

CHRISTIAN HISTORY



Issue 125

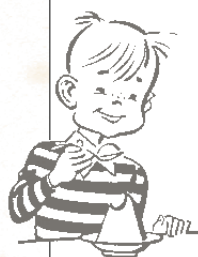
Food & faith
2,000 years of
feasting and fasting

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Did you know?

FRUITCAKES, RED EGGS, JELL-O, CHRISTIAN FISH, AND COMMUNION MACHINES



I'M EATING—YOU'RE NOT

The Bible mentions over 50 foods (see "Good food from the good book," p. 11) and also discusses abstaining from food, especially food offered to idols.

Early church documents lay down other fasting rules: the first-century *Didache* says, "Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites, for they fast on Mondays and Thursdays, but you fast on Wednesdays and Fridays."

OVO-LACTO-PESCA-VEGETARIANS?

Standardizing which foods to avoid while fasting took a while. In the late 300s, Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 310–403) described a myriad of fasting practices:

ALE-MAKING MONK *Left:* This Minnesota monk is explaining to a reporter things that happen in monasteries: prayer and work—and baking and brewing.

AMBIGUOUS MEAL *Right:* Jesus gives Judas a piece of bread at the Last Supper.

Some abstain altogether from meat, whether of four-footed animals or birds or fish, as well as from eggs and cheese. Others only abstain from four-footed creatures, but eat birds and the other categories mentioned. Others again refrain also from birds but continue to eat eggs and fish, while yet others abstain from these too and only permit themselves cheese. Again, others do not use cheese either. Certain people even abstain from bread, and others from fruit that grows on trees, and from all cooked food.

RED EGGS IN THE MORNING

One of the customs that characterizes Greek Orthodox Easter celebrations is the making of red-dyed eggs, *kokkina avga*, as symbols of the Resurrection. They are eaten with Easter bread, *tsoureki* (see recipe for a version of this on p. 41) and are also used to play a game called *tsougrisma* which involves tapping eggs together and trying to break your competitors' eggs.

FEASTS OF LOVE AND JELL-O

The word "potluck" dates to the sixteenth century, when it first meant a meal provided on short notice for unexpected guests.

The custom now called love feasts largely died out after the fourth century.

I BELONG TO THE FISHERMAN This 3rd-c. gravestone may indicate the deceased was a Christian by the presence of fish.



MONK AT BREWERY—BRYAN SNYDER / REUTERS
DEVOTIONAL BOOKLET, IVORY, WESTPHALIA, GERMANY, C.1330-50 / © VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON
FUNERARY STELE WITH THE INSCRIPTION IXΘYC ZΩΤΩΝ ("FISH OF THE LIVING"), EARLY 3RD CENTURY, NATIONAL ROMAN MUSEUM / FORMER KIRCHERIAN COLLECTION / WIKIMEDIA / PHOTO BY MARIE-LAN NGUYEN

DON'T EAT IT ALL Perhaps no food says "church potluck" better than Jell-O (or its British cousin, jelly).

It was revived in the 1700s by Schwarzenau Brethren, Moravians, and Methodists (for more, see "From Cana to Jell-O," pp. 42–44). Moravians used coffee, tea, and sweet bread; Brethren combined soup and meat with foot washing and Communion; and Methodists ate bread and water. But the focus was the same: the sharing of testimonies, singing, and prayer, combined with a simple meal.

FEAST ON WINE AND FAST ON WATER

A much-quoted description of Catholic attitudes toward food and drink is attributed to Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953):

Wherever the Catholic sun doth shine,
There's always laughter and good red wine.
At least I've always found it so.

Benedicamus Domino!


Belloc's friend G. K. Chesterton (1874–1936) wrote in "The Song of Right and Wrong,"

Feast on wine or fast on water.
And your honour shall stand sure,
God Almighty's son and daughter.
He the valiant, she the pure;
If an angel out of heaven
Brings you other things to drink,
Thank him for his kind attentions,
Go and pour them down the sink.

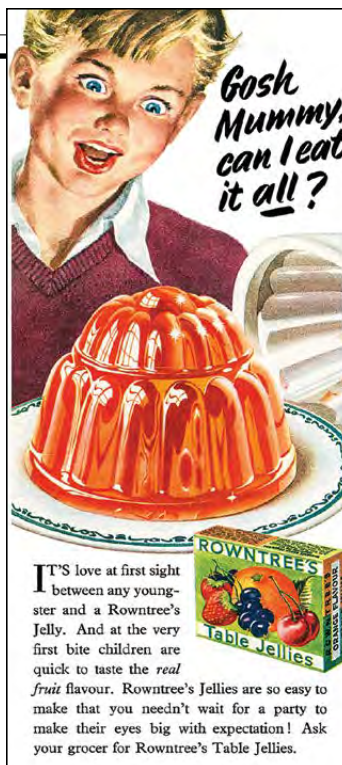
THE BLOOD OF CHRIST, IN A CUP FOR YOU

Ever wonder where individual Communion cups came from? Both grape juice and individual cups were introduced into Protestant practice in the late 1800s (for more, see "Raise a juice box to the temperance movement," pp. 33–35). In the 1890s Methodist pastors Charles Forbes of New York and Edward Ryan of Michigan independently designed cup trays and machines to fill them.

SPEEDING UP COMMUNION

In 2001 retired engineer Wilfred Greenlee invented a juice-dispensing machine for the megachurch he attended, Southeastern Christian Church in Louisville, Kentucky. It reduced the time for filling 350 Communion trays from 30 hours to one and a half hours. 

THE CALF IS NOT SO PLEASED A happy father welcomes the Prodigal Son with clothes and a feast in this 17th-c. painting.



FOOD, FAITH, AND FACEBOOK

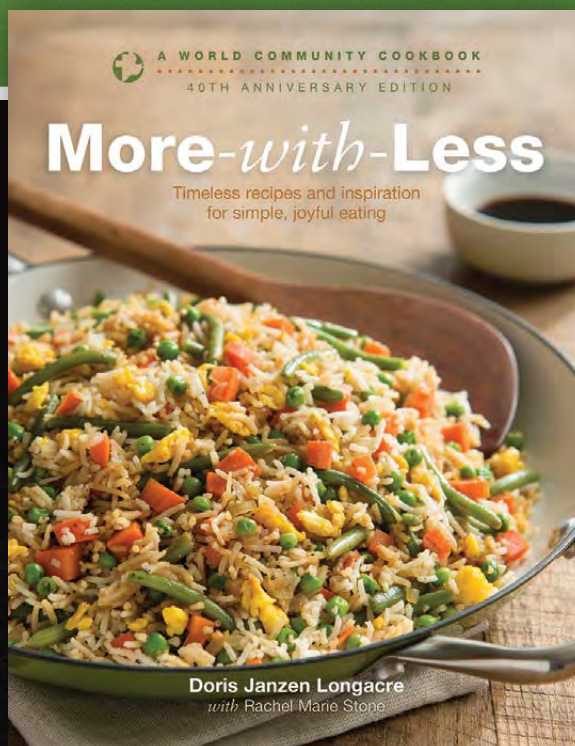
We asked some Facebook friends to share stories of food and faith. Here are a few responses:

- "While decorating the official college Christmas tree at Houghton we had white grape juice, ginger ale, and vanilla ice cream. My professor announced that this wonderful drink was called 'Wesleyan Wine.'"
- "Here's my story of Christian hospitality. I had lots of people coming and not enough roast parsnips to go round so I added apple, ginger, breadcrumbs, butter, herbs, and homemade marmalade. It enabled us all to share equally."
- "I'm Protestant but have a challah recipe I love to make on cold Friday nights, before Sabbath."
- "Years ago missionaries were shipped fruitcake for Christmas. They kept it to serve to special guests because it would keep well and seemed exotic."
- "Most of us who eat red dyed eggs at Eastern Orthodox Easter (we call the two Easters 'American Easter' and 'Greek Easter') remember the game of the red eggs more than anything—and who the winner is each year. Famously, twice in my family someone made a wooden egg in school shop class and tried to pass it off as one of the hard boiled ones."

Thanks to those who contributed tidbits, including Kristen Roth Allen, Elesha Coffman, Suzanne Estelle-Holmer, Martha Manikas-Foster, Halee Gray Scott, Paula Skreslet, and Margaret Watson. Thanks also to Edwin Woodruff Tait for translating Latin, as well as being the family cook.



how we cook can change the world



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HERALD
P R E S S

Letters to the editor

Readers respond to *Christian History*

PRAISE FOR RECENT ISSUES

Faith in the Foxholes arrived today. I was excited to read the letter to the editor from prisoner Stephanos Rousseau . . . because this coming Sunday my congregation and I will be pondering the good news of “born again.” Mr. Rousseau’s words will beautifully fit in my sermon. . . . P.S. Your work is really very worthwhile. —Kenneth Schwengel, Bowie, MD

Thank you for the *Christian History* issue on prisons. We learn a lot from history and your magazine has contributed to my knowledge in so many ways. It is a source of encouragement and hope for many. —Nancy Hennis, Jourdan, TX

The magazines on the Reformation were most enlightening! Blessings! —Thomas Howard, Lexington, KY

THERE WERE OTHER GREAT CITIES

Thanks for many decades of excellent reading . . . The recent *Christian History* on Faith in the City was helpful, but “Citizens of no mean cities” illustrates how sometimes a western-centric limitation can be confusing. Comments such as the “greatest cities of antiquity . . . no ancient city exceeded one million . . . largest cultural center of the east” all unconsciously betray forgetfulness about the great Persian, Indian, and Chinese cities. I think we should be extra careful not to easily forget this history. The “then-known world” is an oft-made comment by many western magazines that makes me cringe, and should make all historians nervous. —Reginald Tsang, Newcastle, WA

We are working hard to broaden our focus beyond the Western European church history whose stories we have often told. We appreciate you reminding us that there is work still to be done.

WHERE YOUR MONEY GOES

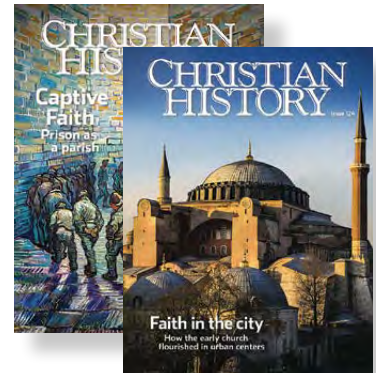
Thank you and your donors for sending to me a free print series of *Christian History*. I am a 77-year-old widow with very limited income, no funds for extra paid pleasures, no access to a computer, and no ability to use one! —Julie Hammitt, El Cajon, CA

Great inspiring magazine! So glad you could return to a “hard copy.” One to hold and treasure the information so well researched! —Lucy Tiller, Greenville, SC

To help keep us, and Julie and Lucy, in hard copies, use the donation envelope in the center of the magazine, or visit us at ChristianHistoryMagazine.org!

THAT’LL PREACH

I did a three-week sermon series in October on the Reformation. The majority of my source material came from your series on the Reformation. I quoted several times from the *CH* magazines, giving credit each time. One result was a lady in our congregation deciding to become a subscriber to *CH*. I certainly appreciate the good work you do. Thank you! —Lew Vander Meer, Grand Rapids, MI



THIS MONTH’S STORY IDEA

I was wondering if you could do a story on a dear brother called Watchman Nee. He became a Christian in 1920 in mainland China at 17. He wrote many books. . . . In 1952 he was imprisoned for his faith and remained in prison until his death in 1972. His words are inspirational and full of encouragement. —Ngawai Hill

CH 98 on China had a fascinating article on Watchman Nee, which you can find on our website. Stay tuned for some upcoming issues in response to our recent reader survey.

A RUNAWAY CART AND A RUNAWAY DATE

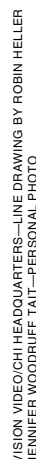
On p. 30 of issue #123, the image of a cart in which prisoners were transported covered some of the text of John Wesley’s letter to Richard Morgan. Here is how the text should have read:

. . . it would do much good if anyone would be at the pains of now and then speaking with them. This he so frequently repeated that on the 24th of August, 1730, my brother and I walked with him to the Castle.

