: 413; Image: 837; Family History Library Film: 0017197.

"The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850." Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853.

"Ninth Census: The Statistics of the Population of the United States." Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872.

Academic Journals

Butler, Jonathan M. "Prophecy, Gender, and Culture: Ellen Gould Harmon [White] and the Roots of Seventh-day Adventism." *Religion and American Culture* 1, No. 1, Winter, 1991.

Coleman, John P., "Casting Bread on Troubled Waters: Grahamism and the West." *Journal of American Culture* 9, No. 2, February 1986: 1-8.

- Cott, Nancy F. "Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England." *Feminist Studies* 3, No. 1/2, Autumn, 1975.
- Flanagan, Maureen. "Gender and Urban Political Reform: The City Club and the Woman's City Club of Chicago in the Progressive Era." *American Historical Review*. October 1990.
- Gorn, Heather. "25 Years of Vegetarianism and a Look into the Future." *Vegetarian Journal* 26 no. 3, 2007.
- Jortner, Adam. "Cholera, Christ, and Jackson: The Epidemic of 1832 and the Origins of Christian Politics in Antebellum America." *Journal of the Early Republic* 27, Number 2, Summer 2007.
- Kniffen, Fred. "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55, no. 4, December 1965.
- Lewin McCarley, Rebecca. "Orson S. Fowler and a Home for All: The Octagon House in the Midwest." *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 12, 2005: 49-63.
- Obis, Paul. "An Idea Whose Time Had Come." *Vegetarian Times* 160, December 1990.
- Osborn, Matthew Warner. "A Detestable Shrine: Alcohol Abuse in Antebellum Philadelphia." *Journal of the Early Republic* 29, No. 1, Spring 2009.
- Stewart, Donald W. "Memoirs of Watson Stewart: 1855-1860." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 18, November 1950.
- Tegeder, Vincent G. "Lincoln and the Territorial Patronage: The Ascendancy of the Radicals in the West." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 35, No. 1, June 1948.
- Weisenthal, Debra Blake. "Powers," *Vegetarian Times* 136, December 1988.
- Modern Newspapers/Magazines**
- Charles, Ron. "War is No Place for Saints." *The Christian Science Monitor* 97, No. 66, 1 March 2005.
- Nussinow, Jill. "Seitan — The Vegetarian Wheat Meat." *The Vegetarian Journal*, March/April 1996.

Websites

“About Us: Worthington Foods Company” see FTP Address:

<http://www.worthingtonfoods.com/brand/worthington/about.shtml>.

“-arian” in Cambridge Dictionary, FTP Address:

<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/define.asp?key=3939&dict=CALD>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

“Letter from John Milton Hadley to George Allen,” April 25, 1855. FTP Address:

http://www.kancoll.org/khq/1972/72_1_hadley.htm.

Mayo Clinic Staff. *Cholera: Symptoms*. FTP Address:

<http://www.mayoclinic.com/health/cholera/DS00579/DSECTION=symptoms>.

“Breakkfast.” *Sylvester’s Restaurant*, FTP Address:

<http://www.sylvestersrestaurant.com/menus/breakfast>

“History.” *Sylvester’s Restaurant*, see FTP Address:

<http://www.sylvestersrestaurant.com/history>.

Unpublished Materials

Haynes, April. “Riotous Flesh: Gender, Physiology, and the Solitary Vice,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2009.

Puskar-Pasewicz, Margaret. “For the Good of the Whole”: Vegetarianism in Nineteenth-Century America.” Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 2004.

Digital Archives

“Henry Stephen Clubb” in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865* Roll 128, No. 130. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration.

“John Milton Hadley” in *U.S. Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles*. Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2009.

“Samuel Stewart” in *General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration.

Paper Collections

Battle Creek Sanitarium Health Food Company Papers. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Henry S. Clubb Papers. Bentley Historical Library. University of Michigan.

Janice B. Longone Culinary Archive. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

John Harvey Kellogg Papers. Bentley Historical Library. University of Michigan.

Records, Physical Culture Magazine. American Medical Association Department of Investigations. Chicago, Illinois.

Sanitas Nut Food Company Papers. Bentley Historical Library. University of Michigan.

Archival Depositories

American Medical Association, Department of Investigations. Chicago, Illinois.

Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Houghton Library, Harvard University. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

Schlessinger Library, Radcliffe College. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan.

VITA

Adam Shprintzen was born in Yonkers, NY and raised in Mohegan Lake, NY. Before attending Loyola University Chicago, Adam received his BA from Manhattanville College, Cum Laude, in 1995. Adam also attended Hunter College, City University of New York, where he received a Master of Arts in History in 2005.

While at Loyola University Chicago, Adam taught courses in the history department as an adjunct instructor, including an upper level seminar in American Industrialization. Adam received the Robert McCluggage award for the best graduate essay in the history department in 2008, an Advanced Doctoral Fellowship in 2009, and a Schmitt Fellowship in 2010.