We were so well satisfied with our conversation there that we agreed to go thither once or twice a week; which we had not done long before he desired me to go with him to see a poor woman in the town who was sick.

In this employment too, when we came to reflect upon it, we believed it would be worth while to spend an hour or two in a week, provided the minister of the parish in which any such person was were not against it.

And, in issue #124, the editor’s note said that Christianity was legalized in the third century rather than in (as it correctly appeared elsewhere in the issue) the fourth. That pesky 300s = 4th century equivalence trips up the editor more often than she would like to admit, although she’s finally been convinced she does live in the twenty-first century.



Editor

EVEN THOUGH I C
first issues of *Christia*

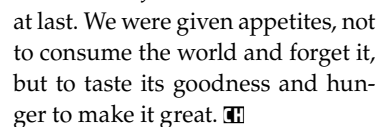
Ever since then I've been tucking away thoughts, author suggestions, fun facts, tidbits—and even recipes. These bits and pieces simmered like a good stew, and now the time is right to serve the finished dish. In fact I'm glad we simmered the stew for a long time, because the more we simmered, the more things we thought of to add to the pot.

Obviously we needed to start with the numbers of foods mentioned in the Bible and with Christianity's holiest meal, the Lord's Supper. But we soon collected so much more. Potlucks and fellowship meals, soup kitchens and church gardens, Christian cookbooks and Christian diets, the temperance movement, fasting and feasting, practices of hospitality . . . the list goes on.

Christians continued to weigh in on when and how to fast, what Christians should eat and not eat, how to

Because we thought of so many ingredients to garnish our stew, this issue looks a little different. We'll begin by talking about food in the garden and travel from one "room" to the next, ending in the fellowship hall, with beautiful full-page images to guide our path. As you go along, you'll see featured quotes from famous Christian cookbooks woven through some articles.

Why do we marry, why take friends and lovers, why give ourselves to music, painting, chemistry, or cooking? Out of simple delight in the resident goodness of creation, of course; but out of more than that, too. . . . For all its rooted loveliness, the world has no continuing city here; it is an outlandish place, a foreign home, a session *in via* to a better version of itself—and it is our glory to see it so and thirst until Jerusalem comes home



Jennifer Woodruff Tait
Managing editor, *Christian History*

Don't miss our next issue on Baptists in America. From Roger Williams to Jerry Falwell, Baptists have played a large role in American religious history.

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THE HOLY TRINITY, 1420S (TEMPERA ON WOOD) (FOR COPY SEE 40856), RUBLEV, ANDREI (C.1370–1430) / TRETYAKOV GALLERY, MOSCOW, RUSSIA / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

Seeking other Edens

GOD, GARDENS, AND HUMAN COMMUNITY

David Grumett

FOUR YEARS AGO I entered paradise. Driving up the steep and twisted road with sheer mountain slopes on either side, we finally rounded a sharp bend, and the valley opened out before us. Yosemite Valley is seven miles long and a mile wide, a fabulously fertile, temperate, and remote garden with a river running through it, encircled by peaks and precipitous rocky slopes. No wonder the Native American tribe the Ahwahnechee once made it their home.

The first encounter between God and humans in Genesis 1 occurred in just such a place of abundant provision. In earthly paradises such as Yosemite, humans glimpse the divine generosity that was part of God's original plan for creation.

In Genesis God commands on the third day, "Let the earth put forth vegetation: plants yielding seed, and fruit trees of every kind on earth that bear fruit with the seed in it." Then God tells humans on the sixth day, "I have given you every plant yielding seed that is upon the face of the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit; you shall have them for food." Gardens, orchards, and fields have been part of God's plan for our world since the beginning.

GRAIN, GRAPES, AND OLIVES

In the Bible food growing was a major occupation. The primary staple was grain in the form of wheat, barley, flax, and spelt (Exodus 9:31–2). Barley was considered the poor person's grain because it tastes worse than wheat (to most folks) and is harder to digest. When used in baking, barley flour rises less well, and so this grain costs about half the price of wheat. However it can be sown in harsher conditions, requires less water, and can be harvested earlier.

It is at the barley harvest that we encounter the Moabite Ruth and her Hebrew mother-in-law, Naomi, migrants into Israel, who follow harvesters to glean the remains of the crop. Boaz's salutation to the women, "The Lord be with you" (Ruth 2:4), is now the priest's greeting to the people at the Eucharist, rooting our worship exchanges in real-life growing and gathering of food.

And let's not forget the fruit of the vine, the second element of the Eucharist. Grapevines were cultivated as



"LET ME BRING A LITTLE BREAD" Countless artists have tackled the story of Abraham serving his heavenly visitors at Mamre in Genesis 18:1–15. The 17th-c. painting above is by Abraham Ferrari; the famous 15th-c. icon at left by Andrei Rublev. For yet another take on the story, turn to p. 19.

early as Noah's day, the Scriptures say, presumably by training on vertical supports such as trees, or by being allowed to spread at ground level.

During the Exodus when the Israelites were camped in the desert, spies were dispatched into the promised land to survey its trees and farms. They cut down a single huge cluster of grapes and marched back with it hanging on a pole carried between two of them (Num. 13:17–24), displaying to all the lush provision that God had in store for them.

Vineyards represent a considerable investment of time and money. And New Testament parables describe how they were staffed by both family members and casual workers, and might be rented out to tenants (Matt. 20:1–16, 21:28–44).

Another staple was olives and the rich oil they produce. Beyond cooking and baking, olive oil was



used for religious offerings, the ritual of anointing, and even lamp fuel.

The importance of the last of these is shown in the parable of the wise and foolish virgins: those with oil in their lamps were ready to go out to meet the bridegroom when he came at midnight, whereas the unprepared could not and so missed their chance (Matt. 25:1–13).

To combine strong roots with large fruit and disease resistance, trees were cultivated by grafting the

The Bible is full of references to feasting and celebration. In the Old Testament there are feasts of welcome and many others celebrating happy occasions in the lives of individuals. And all the great events in the history of the Jews, those commemorating the actions of the Lord on their behalf, are kept with feasts, shared meals, at the command of the Lord himself.
—Evelyn Birge Vitz, *A Continual Feast* (1985)

stems of one variety onto the rootstock of another. Paul the apostle was familiar with this operation, using it as an image for bringing non-Jews into the church (Rom. 11:17–24).

There are still olive groves close by Jerusalem, overlooking the Temple Mount and the Kidron Valley, and Jesus went to these very hills following the Last Supper (Luke 22:39).

APPLES, NUTS, AND ROOTS

Despite the strong biblical witness to stable agricultural communities, Christian hermits in the early days of monasticism followed the lead of John the Baptist, embracing a far more precarious relationship with food. Rejecting the comparative security of farming, they gathered food as they found it. For example, in the life of the sixth-century Irish monk Brendan of Clonfert (c. 484–c. 577), a monastic community at Mernoc is described as eating only “apples and nuts, and roots of such kinds of herbs as they found.”

Yet the earliest monasteries recognized that foraging robbed the community of time for tasks such as prayer, study, and manual labor. To supply their needs, many monasteries planted gardens. These ensured a stable supply of required foods. In the very first-known monastic community, centered on Coptic hermit and abbot Pachomius (c. 290–346), crops included corn, olives, and herbs, which were used both as food and as medicine.

However, produce could not simply be taken and consumed at will. Around 320 Pachomius compiled the earliest monastic rule, directing that “no one shall take vegetables from the garden unless he is given them by the gardener.”

Monks were to exercise similar personal restraint while on their monastery’s agricultural land. “For the sake of discipline,” Abbot Pachomius wrote, “no one should dare eat still unripe grapes or ears of corn. And no one shall eat at all anything from field or orchard on his own, before it has been served to all the brothers together.”

THE GRANDEUR OF GOD *Left:* Yosemite Valley is just one of many places where “God’s garden” can be viewed today.

JUST A FEW FISH *Right:* This 5th-c. Byzantine mosaic represents the feeding of the 5,000.

Pachomius also censured indulgence practiced by those responsible for the community’s prized date palms. “The one in charge of the palm trees,” he instructed, “shall not eat any of their fruits before the brothers have first had some.” He continued:

Those who are ordered to harvest the fruits of the palm trees shall receive a few from the master of the harvesters to eat on the spot. And when they have returned to the monastery, they shall receive their portion with the other brothers.

Pachomius even laid down rules for how the brothers should handle windfall:

If they find fallen fruits under the trees, they shall not dare to eat them, but they shall put them together at the foot of the trees as they pass by. Also the one who distributes the fruits to the other harvesters may not taste them, but shall bring them to the steward who shall give him his portion after he has given some of them to the other brothers.

GROW LOCAL, SHOP LOCAL

As communities of monks sharing a common life developed, the stable food supply suggested by Pachomius’s rule became the norm. A key principle was that the foods communities ate should be locally produced.

In his monastic rule composed around 350, Basil of Caesarea (330–379) directed: “We ought to choose for our own use whatever is more easily and cheaply obtained in each locality and available for common use.” Basil was alert to the danger of settled communities exploiting their power and status to grow products that would have been beyond the capabilities of ordinary households in the neighborhood.

In the Pachomian community, cows were kept so that milk could be obtained to make cheese, and a few pigs were reared to provide meat for the sick and aged. As in later monastic orders, the consumption of red meat by the fit and healthy was prohibited. The principal food production system was therefore crop farming, complemented by some grazing to produce dairy products and wool.

Monastery gardens sometimes included ponds stocked with fish, which were permitted in place of meat even in stricter communities. During the fourteenth century, dietary rules came to be interpreted



with more latitude, leading to a rise in meat consumption and production. Indeed by this time, many monasteries possessed considerable wealth and owned ample estates, which allowed them to grow and sell large quantities of food.

PLANTING, PROTECTING, AND HARVESTING

Throughout the medieval era and later, growing food was a precarious enterprise, as bad weather or disease threatened crops. This was especially true for individual households, who depended on their own small harvests for survival, but lacked the knowledge and infrastructure of the monasteries. Crops required supernatural protection, so people looked for a supernatural solution in the body of Christ, contained in the Eucharistic host, a thin wafer.

Hosts could be removed from churches without clergy knowing, even if the priest placed them directly into communicants’ mouths. A popular account describes a woman taking the host home to sprinkle on her vegetable plot to stop caterpillar damage. In England the host was sometimes deployed to ensure seed germination or to scare off birds. When buried in a field, it was thought to ensure a good harvest.

In France it was carried around vineyards in a procession to safeguard the vines and assure a good vintage. In Germany processions through fields were thought to prevent flooding, pests, and storms, which would have imperiled both crops and animals.

People put strong pressure on clergy to cooperate in these processions, and clergy usually did so for fear of being blamed for a poor harvest. Furthermore many stories were told of the host protecting animals. It might be placed in a hive to preserve its bees or installed in a shepherd’s staff to safeguard the flock.



FLOWING WITH MILK AND HONEY A beekeeper lifts a shelf out of a hive. The oldest honey ever found was over 5,000 years old!

Medieval farm workers were also attuned to the paradox of the agricultural cycle, which brings life and nourishment, but requires a double death, at planting and at harvest.

The sowing of seed was likened to the burial of Christ's body in the earth, encouraged by Christ's presentation of himself as a grain of wheat that falls into the ground and dies (John 12:24). Harvesting was recognized as an inherently violent activity. This is well illustrated in the centuries-old British folk ballad, "John Barleycorn," which describes the cutting and binding of grain sheaves for ale-making in terms reminiscent of Christ's Passion and Crucifixion:

With hooks and sickles keen,
Unto the fields they hied,
They cut his legs off by the knees,
And made him wounds full wide.
Thus bloodily they cut him down,
From place where he did stand,
And like a thief for treachery,
They bound him in a band.

Feasting together has particular importance in Christianity. Just think of the number of shared meals in the New Testament—the miraculous loaves and fishes, the Last Supper, Christ cooking breakfast on the beach for his disciples, the *agape* meals of the early Christians. All shared meals are, in a sense, sacred in Christianity. Feasting together should remind us that we are all members together, of one Body.
—Evelyn Birge Vitz, *A Continual Feast* (1985)

Metal tools, which evoke scourges, appear in the cutting down of the wheat. Farm workers thereby

recollected, and even re-created, Christ's Passion. By together enacting the Passion, the workers acknowledged their own contribution, as fallen humans, to the world's sin and to its rejection of Christ. Yet when the time came to feast on the fruits of their labor, they were equally able to celebrate, also in community, the abundance of God's gifts to them.

GREEN SISTERS

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, community farming continued as people tried to reconnect with the land

and thereby with each other. William Booth, who founded the Salvation Army, had just such a vision to connect food with ministry. In his blueprint Farm Colony at Brickfields in England, he housed unemployed and homeless people and trained them to grow fruits and vegetables, as well as to raise pigs, poultry, and rabbits.

Today many other Christian groups have built their identities around organic, seasonal, and sustainable agriculture. For instance across North America, dozens of communities of Roman Catholic nuns grow much of their own food, enjoying high-quality and simple produce. This includes unusual varieties not to be found in grocery stores.

Dubbed "Green Sisters" by Sarah McFarland Taylor, some of these nuns embrace food growing as a spiritual discipline and a devotional practice, spreading their message through the "Sisters of Earth" network.

In rundown urban areas where affordable, healthy food is often difficult to obtain, churches have been instrumental in setting up community gardens. An example of asset-based community development (ABCD), such gardens provide more than food for people in the locality.

Much like ancient monastic gardens, these gardens also place local residents at the center of the planning, growing, harvesting, and distribution of crops. They reconfigure urban geography, creating new meeting places and pointing to new ways of organizing communities. They also revive many churches by helping them build new connections with their neighbors around an activity fundamental to human flourishing.

While we no longer live in Eden, we still have glimpses of God's garden. ☒

David Grumett is senior lecturer in theology and ethics at the University of Edinburgh, the author of Theology on the Menu, and the editor of Eating and Believing.



Good food from the good book: a partial primer on biblical foods

A Then their father Israel said to them, “If it must be, then do this: Put some of the best products of the land in your bags and take them down to the man as a gift—a little balm and a little honey, some spices and myrrh, some pistachio nuts and **almonds**.” (Gen. 43:11)

B For the Lord your God is bringing you into a good land—a land with brooks, streams, and deep springs gushing out into the valleys and hills; a land with wheat and **barley**, vines and fig trees, pomegranates, olive oil and honey; a land where **bread** will not be scarce and you will lack nothing. (Deut. 8:7–9a)

For as churning cream produces **butter**, and as twisting the nose produces blood, so stirring up anger produces strife. (Prov. 30:33)

C The people of Israel called the bread manna. It was white like **coriander** seed and tasted like wafers made with honey. (Exod. 16:31)

E Which of you fathers, if your son asks for a fish, will give him a snake instead? Or if he asks for an **egg**, will give him a scorpion? (Luke 11:11–12)

F We remember the **fish** we ate in Egypt at no cost—also the cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions and garlic. (Num. 11:5)

G Do not cook a young **goat** in its mother’s milk. (Exod. 23:19b)

People curse the one who hoards **grain**, but they pray God’s blessing on the one who is willing to sell. (Prov. 11:26)

Do people pick **grapes** from thornbushes, or figs from thistles? (Matt. 7:16b)

H Go up to the land flowing with milk and **honey**. But I will not go with you, because you are a stiff-necked people and I might destroy you on the way. (Exod. 33:3)

L You lie on beds adorned with ivory and lounge on your couches. You dine on choice **lambs** and fattened calves. (Amos 6:4)

M The Israelites said to them, “If only we had died by the Lord’s hand in Egypt! There we sat around pots of **meat** and ate all the food we wanted, but you have brought us out into this desert to starve this entire assembly to death.” (Exod. 16:3)

In that day the mountains will drip new wine, and the hills will flow with **milk**; all the ravines of Judah will run with water. (Joel 3:18a)

O When you beat the **olives** from your trees, do not go over the branches a second time. Leave what remains for the foreigner, the fatherless and the widow. (Deut. 24:20)

R They must not drink grape juice or eat grapes or **raisins**. (Num. 6:3b)

Q That evening **quail** came and covered the camp, and in the morning there was a layer of dew around the camp. (Exod. 16:1)

S Is tasteless food eaten without **salt**, or is there flavor in the sap of the mallow? (Job 6:6)

Woe to you, teachers of the law and Pharisees, you hypocrites! You give a tenth of your **spices**—mint, dill and cumin. (Matt. 23:23a)

V They put gall in my food and gave me **vinegar** for my thirst. (Ps. 69:21)

W Let the one who is thirsty come; and let the one who wishes take the free gift of the **water** of life. (Rev. 22:17b)

Very truly I tell you, unless a kernel of **wheat** falls to the ground and dies, it remains only a single seed. But if it dies, it produces many seeds. (John 12:24)

On this mountain the Lord Almighty will prepare a feast of rich food for all peoples, a banquet of aged **wine**—the best of meats and the finest of wines. (Isa. 25:6)

A FEAST OF RICH FOOD Above: On the biblical menu you might find pomegranates, figs, eggs, and olives.



ST. BENEDICT FINDS FLOUR AND FEEDS THE MONKS. FROM THE LIFE OF ST. BENEDICT, 1497-98 (FRESCO), SIGNORELLI, L. (C.1441-1523) AND SODOMA, G. (1477-1549) / MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE, TUSCANY, ITALY / PATRICE CARTIER / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

What should Christians cook?

FAITH IN THE KITCHEN

Jennifer Trafton

ON A FRIDAY DURING LENT in 1522, a respected Swiss printer named Christoph Froschauer hosted a home-cooked supper of sausages for his hard-working employees, inviting town dignitaries—and pastor Huldrych Zwingli—to join in.

Such brazen defiance of the church's fasting laws sparked a public uproar and led to Froschauer's imprisonment. Zwingli, however, defended the meal, preaching that "Christians are free to fast or not to fast because the Bible does not prohibit the eating of meat during Lent." And so the Reformation in Zurich began... thanks, in part, to a plate of sausages.

For centuries the church's seasonal rhythms of feasting and fasting had shaped the way people ate, resulting in a flourishing fish industry and a host of dietary regulations and creative meat and dairy substitutions for use during Lent. The Reformation didn't just shake the fault lines of Western Christendom; it reshaped the Christian diet.

The Reformers drastically reduced the number of holidays and feast days and did away with Lenten fast requirements. Cookbooks soon revealed widening cultural gaps; Catholic and Orthodox countries divided recipes into separate meat and Lenten dishes; those touched by the Reformation did not. *They'll know we are Protestants by our cookbooks*, apparently.

The Reformation wasn't the only force of change in the Christian kitchen. The next few centuries saw an avalanche of cultural shifts. Colonies and new trade routes introduced exotic foods, spices, and beverages—from tea to chocolate to turkeys. Innovations such as forks and restaurants led to an explosion of culinary creativity. Urban growth meant fewer family farms and an expanding market for processed food—spurred on by new technologies, new appliances, and new preservation methods such as refrigeration and canning. Advances in chemistry led to better understandings of nutrition and digestion.

Even though the Reformation had released many Christians from ecclesiastical control of their stomachs,



SUNDAY DINNER The association between monasteries and food is long-standing, from 5th-c. abbot Benedict feeding his monks (shown at left in a 16th-c. fresco) to a couple of Victorian-era cooks (above).

it didn't stop them from thinking about the stomach's effects on the soul: what does it mean to cook *Christianly*? When we are gathered to break bread together in our homes, does it really matter who made the bread, how it was made, and how much we eat?

GODLY APPETITES

By the end of the nineteenth century, a recurring theme had emerged: the push for *simple, natural, and healthy cooking* in contrast to over-indulgent eating and the expensive, highly processed ingredients of the industrial-age diet. This touched on a nostalgic longing for a simpler past—when godlier forebears ate plain, honest food and valued frugality over worldliness. In many cases that nostalgia reached all the way back to Eden: what was good enough for Adam and Eve's dinner table should be good enough for ours.

A pioneer of this movement was Presbyterian minister and traveling lecturer Sylvester Graham (1794–1851). Graham earned the moniker "the prophet



AFTERNOON SNACK In this famous 17th-c. Vermeer painting, a milkmaid appears to be preparing a simple meal.

domestic tasks more efficient and produced easy, cheap, processed food.

In her 1861 cookbook *Christianity in the Kitchen*, Mrs. Horace (Mary) Mann proclaimed, "There is no more prolific cause . . . of bad morals than abuses of diet." The wrong kind of eating dulled the mind, soured the temper, and weakened the will, leading to moral lapses. Many others agreed. Though not a vegetarian, Mann shared Graham's abhorrence of food additives and "adulterated" ingredients (she advocated the use of a microscope in the kitchen to discover them). She aimed to bring the best of current scientific wisdom to the family kitchen.

Dishes like turtle soup and even wedding cake were bad for the digestion and "should never find their way to any Christian table." Cooking fresh, locally grown food (especially from one's own garden) simply, without excessive seasoning, honored the delicious, natural, God-made flavors of each meat or vegetable and aligned eating with reason and conscience to control appetites.

When a family gathered for a meal, Mann said, they should invite the spiritual presence of Christ and remember his words at the Last Supper:

If every "Grace before meat" should recognize that we are to eat, not to gratify ignoble appetites, but to build up purely and devoutly these temples of the Holy Spirit . . . we should be less likely to pervert God's beautiful provision of enjoyment in eating.

A Christian housewife cooking food for her family, from this point of view, was not just slaving away over pots and pans; she was doing her part to save the human race from moral and physical degradation.

Community cookbooks, created by the women of a church or other organization to raise money for charitable causes, emerged as a popular genre during the Civil War and became ubiquitous over the next century. In the preface to an 1876 cookbook, the ladies of Plymouth Congregational Church in Des Moines, Iowa, waxed eloquent about the moral importance of a well-prepared, home-cooked meal:

Good cooking is a valuable ally of godliness. Dyspepsia is the stronghold of depravity. An abused and impaired stomach is but another name for the eclipse of faith. Pernicious moods, harmful introspections, and horrible bug-bears of suspicion and doubt are the portion of him who has been so unfortunate as to damage his most important vital function by feeding on

of bran bread" from Ralph Waldo Emerson, and famous evangelist Charles Finney was a Grahamite.

Repulsed by an American diet saturated with greasy beef, salted pork, and hard cider, Graham preached moderation, temperance, chastity, and vegetarianism (see "What would Jesus buy?," pp. 36–39). Spartan "Graham boardinghouses" sprung up around the country, offering a kind of gastric redemption, and the Battle Creek Sanitarium in Michigan was founded by Seventh-day Adventists inspired by Graham (see "The sacred duty," p. 40).

In 1876 that vegetarian health resort gained a new director, John Harvey Kellogg (1852–1943), soon to revolutionize the American breakfast table by inventing cornflakes. His wife, Ella, developed appetizing vegetarian substitutions and imitation meats in her experimental kitchen and encouraged healthy eating through a cookbook and a cooking school.

MOTHER BAKES BEST

In fact, as literacy spread, the nineteenth century saw a proliferation of cookbooks teaching girls and women how to run a proper middle-class kitchen, a duty imbued with spiritual significance. The Victorian mother was the "angel in the house" and the goddess of the kitchen, so some argued that she should avoid the forces of modernization that made



IS IT SOUP YET? From medieval kitchens (*left*) to modern charity projects (*above*), soup has often been the affordable, healthy, satisfying meal of choice.

food spoiled for human uses . . . fit only for creatures with the digestive apparatus of the ostrich.

Through instructions on avoiding disgusting one's family with "ill-cooked meats, insipid soups, and spoiled vegetables," the good ladies of Des Moines also aimed to "check the growing tendency to seek divorce, by removing one of the causes of matrimonial infelicity."

In an 1886 essay in *Good Housekeeping*, "How to Eat, Drink, and Sleep as a Christian Should," Margaret Sidney looked beyond the food itself by using flowers and nice linens at the table to "shed a Christian influence over every thought and act." At the Victorian family dinner table, through strict regulation of the family's diet and intentional conversation, Christian parents tried to mold their children's characters, form good manners, and impart religious instruction.

In this they stood in the tradition of the Reformers, who had emphasized the edifying nature of table talk. "For discourses are the real condiments of food," Luther had said, "if they are seasoned with salt. For word is whetted by word; and not only is the belly fed with food, but the heart is also fed with doctrine."

WEIGHING SIN

One of the underlying concerns of nineteenth-century Christian food reformers—the link between health and personal morality—still echoed in the twentieth in the form of Christian weight-loss programs. The phenomenon began in 1957 when Presbyterian minister Charlie Shedd published *Pray Your Weight Away*. To Shedd obesity was the outward sign of an inward spiritual failure—worshiping food rather than God. You could weigh your sin by stepping on a scale, he claimed.

Preaching the power of prayer and recommending exercises set to the rhythms of Scripture passages, *Pray Your Weight Away* became a best-seller and gave birth to an entire industry. The 70s saw a boom in books like C. S. Lovett's *Help, Lord—The Devil Wants Me Fat* (1977), which blamed Satan for food temptations and advocated extreme fasting, and Maria Chapian and Neva Coyle's *Free to Be Thin* (1979), which sold 1.4 million copies and eventually spawned Overeaters Victorious.

The guests that we are dealing with in the concept of Christian hospitality are often unexpected; they turn up at the last minute—perhaps they come to town unannounced or come along to dinner with someone who was invited—and often at a rather inconvenient moment. Rather than turn them away ("I'm terribly sorry, but this is a very busy day/week/month/year for me/us"), we need to have emergency procedures for dealing with these "angelic" visitors.—Evelyn Birge Vitz, *A Continual Feast* (1985)

Carol Showalter, a Presbyterian pastor's wife, founded the first official Christian weight-loss program. Called the *3D Diet* (Diet, Discipline, and Discipleship), it combined the nutritional plan of the American Dietetic Association with devotionals and lifestyle advice. Gwen Shamblin, founder of the immensely popular *Weigh Down Diet* program, believed (like other Christian weight-loss gurus) that overweight people try to feed spiritual hunger with food:



FOOD FOR SOUL AND BODY Left: This fresco from a series on the life of Benedict shows him receiving hospitality, probably including bread (below).



In the 1970s and 80s, however, the overwhelming specter of world hunger hovered over the American dining room. The influential *Diet for a Small Planet* (1971) blamed the crisis on wealthy Americans and the meat industry, and Ron Sider's *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger* (1977) called evangelicals to a simpler lifestyle. An ecumenical curriculum for young people included this prayer:

Are you the One haunting me with the agony of the mother who has only cornbread or ricewater—or perhaps nothing—to give her child. . . . What do you want me to do about it?

A new wave of cookbooks made it clear that starving children in Africa are not just the concern of politicians, missionaries, and ethicists, but of housewives: you can change the world, they said to Christian cooks, by changing how you make and serve food at home.

Most famous among these was *The More-With-Less Cookbook*, commissioned by the Mennonite Central Committee in 1976 and revised in 2016 “to challenge North Americans to consume less so others could eat enough.” Using simple, economical recipes from around the world, *More-With-Less* recommends eating organic fruits and vegetables, whole grains, legumes, and nuts; limiting meat and dairy; avoiding processed foods; and growing your own food. In her preface to the 2000 edition, Mary Beth Lind explained the cookbook’s enormous appeal and longevity:

What we eat shows our theology. . . . The book speaks, not only to our physical bodies, but also to our souls. It is soul food, and we need it more than ever. . . .

Lind joined earlier generations in viewing Christian cooking as *simple, natural, and healthy*, but not just for the sake of one’s own or one’s family’s physical and spiritual health—for the sake of the world. **EH**

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As you love God, you will not be able to bow down to the brownies! It will be repulsive to eat the second half of the hamburger. You will despise worshipping the food. You cannot serve both God and someone or something else, therefore, the Promised Land is in sight—you will lose weight!

Other Christian diets focused on the biblical basis for nutrition, not on the supposed idolatry of the dieter. George Malkmus, who had been converted at Billy Graham’s 1957 New York crusade, claimed that switching to God’s original dietary intentions in the Garden of Eden (organic, plant-based, mostly raw and vegan food) cured him of colon cancer and could eliminate other sicknesses as well; he called it the Hallelujah Diet.

The Maker’s Diet (or Bible Diet) promoted by Jordan Rubin in the early 2000s looked to Old Testament dietary laws for instruction on how to eat, resulting in a diet characterized by organic fruits and vegetables, “clean” meat and fish, and no artificial, processed foods. As Don Colbert’s 2002 diet manual asked, *What Would Jesus Eat?*

A HEARTH FOR OTHERS

Feeding the hungry had always been a moral imperative for Christians and a central concern of Christian hospitality, from Benedictine monasteries to Salvation Army soup kitchens. But from the eighteenth century onward, urbanization and industrialization turned the private home into a retreat from the world rather than a place where the hungry stranger was welcomed. Hospitality increasingly became the domain of inns, restaurants, specialized ministries, and Christian residential communities such as L’Abri, L’Arche, and the Open Door Community.

Welcoming the stranger

Serving the guest—including with bread

The Roman Empire was in trouble by the time of Benedict of Nursia (480–547), who founded 12 monasteries and left us his *Rule* as a guidebook for monastic life. The Goth Alaric had invaded in 400, followed by Attila the Hun in midcentury. Later Geiseric, king of the Vandals, pillaged his way through Italy leaving economic devastation. Benedict's communities were islands of peace in the midst of a collapsing empire plagued by war, disease, and hunger.

Benedict's holy charisma attracted those from all walks of life—shepherds, peasants, pagans, monks, nobility, and even royalty. His monasteries took in high-born and farmer; native and immigrant; educated and illiterate; young, middle-aged, and old. In the midst of violence, chaos, and impoverishment, Benedict chose to embrace strangers.

In his biography of Benedict, Pope Gregory the Great (540–604) recounted an incident that perfectly illuminates this, involving a monk-gardener, formerly a Goth who marauded through fifth- and sixth-century Italy. Gregory described this Goth as “poor in spirit,” perhaps indicating a background as a lowly soldier bullied by a sharp-tongued superior officer or a servant beaten regularly with a stick.

Whatever the monk's former life, he panicked while clearing a thicket of thorns when the blade of his scythe detached, flew through the air, and disappeared into a lake. When Abbot Benedict heard of his monk's predicament, he did not send a messenger to admonish or punish; instead, he interrupted his day to visit the distraught Goth. He retrieved and fixed the scythe miraculously, then handed it back to the frightened man, saying, “Here. Take your tool. All is well. Go back to work, but don't be sad anymore. Stop worrying.”

Benedict's actions epitomize the gentle spirit that would suffuse his famous *Rule*. In fact Christians have a long history of hosting strangers—and feeding them. The Old Testament instructs, “You shall love the stranger, for you were once strangers in the land of Egypt” (Deut. 10:19), and Jesus teaches this generosity as the essential nature of love: “I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink. . . .

[As] you did it to one of the least of these . . . you did it to me” (Matt. 25:35, 40). As Augustine pointed out, “the stranger” is actually our “companion” on our communal earthly journey, for “we are all strangers.”

Even today food remains the soul of Benedictine hospitality. Benedictine sister Joan Chittister pointed out that monastic hospitality “bakes fresh bread daily and . . . open[s] a soup kitchen and a food bank and a food pantry” because that creates a real and sacred connection, in fact the “bread and butter” of Benedictines.



The Latin for “stranger,” *hospes*, which gives us *hospitality* and *host*, can also mean “guest.” Later “host” came to mean “enemy” and “army” (because armies devour things and people); but in *hospital*, *hospice*, and *hostel*, we witness caring for sick, dying, or sojourning strangers as the essence of hospitality's gracious spirit. Since the 1300s *host* has also meant the “body of Christ” in the Eucharistic bread, that ultimate form of sustenance (see “Everyday substances, heavenly gifts,” pp. 27–31).

Benedict adopted this hospitality as central to his monastic vision, and chapter 53 of his *Rule* anchors this signature trait of accepting the stranger as God: “All guests who present themselves are to be welcomed as Christ, for he himself will say: I was a stranger and you welcomed me.” God, he knew, might show up poor, dirty, helpless, and from a country other than the one he called home.—Carmen Acevedo Butcher is a lecturer at the University of California at Berkeley and the author of *Man of Blessing: A Life of St. Benedict*.

MONKS FEEDING THE STRANGER Above: Benedict's *Rule* opens with this invitation: “My words are meant for you specifically, whoever and wherever you are, wanting to turn from your own self-will and join Christ, the Lord of all.”



THE BATTLE BETWEEN CARNAVAL AND LENT (OIL ON CANVAS), PIETER THE YOUNGER (C.1564–1638) / PRIVATE COLLECTION / JOHNNY VAN HAEFTEN LTD., LONDON / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

The royal way

FEASTING OR FASTING? THE CONSTANT CHRISTIAN TENSION IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE

Kathleen Mulhern

IN 2012 GREEK SCULPTOR Theodoros Papagiannis held an exhibition in Athens, Greece. It consisted of thousands of small figures made from clay filling two long halls—old and young, couples, parents, and small children all moving in a single direction. On either side of the tables that held the small figures, giant figures of metal and wood stood in silent witness.

As they reached a third hall, there lay huge loaves of bread and sacks of grain. Simply entitled *Bread* the exhibit kindled a deep awareness of the power of human hunger while also representing the presence of God in that oversized and bountiful provision of bread.

LIVING TO EAT?

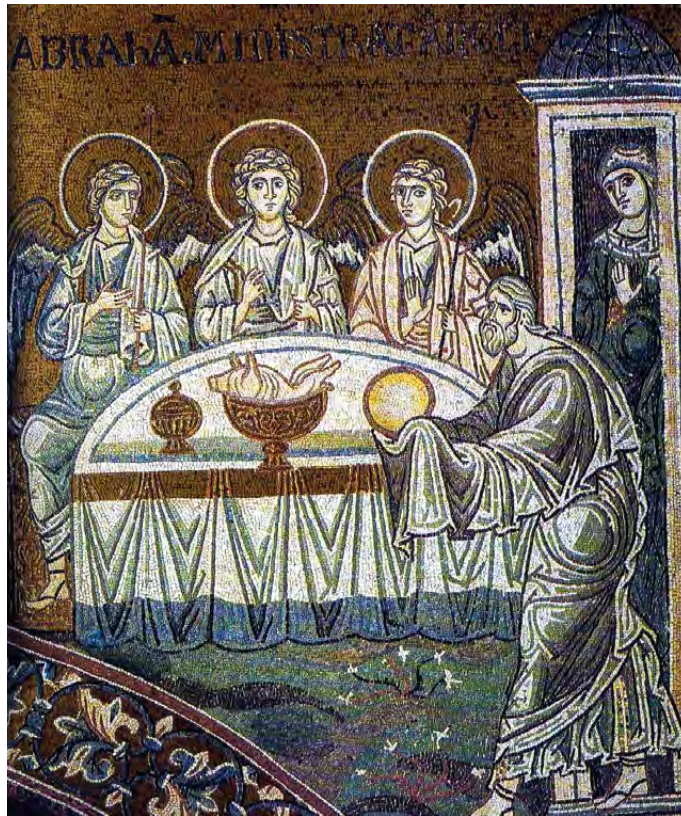
The human journey in Scripture, from Eden to the New Jerusalem, is largely driven by images of food—from the forbidden fruit in the garden to the marriage supper of the Lamb (see “Other Edens,” pp. 7–11).

In the decades following Pentecost, the Christians described in Acts embraced food in community life naturally. Jesus’s model of enjoying meals with all who invited him, Peter’s vision that declared all foods clean, and their own rhythms of feasts and gatherings informed their practice of hospitality. In fact early Christians were suspicious of too much focus on food or abstention, because such a focus could be linked to Judaic practices.

With Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215), one of the earliest Christian theologians, we begin to see a two-tier approach to spirituality that had long-term repercussions. Influenced by Greek philosophy, Clement drew on concepts of the “good life” that dictated the practice of moderation in all things.

In this light gluttony hindered spiritual health and was not “in keeping with the truth.” Philosophers of the day recommended restricting body weight, but Clement’s definition went beyond excessive eating. He saw too much variety, too much pleasure in eating, bad table manners, and indulgence in specific foods (like appetizers or rich sauces) as gluttonous.

Like other church fathers, Clement drew on medical ideas of his time. Body heat and moistness were tied to



DINNER IS SERVED Above: Abraham brings food to the three visitors of Genesis 18:1–15.

PARTY ON ... OR NOT Left: Bruegel's 16th-c. *The Fight between Carnival and Lent* shows how Christians have debated asceticism vs. enjoyment.

different foods and drinks; cool, dry bodies were considered better prepared to devote themselves to prayer and contemplation. Accordingly Clement treated food as something that could contribute to the virtuous life or detract from it, but could not in itself be good or evil. In *Paidagogos* he wrote, “Other men live that they may eat, just like unreasoning beasts; for them life is only their belly—we eat only to live. . . . Food is permitted us simply because of our stay in this world.”

However Clement also believed in a higher-class, more knowledgeable, and virtuous Christian elite and a simpler, more “ordinary” Christian. For the latter he never advocated fasting, except from sins. For the elite



LET'S EAT A hungry traveler in the exhibit *Bread* views a bounteous plate of bread loaves.

between them as a sign of good health. Such ideas led to an increasing focus on the links between food and sexuality. As the church celebrated the self-denial of celibates, sexual purity was tied to food issues in multiple ways. Too much food, or the wrong kinds of food, could increase heat and moisture, which would lead to sexual arousal.

While this was true of both men and women celibates, the greater focus was given to females, whose bodies were seen as hindrances to male purity. Jerome (347–420) launched a strenuous ascetic campaign, encouraging Christian women to fast to preserve chastity and, quite clearly, to become less sexually appealing to men.

Jerome's ideal woman "mourned and fasted . . . [was] squalid with dirt, almost blinded by weeping. . . . The psalms were her music, the Gospels her conversation, continence her luxury, her life a fast. No other could give me pleasure but one whom I never saw eating food." Jerome and his contemporaries tried to create "super saints" who could shame decadent, worldly Christians and inspire the devout.

TOO MANY SAUCES

As monasticism moved into the West and became part of prevailing social structures, it also returned to a more balanced perspective. John Cassian (360–435) had embedded desert monastic practices in his writings. Yet as these practices were implemented by Benedict (c. 480–543) and diffused through the West, they also renewed a focus on bodily care while rejecting excess, undue pleasure, and unnecessary variety. Benedict's *Rule* calls for one main meal every day, plus, according to the liturgical season, a light, uncooked evening meal.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Western monasteries grew increasingly established, increasingly prosperous, and increasingly lax. The ideal of a Christian elite was traded for a reality of indulgence and excess. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) ranted against Cluniac monasteries and their multicourse meals, exotic preparations, varieties of ingredients, and steady diet of meats and sauces. One twelfth-century writer described a monastery serving more than 13 different dishes at a single meal.

Many in the Middle Ages continued to pursue extraordinary self-mortification. Women in particular found in extreme fasting a way to take control of lives otherwise under the complete control of fathers, husbands, or the local priest or bishop. By dedicating themselves to strict self-denial, they hoped to thwart male dominance, achieve spiritual status, and define their own relationships with God. Historians relate fables of women who survived on the Eucharist alone

though, food should be used only for sustenance, and eating habits that distracted from spiritual pursuits—including eating for pleasure—must be avoided.

Origen (c. 185–254), Clement's pupil, made no great fuss over food, stating: "Food and wine are God-given blessings that should be used for the maintenance and health of the body." His greater emphasis lay on a spiritual calling to fast from vice and wickedness. Origen did, however, stress the dangers of gluttony and pleasure, both of which could easily distract the soul's pursuit of God.

The church began a new chapter after its fourth-century legalization. Its sustained "otherness" collapsed into an ordinariness, and without martyrs

Christmas Day has always been a feast day. St. Francis of Assisi practically snorted with indignation at the thought that Christmas, if it fell on a Friday, should ever be a day of abstinence. "The very walls," he said, "should have a right to eat meat today."—Evelyn Birge Vitz, *A Continual Feast* (1985)

many felt the need for new heroes of the faith and new models of Christian living. As Christian writers like Jerome and Eusebius began to recount how desert fathers and mothers fled the common life for extraordinary lives of asceticism, the model of Christian sanctity became fixated on fasting and self-deprivation.

The prevailing medical ideas in late antiquity about bodily humors (fluids) and qualities (phlegmatic, choleric, sanguine, and melancholic) called for a balance



TWO VISIONS Artists depict feasting and fasting at the turn of the 20th c.: *Before Vespers* by Grutzner and *Christ in the Wilderness* by Rivière.

for years, embracing the suffering of hunger as part of the redemptive agony of Christ.

Outside monasteries, however, church life proceeded in a series of feasts and fasts, regulated to enhance the spiritual focus of the seasons. To be a Christian in good standing was to observe the fasts mandated by the church and to celebrate the feast of the Eucharist. Proper dietary practices could be a bigger concern than orthodox theological convictions. One Crusader returned home to the West declaring that he had become a Saracen (Muslim). No one seemed to care much until he ate meat on Fridays; then he was excommunicated.

“FRUGALITY AND SOBRIETY”


This focus on devotional practices proved one trigger for the Reformation. Luther, Calvin, and other reformers never disputed the value of fasting for the sake of discipline, but rejected the idea that it merited divine favor and gained special grace. In his *Institutes* Calvin emphasized an approach to food rooted in “frugality and sobriety.” He urged eating or not eating in ways that contributed to self-discipline and repentance:

For since fasting is in itself a thing indifferent, and should have no importance except for the sake of those ends to which it ought to be directed, a most dangerous superstition is involved in confusing it with works commanded by God.

In the centuries following the Reformation, both Roman Catholics and Protestants relaxed requirements

around fasting. Today Ash Wednesday and Good Friday are the only required fast days for Roman Catholics. While not prohibiting fasting, Protestants encourage it only sporadically. That does not mean, however, that there is no recognition of the link between food and spirituality. On the contrary, there are multiple other ways we identify the spiritual nature of this basic human need (see “From Cana to Jell-O,” pp. 42–44).

Food scarcity, so prevalent through most of human history, has now become a nonissue in most of the developed world. The average American Christian can walk through the local grocery store and find aisle after aisle of staples, snacks, produce, and varieties of grains, meats, juices, cheeses, and sweets. Self-denial now falls more in the category of dieting, an American pastime, than of Christian spirituality.

Perhaps we should listen again to some of the early ascetics, not for setting a bar too unreasonably high, but for rekindling the sense that our food choices can support the life of Christ in us. Abba Poemen (c. 340–450) called this the “royal way,” to eat just enough to maintain our health and well-being and to feed the “engine of prayer and contemplation.” Eating and enjoying food is only human, after all, and our Lord came “eating and drinking” (Matt. 11:19), thus sanctifying for us this longing for bread. 

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Fasting: from the Orthodox front lines

Food has so much significance in Christian lives that we should also consider the spiritual discipline of not eating. In the Christian West, “fasting” usually means eating no solid food at all; this is often done by an individual, a group, or a congregation to focus on a particular prayer need. Eastern Christianity practices a tradition of fasting as a community, on a regular schedule. It is not a total fast; here, “fasting” means no meat, dairy, or fish—basically, keeping a vegan diet.

As you might expect, we keep this fast during Lent, the 40 days before Easter (*Pascha*, to Orthodox), but we also fast during three other, smaller “Lents” in the year: the Nativity Fast (before Christmas), the Apostles’ Fast (after Pentecost), and the Dormition Fast (before the feast of the Dormition of Mary on August 15).

Fasting is voluntary, and we are not supposed to notice if someone else is not fasting; that’s between them and God. Anyone with a health need is exempted—those who are ill, small children, pregnant or nursing women.

RESISTING CHEESEBURGERS

But in addition to those four “Lents,” we also fast on most Wednesdays and Fridays. This is one of the most ancient Christian spiritual disciplines. Do you remember the Pharisee in Jesus’s parable (Luke 18:12) who said, “I fast twice a week”? Christians in the Middle East simply continued the practice, but changed the days.

This is mentioned in a famous first-century text that describes early Christian worship and practices, the *Didache*; it reminds its hearers that Jews fast on Monday and Thursday, then states that Christians don’t do that; we “fast on the fourth day [Wednesday] and the Preparation [Friday].” We fast on Wednesday in observance of Judas’s betrayal and on Friday in observance of the Crucifixion.

The purpose of this fasting is not as payment for sins, since Orthodox believe God forgives us freely, but as a strengthening exercise to withstand future sins. Resisting a cheeseburger at noon on Friday makes you stronger to resist anger at Friday rush hour.

When you add them all up, these fast days make up more than half the days of the year. It makes a difference that we do this all together, supporting



THE LOCUST AND HONEY DIET This famous El Greco painting of John the Baptist shows the prophet in the desert with a lamb representing the Lamb of God.

each other and sharing recipes in the community. When a person is joining the Orthodox Church, the custom of fasting looks shockingly hard at first, even impossible. Then when you see young and old alike keeping the fast without complaint, you try it out and find that you too can do it; you have more inner strength than you knew. Fasting together and supporting each other, we grow together in Christ.—*Frederica Mathewes-Green, author of Welcome to the Orthodox Church and numerous other books, and frequent essayist and public speaker.*



Holiday Wassail

After the Hanging of the Greens service at my childhood church, Friendswood United Methodist, we would all celebrate the "Festival of the Plum Pudding." The pudding was basically a bundt-shaped, cakelike dessert, carried on fire through the sanctuary—by the youth, no less! It was served during the reception with piping hot cups of wassail. My mother got a copy of the church's

recipe, so that my family always enjoys "The Wassail" at this time of year, and I can pass on a little cup of my beloved past to my own children.

juice of 2 lemons
4 c. orange juice
4 2" sticks of cinnamon
2 tbsp. whole cloves
2 tbsp. ground allspice
¼ tsp. grated nutmeg
1 c. sugar
2 qt. apple cider

Combine all ingredients except the apple cider in a stock pot on the stove. Putting the cloves and the cinnamon in a tea infuser or cheesecloth helps contain the dregs. Simmer mixture for 20 minutes. Meanwhile bring the apple cider to a light boil in another pot. Then mix apple cider into the main pot. Bring the entire mixture to a light boil again. It is now ready to serve, or can be left on low on the stove for an afternoon or evening. This recipe can be easily multiplied for larger gatherings. It helps to save the apple cider bottles for leftovers. It is easily reheated in the microwave in a coffee mug, and still tastes great!—Contributed by Josh Hale and his mother, Barbara J. Hale

Koliva

"Truly, truly, I say to you, unless a grain of wheat [koliva] falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit." (John 12:24)

Orthodox Christians commemorate departed loved ones by preparing a dish of boiled wheat berries called koliva, sweetened to remind us of the joy of Paradise. The dish is placed in front of the icon of Christ, and relatives and friends gather round holding candles as the priest chants a brief prayer service. Afterward the dish is served to the congregation in small cups.

2 c. wheat berries

Cover with water and bring to a boil, then simmer uncovered an hour or more until they are puffy and slightly crunchy. Keep adding water as needed. (Presoaking the berries will shorten this time.)

Traditionally the cooked wheat is then rolled in a towel and left overnight to dry, so that the finishing decoration is not affected by dampness. Skipping that step won't affect the flavor.

Add:

1 c. sugar
2 tbsp. cinnamon
1 c. chopped walnuts
1 c. golden raisins
½ c. Jordan almonds



You can vary the recipe in many ways, according to ethnic tradition or personal preference. Add (or substitute) pomegranate seeds, chopped mint or parsley, sesame seeds, pine nuts, dried fruits, bakery sprinkles, or even candy; you can also try different spices, like cumin, cloves, anise, or cardamom.

Place the finished koliva in a bowl or on a platter, and shape it into a mound, like a grave. (Sprinkling it at this point with sesame seeds or graham cracker crumbs will help preserve the final appearance.) Cover it thickly with powdered sugar, and decorate the top with a cross made from nuts, sweets, or Jordan almonds; add other decoration as desired.

—Contributed by Frederica Mathewes-Green

Feasting and Fasting

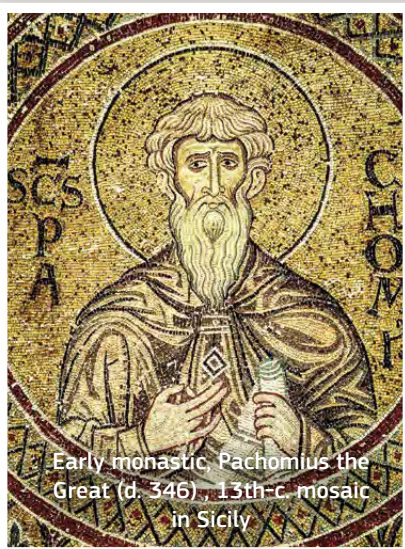


Table of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things, attr. Hieronymus Bosch, c. 1480

30s Christians begin celebrating the first day of the week with prayer and a meal in honor of Christ's Resurrection.

c. 53 Paul's first letter to the Corinthians contains the first canonical reference to the Last Supper and *agape* meals (1 Cor. 11:17–34).

c. 40s Apostles reject Jewish dietary restrictions, but remain concerned about eating meat sacrificed to idols (Acts 15:29, 1 Cor. 8).



Early monastic. Pachomius the Great (d. 346), 13th-c. mosaic in Sicily

c. 100s The *Didache* and Justin Martyr's *First Apology* contain some of our earliest extrabiblical descriptions of Communion practices; a homily attributed to Melito of Sardis is one of our first known references to the celebration of Easter, or *Pascha*.

325 Council of Nicaea sets rules for determining the date of Easter.

336 A celebration of Christmas on December 25 is first recorded in Rome; it is introduced into Constantinople around 378.

340 Synod of Gangra condemns Manichean practices including the requiring of vegetarianism.

c. 360s Western Christians adopt the celebration of Epiphany on January 6 from Eastern Christians.

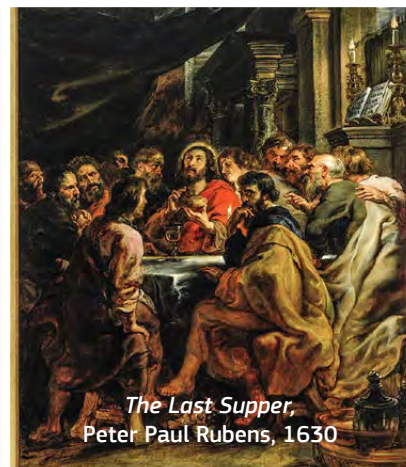
c. 207 First references to fasting before receiving Communion and to Wednesday and Friday fasting appear in the writings of Tertullian.

325 Council of Nicaea includes first reference to the Lenten fast as being 40 days long.

364 Council of Laodicea forbids celebrating *agape* meals in church.

511 First Council of Orléans sets Lent definitively at 40 days.

c. 550 Benedict's *Rule* forbids healthy monks from consuming meat other than fish or fowl.



The Last Supper, Peter Paul Rubens, 1630

386 John Chrysostom preaches the earliest known sermon for the Feast of Christmas.

398 Fourth Council of Carthage rejects the practice of fasting on the Lord's Day.



Ascetic Julian of Norwich (1342–1416), image by Stephen Reid, 1912

c. 750 *Gelasian Sacramentary* contains first mention of Ash Wednesday.

1050 Council of Coyanza commands Friday fasting year-round.

1562 Council of Trent codifies long-standing Catholic practice of offering only bread to the laity at Communion.

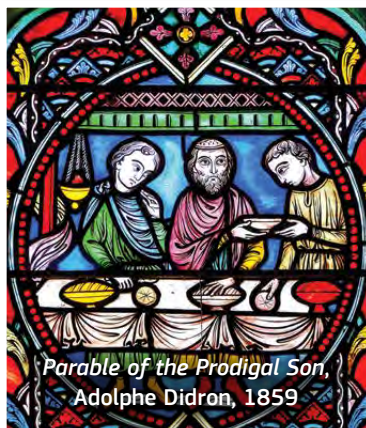
GLUTTONY. DETAIL FROM THE TABLE OF THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS AND THE FOUR LAST THINGS, c. 1480 (OIL ON PANEL) (SEE ALSO 169686), BOSCH, HIERONYMUS (C. 1450–1516) / PRADO, MADRID, SPAIN / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
THE LAST SUPPER, 1630 (OIL ON PANEL), RUBENS, PETER PAUL (1577–1640) / PINACOTECA DI BRERA, MILAN, ITALY / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
ST. PACHOMIUS (D. 346) (MOSAIC), BYZANTINE SCHOOL, (12TH CENTURY) / DUOMO, MONTELEONE, SICILY, ITALY / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES
LADY JULIAN OF NORWICH, ILLUSTRATION BY STEPHEN REID—THE MIGHTY ARMY BY W. M. LETTIS / MARY EVANS PICTURE LIBRARY

From the beginning of the church, Christians have both feasted and fasted. This timeline highlights some important moments in each of those journeys, especially ones discussed in this issue. —Compiled by Jennifer Woodruff Tait



c. 550 Benedict writes his *Rule* for monks, which among other things urges them to receive guests as though they were receiving Christ.

567 Second Council of Tours forbids fasting between Christmas and Epiphany.



1000 Shrovetide is first referred to in Theodolpus's *Ecclesiastical Institutes*; it becomes known as a period of feasting and carnival on the Tuesday before Lent.

1522 Christoph Froschauer and Huldrych Zwingli eat sausages on a Friday during Lent in Zurich, helping spark the Protestant Reformation there.

1700s Pietists such as the Moravians and Brethren reintroduce the custom of *agape* meals, calling them love feasts.

1737 John Wesley attends his first Moravian love feast; these meals will later become a central feature of early Methodist practice.

1942 Clarence Jordan founds Koinonia Farms, an intentional Christian farming community.



1965 Catholic Church publishes a rite for receiving both bread and wine at Communion as part of the reforms of Vatican II.

1967 Robert Farrar Capon blends spirituality and culinary delight in *The Supper of the Lamb*.

1969 Wendell Berry publishes his first set of essays on food and the environment.

1809 William Cowherd founds the Bible Christian Church in England, a vegetarian church.

1829 Presbyterian pastor Sylvester Graham begins preaching the "Graham diet," a vegetarian whole-foods diet.

1869 T. B. Welch discovers a way to pasteurize grape juice, enabling alcohol-free Communion.

1874 Female temperance advocates found Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

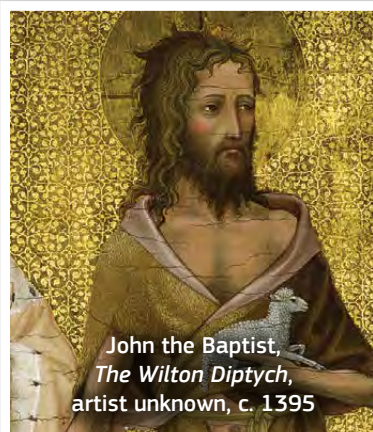
1863 Ellen G. White and other leaders form the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which practices various dietary restrictions.

1878 John Harvey Kellogg invents cornflakes to serve as part of a wholesome Christian diet.

1917 Catholic canon law relaxes requirements on pre-Eucharistic fasting for the sick.

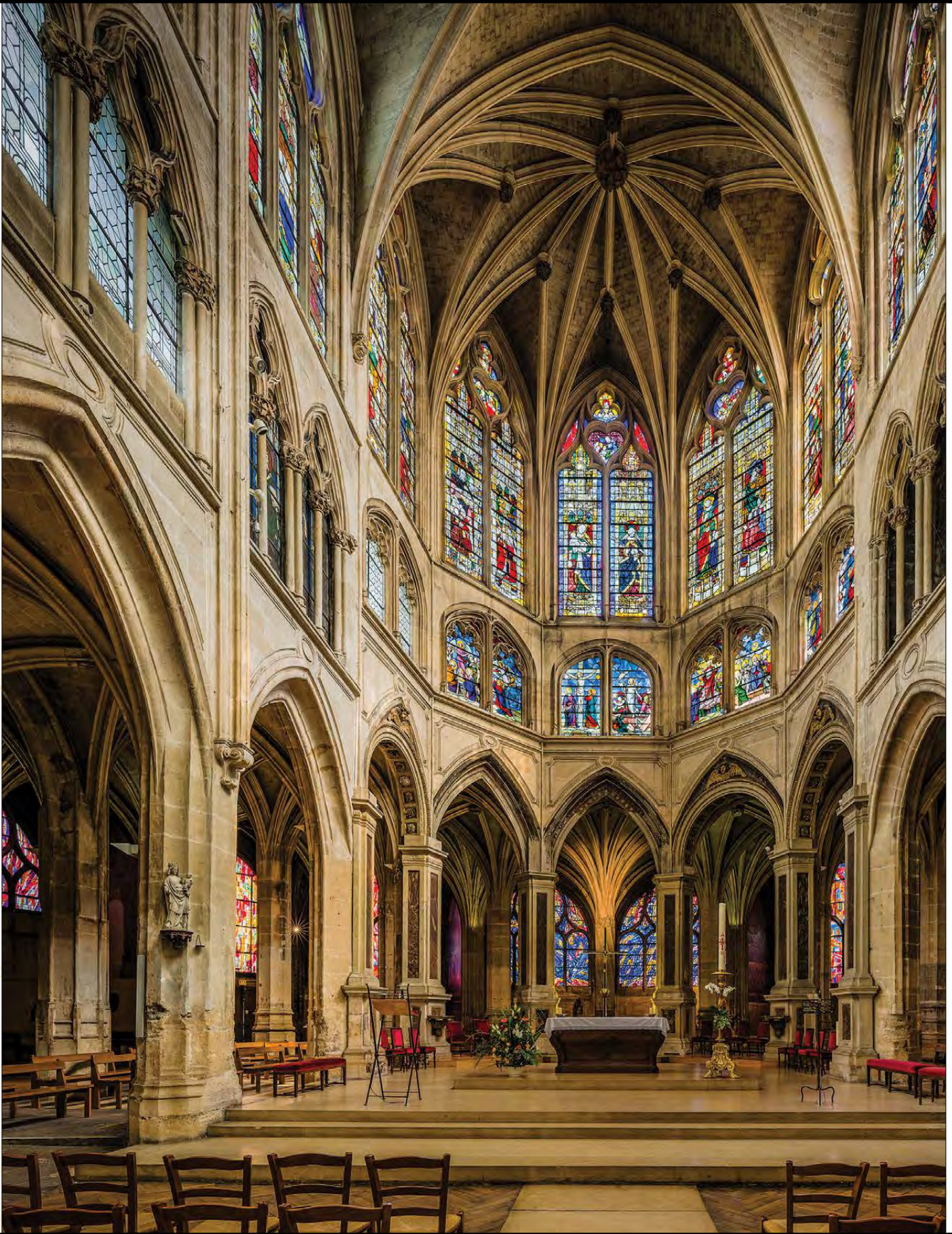
1920 United States adopts national Prohibition, repealing it in 1933.

1957 Charles Shedd publishes *Pray Your Weight Away*.



1966 Pope Paul VI permits Catholic jurisdictions to exempt believers from Friday fasting requirements.

1976 Mennonite Central Committee publishes *More-with-Less* cookbook.



SAINT-SÉVERIN SANCTUARY, PARIS, FRANCE—PHOTO BY DAVID ILIFF. LICENSE CC-BY-SA 3.0 / WIKIMEDIA



Everyday substances, heavenly gifts

FROM THE BEGINNING, THE HOLIEST CHRISTIAN MEAL USED EVERYDAY FOOD

Andrew McGowan

THE CHRISTIAN LORD'S SUPPER—Mass, Eucharist, or Holy Communion—typically centers on sharing bread and wine. In the modern Western culinary imagination, these may seem to be just an accompaniment and a luxurious or pleasant beverage, not a meal on their own. And the thin wafer and sip of grape juice used in many contemporary churches bear little resemblance to our regular food.

Yet for a couple of centuries, the Christian meal—most commonly called “Eucharist” at its earliest celebrations—was both a sacred event and a means to use ordinary food to satisfy hunger.

MAKING A MEAL

Bread and wine were central to the diet of the ancient Mediterranean world. Bread was the staple food for most people—the heart of a typical meal, not just a side dish. Wine also was an effective means of storing and

PASS THE BREAD, PLEASE Above: Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* graces the wall of an actual dining hall in Santa Maria delle Grazie Church in Milan.

THE SACRED MEAL Left: At the high altar at Saint-Séverin Church in Paris, Christians have celebrated the Eucharist for eight centuries.

sharing the food value of the important grape crop and not just a luxury for festive occasions. Bread and wine together made a meal, or most of it.

Ancient Christians used both leavened and unleavened bread. While the synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) identify Jesus's fateful meal as a Passover meal, none of them specify the bread as being unleavened, though it likely was. Many poorer people in the ancient Mediterranean world, not just Jews at Passover, ate their bread unleavened, since leavening required



the luxury of time for the bread to rise.

Early Christians preferred leavened bread, however, and probably leavened the bread of the Eucharist whenever possible. Only in the Middle Ages did the Western church develop (or regain) a stronger sense of the connection between the Eucharist and Passover, which led to a formal requirement for unleavened bread. And although the poor also ate bread made of barley or other grains when necessary, wheat bread seems to have been the norm.

GOD'S BANQUET

The presence of the poor and hungry played an important role in the formation and growth of the early church. While arguments about meat-eating consumed some of St Paul's privileged readers in Corinth (1 Cor. 8 and 10), the less wealthy in the same community apparently missed out even on bread when arriving late or empty-handed to the Christian "banquet," a word that implies abundance (1 Cor. 11).

Paul famously criticized this inequality (1 Cor. 11:17–34) and offered the oldest version we have of the famous story of Jesus breaking bread and sharing the cup—not as a handbook for ritual but as a moral example for sharing equally and in humility:

When you come together, it is not really to eat the Lord's supper. For when the time comes to eat, each of you goes ahead with your own supper, and one goes hungry and another becomes drunk. What! Do you not have homes to eat and drink in? . . .

For I received from the Lord what I also handed on to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, "This is my body that is for you. Do this in remembrance of me."

In the same way he took the cup also, after supper, saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me." For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's



HIGH AND LIFTED UP Christians today celebrate Holy Communion in many ways and in many places. Here, Catholic priests in Italy (*far left*) and Tanzania (*left*) consecrate bread and wine.

death until he comes (1 Cor. 11:20–26, NRSV).

There is no reason to think the "banquet" stopped being substantial after Paul wrote his letter. For many people in the ancient world, as in the modern, access even to ordinary food like bread could not be taken for granted from day to day. Rome had a grain dole for its citizens, but this only applied to

the males of old local families, not to the many foreign workers, whose labor kept the city running.

Whatever else it was, the Eucharist was an inclusive feeding program. The simplicity of this Eucharistic food and drink was important relative to elite Roman banquets with their multiple courses; real hunger was satisfied, but this was not a feast for the sophisticated palate.

As late as 200, the North African teacher Tertullian still described "God's banquet" in worship at Carthage as a literal, if modest, meal in Chapter 39 of his *Apology*:

We do not recline until we have first tasted of prayer to God; as much is eaten as to satisfy the hungry; only as much is drunk as is proper to the chaste.

They are satisfied as people who remember that they have to praise God even in the night; they talk as people who know that the Lord is listening. After water for washing the hands, and lighting lamps, each is invited to sing publicly to God as able, from holy Scripture or from their own ability; thus how much each has drunk is put to the test. Similarly, prayer closes the feast.

WINE AND WATER

Wine was important at any ancient banquet, sacred or not. Typically the sharing of cups or bowls of wine mixed with water followed the solid meal, as the Last Supper stories suggest. Although wine was certainly required for such festive occasions, even poor people drank it regularly.

Though the myth circulates that wine was the only safe drinking option, given the quality of ancient water supplies, inhabitants of premodern cities would not have known water carried disease. In any case they often had good water from aqueducts and wells. More important was the food value



BROKEN FOR YOU Above: In the United States, some churches use flat pita-style bread for Communion.

SHARED TOGETHER Right: Other churches pass cubes of bread and small glasses of juice on trays. For more on the use of juice instead of wine, see pp. 33–35.



of wine—calories are often valuable to the poor and hungry—as well as its comforting effects on the drinker.

Yet some Christians rejected wine and either used water for the Eucharistic cup, or omitted a cup altogether from their meals. Some early Christian texts refer to the whole event just as the “breaking of bread” (see Luke 24:35; Acts 2:42); others specify water in the cup, or depict Eucharistic meals without mention of any beverage.

The reasons for avoiding wine were not those of modern teetotaling Christians (see “Raise a juice box to the temperance movement,” pp. 33–37). Instead, they reflect the central role of wine in pagan rituals. Formal Greek and Roman meals began with libations to the gods, a ritual of pouring wine onto the ground and then drinking the remainder from a wine jar or bowl, thought to sanctify the meal to those deities.

This strong association with paganism was enough to keep some Christians away from all wine. Other Christians and Jews substituted a cup of blessing or thanksgiving for the pagan libation. Juice, we should note, was not really an alternative; in a world without refrigeration or pasteurization, juice quickly became a different and milder sort of wine—but wine nevertheless.

So too the place of meat in Greco-Roman religion led to its avoidance altogether by some of the same Christian communities. Much of the meat available had been sacrificed to the gods first, as Paul indicated (1 Cor. 8). Avoiding wine *and* meat thus made sense to some (Rom. 14:21). These concerns reveal an anxiety about real or perceived collusion, via eating

and drinking, with the demonic forces thought to be behind the gods of the Greeks and Romans.

IS IT NOT A SHARING IN HIS BLOOD?

Later tradition has focused very firmly on the meal as a representation of the death of Jesus, and famous arguments of the Reformation era centered on whether the meal was a sacrifice and, if so, how.

Despite the absence of meat from the Eucharist, the earliest Christians did see the meal in sacrificial terms. Paul used the sacrifices of the Jerusalem Temple and of local Greek temples to help explain how the Corinthian supper created a *koinonia*—a communion—for the participants:

The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a sharing in the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ? ... Consider the people of Israel; are not those who eat the sacrifices partners in the altar? What do I imply then? That food sacrificed to idols is anything, or that an idol is anything?

No, I imply that what pagans sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God. I do not want you to be partners with demons. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons. You cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons (1 Cor. 10:16–21, NRSV).

If it was going to be a sacrifice, the absence of meat made the Christian banquet a curious one, at least to Greeks. But it was rooted in Jewish tradition, well known to Christians; the offerings of the Old Testament involved meat, but also gave a significant place to grain and bread offerings (see Lev. 2), as well as to wine.

In fact, Scripture refers to Melchizedek, priest-king of Salem, bringing Abraham offerings of bread and wine (Gen. 14:18). These traditions offered Christians ways of thinking about a meal of bread and wine as being a sacrifice.

Christian sources written shortly after the New Testament—the *Didache*, Justin Martyr, and Irenaeus among them—present the meal as a sacrifice of bread and wine. They did see the food and drink as the body and blood of Christ, but Jesus could be present at the meal as host or participant (see Luke 24:28–35), not just as the main course.

The Eucharist was that “pure sacrifice” the prophet Malachi had foretold (1:11), one celebrated without the gore of pagan temples. Thanksgiving to God—as the name “Eucharist,” Greek for “giving thanks,” implies—was the clear emphasis.

PASS THE CHEESE

The typical Greek or Roman meal was understood to have three elements: the grain or bread staple (*sitos*), the side dishes (*opsa*), and the drink (*potos*). This structure worked just like “meat and two or three vegetables” does in many parts of the English-speaking world, and the absence of any one would have been curious.

Two of the three have obvious equivalents in the Eucharist; but did Christians have liturgical side dishes? Apparently, yes. The instructions for a festive Eucharist at the ordination of a third-century bishop include blessings for cheese and olives, somewhat like those for bread and wine.

Although by then the Eucharist seemed to be a token meal, the inclusion of these foods probably reflected recent memory of the meal as both sacred and substantial. Other narratives from the same period or earlier variously refer to oil, salt, cheese, and vegetables as shared at Christian community meals.

It is also possible that other foods were on the table at early Eucharistic gatherings without being mentioned. Meat never seems to have made it to the table, however; the imagery of bread and wine themselves as Jesus’s body and blood may have made meat symbolically inappropriate as well.

Fish could perhaps have been eaten, given the prominence of fish in Gospel traditions and in later Christian art. Fish was not tainted by association with pagan ritual the way meat was; domestic land animals



SEALED FOR CHRIST These four stamps for consecrated bread range from the 6th c. through the 18th c. and show Christ crucified, the Resurrection, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the phrase “Jesus Christ Victorious.”



were required in sacrifices, while fish as wild creatures were safer for Christians (and Jews) to eat. By the second century, the acrostic *ΙΧΘΥΣ*—the Greek word for “fish,” made up of the initials of the phrase “Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior”—was well known.

Despite this no evidence exists for actual fish at the Eucharist; it was apparently a good symbol, but better to draw or to think about than to eat.


FROM MEAL TO SACRAMENT

The ancient Eucharist thus presents us with the curiosity of a celebratory meal that was substantial in character, yet also modest both in quantity and in quality of foods. Bread and wine—and sometimes other foods too—were recognizable to the participants as everyday substances, but were received as heavenly gifts. Each Eucharist bridged heaven and earth, the glorious and the mundane.

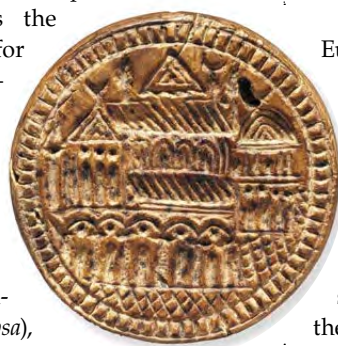
In the third century, the sheer growth of the Christian community meant that banquets became less viable settings for gatherings of a local church.

At the same time, the significance of the blessed bread and wine as the body and blood of Christ was interpreted more and more concretely. Together, these developments allowed or required the shift from Eucharists as evening meals to morning gatherings, where Christians received the

blessed food and drink, eating small amounts that only evoked a meal (see “From Cana to Jell-O,” pp. 41–43).

Even in their familiar token forms, bread and wine still reflect the symbolism not merely of the Last Supper, but of the ancient Mediterranean meal in general. Products of the earth and of human labor, they link those who eat and drink them with an ancient past and a heavenly future. 

Andrew McGowan is J. L. Caldwell McFaddin and Rosine B. McFaddin Professor of Anglican Studies and Pastoral Theology and dean of Berkeley Divinity School at Yale. He is the author of *Ancient Christian Worship and Ascetic Eucharists*.



Eating (and not eating) with the church fathers

I am the wheat of God, and let me be ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ.—*Ignatius of Antioch, Epistle to the Romans (2nd century); translated by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson*

For if the eternal God will not hunger, as He testifies through Isaiah, this will be the time for man to be made equal with God, when he lives without food.—*Tertullian, On Fasting (3rd century); translated by S. Thelwall*

Instructions for the blessing of food by the bishop in church: All shall be diligent to offer to the bishop the first fruits of the fruits of the first harvest. He shall bless them, saying, "We give thanks to you, God, and offer to you the first fruits of the fruits which you have given to us as food, having nourished them by your word, commanding the earth to bring forth all kinds of fruit for the pleasure and nourishment of men and all animals. For all this we praise you, God, in which you have been our benefactor, adorning all creation for us with various fruits, through your Son Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom to you be glory throughout the ages of the ages. Amen."

These are the fruits which he shall bless: the grape, fig, pomegranate, olive, pear, apple, blackberry, peach, cherry, almond, and plum. But not the pumpkin, melon, cucumber, onion, garlic, or any other vegetable. Sometimes flowers also are offered. The rose and lily may be offered, but no other flowers. With all foods, give thanks to the Holy God, eating them to his glory. —*Attributed to Hippolytus, Apostolic Tradition (3rd century); translated by Kevin Edgecomb*

When you sit down to eat, pray. When you eat bread, do so thanking Him for being so generous to you. If you drink wine, be mindful of Him who has given it to you for your pleasure and as a relief in sickness. —*Basil of Caesarea, Homily V, In martyrem Julittam (4th century), translated by Orthodox Church Quotes*

Are there any weary with fasting? Let them now receive their wages! If any have toiled from the first hour, let them receive their due reward; if any have come after the third hour, let him with gratitude join in the Feast! . . . You that have kept the fast, and you that have not, rejoice today for the Table is richly laden! Feast royally on it, the calf is a fatted one. Let no one go away hungry. Partake, all, of the cup of



faith. Enjoy all the riches of His goodness!—*Easter sermon of John Chrysostom (c. 400); translation found at Anglicans Online*

When then my mother had once, as she was wont in Africa, brought to the churches built in memory of the Saints, certain cakes, and bread and wine, and was forbidden by the door-keeper; so soon as she knew that the Bishop had forbidden this, she so piously and obediently embraced his wishes. . . . When she had brought her basket with the accustomed festival-food, to be but tasted by herself, and then given away, [she] never joined therewith more than one small cup of wine, diluted according to her own abstemious habits, which for courtesy she would taste.—*Augustine, Confessions (c. 400), book 6, chapter 2, section 2; translated by E. B. Pusey*

Glutton, bent on the worship of your own belly! It is better for you to cast a live coal into your stomach than the fried foods of rulers and princes. —*Isaac the Syrian, Homily 17, Ascetical Homilies (7th century), translated by Arent Jan Wensinck*

INWARDLY DIGESTING Above: French painter Théophile Gide imagines monks dining in a refectory, listening to a reading from Scripture or Christian writings.



Raise a juice box to the temperance movement

GETTING UNFERMENTED WINE FROM THE VINEYARD

Jennifer Woodruff Tait

IN 1869 A 43-YEAR-OLD METHODIST dentist on his third career changed American Protestantism forever.

Thomas Bramwell Welch (1825–1903) came to upstate New York with his family at age six. There he joined the abolitionist Methodist offshoot, the Wesleyan Methodists. He began preaching at 19, but his vocal cords were no match for his religious fervor, and he was out of the ministry with voice problems by 21.

He had just married the quiet and steady Lucy Hutt, much to the surprise of his parents (she was their cook). Needing a new occupation to support his new family, T. B. chose medicine, but the traveling life of a rural doctor was not much better for his health.

T. B. turned to dentistry and settled in Vineland, New Jersey, in 1869. There he made false teeth (“good chewers or no sale”) and performed the relatively new operation of extracting teeth “under gas” (nitrous oxide). Eventually he returned to mainline Methodism and was asked to serve as a Communion steward at the Methodist church in Vineland.

As the son of a teetotaling mother and a social-drinker preacher father, serving alcoholic wine at Communion bothered T. B. greatly. His impetus to develop a substitute increased, the family story goes, when a visiting preacher with a drinking problem stayed at the Welch’s home and revealed the dangers he’d found in Communion wine.

Methodists had been urging unfermented grape juice at the table since 1864, when Methodist legislators recommended “that in all cases the pure juice of the grape be used in the celebration of the Lord’s Supper.” But grapes were only in season in the late summer. Preserved grape juice would naturally ferment within weeks.

T. B. and his son Charles (1852–1926) had heard of Louis Pasteur’s experiments in pasteurizing liquids to extend their shelf life. Pasteur injected pasteurized grapes with yeast to control the flavor of the resulting wine.

MORE THAN ONE FRUIT OF THE VINE *Left:* Concord grapes adorn the vines at a Napa Valley vineyard. T. B. and Charles Welch thought such grapes had a brighter future as grape juice (*right*) than as wine.

The Welch’s wanted to halt the process right after the pasteurizing: no yeast, no fermentation. In 1869 they picked grapes from the trellis outside their house, cooked them, filtered them, and plunged the bottles of cooked and filtered juice into boiling water—not too long, but just long enough.

When the bottles were uncorked, they had not fermented. The Welch’s had succeeded.

ROOTED IN TEMPERANCE SOIL

The Welch’s were only part of a larger trend. “Temperance” had been defined ever since the ancient Greeks as moderation in all things. But by the time 1900 dawned, the average American Protestant would understand it to signify “teetotalism”: total abstinence from all alcohol.

Americans originally had been a hard-drinking bunch. In the colonies whether attending a political debate, celebrating Christmas with family and friends, or helping your neighbor put up a barn, chances were good you’d all partake liberally in a pint or three of beer or hard cider. If you were a colonial governor or a landowner, you were probably putting away a lot of fancy European wine as well.

Taverns were the center of social and political life: today’s coffeeshops, post offices, campaign headquarters, and blogs rolled into one. Eighteenth-century Americans consumed about 7.1 gallons of absolute alcohol a year on average. The bar tab for George Washington’s farewell party given by his troops in 1787—a party attended by 55 people—ran to 60 bottles of claret, 54 bottles of Madeira, 22 bottles of porter, 12 bottles of beer, 8 bottles of hard cider, 8 bottles of whiskey, and 7 bowls of spiked punch.

As the nineteenth century dawned, whiskey rose in popularity, and German immigrants brought with them a new drink, lager beer. America was urbanizing



UNION TEMPERANCE MEETING.

"Here's the Pledge, Oh, come and sign it, sign and keep it true,
Leave the cup, there's poison in it, misery and woe."

HON. ELIJAH A. MORSE

Of Canton, Mass., State Senator, will give a Free

TEMPERANCE LECTURE!

— IN —
TOWN HALL, BERLIN,
Sunday Eve'g, May 16, 1886,
AT 7.30 O'CLOCK.

MR. MORSE has also accepted an invitation to give a **RELIGIOUS ADDRESS** at the Congregational Church, Sunday morning, at the usual hour of service, 10.30.

Subject: "BLESSINGS OF THE GOSPEL FROM A BUSINESS STANDPOINT," Continued.

EVERYBODY IS INVITED. ADMITTANCE FREE.

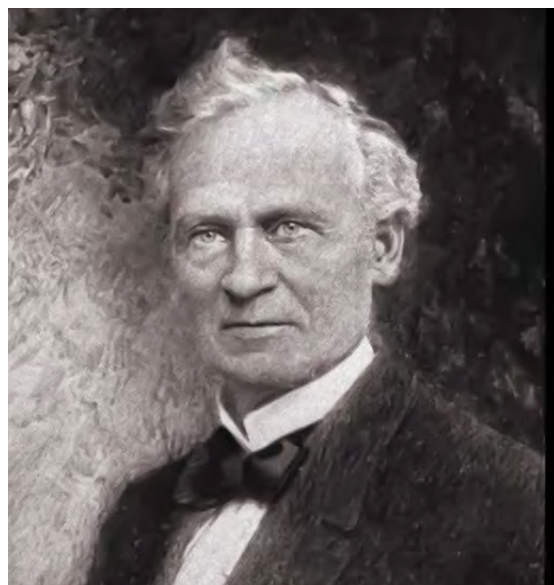
and industrializing; in the city one could drink in perfect anonymity. Cities also multiplied the number of places where people could buy liquor: bars, groceries, restaurants, and German beer gardens.

A "temperance thermometer" produced in the 1780s by Philadelphia physician Benjamin Rush attributed horrific effects to distilled spirits, but said that cider, beer, and wine, "taken only at meals and in moderate quantities," would bring "cheerfulness, strength, and nourishment." But by the 1830s scientists believed that wine and beer contained alcohol, and that it was an unhealthy stimulant to the body.

The trend began with US Army surgeon William Beaumont's experiments on the stomach of a Canadian voyageur named Alexis St. Martin. St. Martin was injured by a musket in 1822, leaving a hole in his stomach that Beaumont could not fully repair. In 1825 Beaumont began experiments on the human digestion system by inserting items into St. Martin's stomach on silk strings. He also gave St. Martin beer and wine to drink. These along with pretty much any spicy condiment you can think of (mustard was one chief offender), produced changes in the stomach.

The case was a sensation, and Methodist doctor Thomas Sewall soon got hold of it, made his own experiments on corpses, and published the results. Soon no

"LEAVE THE CUP" Left: This temperance lecture was only one of thousands delivered on behalf of the movement beloved by T. B. Welch and his son Charles (below).



temperance book was worth its salt if it didn't include gruesome descriptions of a drunkard's stomach.

A RIPE NEW VINTAGE

The first article that questioned the use of alcohol in the Eucharist appeared in 1835, by Congregationalist scholar Moses Stuart. He argued that churches should dilute their wine with water until it was at the non-intoxicating strength he believed Jesus had consumed. Many Protestant pastors, denominational executives, scholars, and laypeople took up this call.

Beneath nearly all the theological assumptions of nineteenth-century Protestantism ran a system of thought called "common-sense realism": the human mind was made to take data in from the senses and to use that data to produce moral judgments and behaviors. People worried that alcohol and other vices would cloud this process. In 1849 Stuart published a pamphlet called *Scriptural View of the Wine Question*, which popularized the "two-wine theory": when the Bible talks negatively about wine, it means the fermented stuff, and when it praises wine, it means grape juice.

Christian laypeople wrote hymns and catechisms in favor of total abstinence (see sidebar, right). Pastors preached sermons against alcohol. Denominations released floods of tracts. Churches supported the 1851 "Maine Law" that forbade use or sale of liquor in the state of Maine except for "medicinal, mechanical, or manufacturing purposes." Twelve other states soon followed, and several more tried to pass such laws but failed.

Church women even published temperance cookbooks such as *Total Abstinence Cookery: Being a Collection of Receipts for Cooking, From Which All Intoxicating Liquids*

Are Excluded (1841). And even as T. B. and Charles Welch were plunging their backyard grapes into hot water, British scholar Frederic Lees was preparing his magisterial *Temperance Bible Commentary* (1870). This work, treating every place in Old Testament and New mentioning alcohol, became a temperance publishing sensation on both sides of the Atlantic.

The motives of temperance reformers, including the Welches, were frequently mocked by later writers after the failure of national Prohibition. Alcohol shouldn't be marginalized, thought the elites and the business owners of a post-Prohibition world; it should be *marketed*.


But nineteenth-century temperance advocates had sincerely believed that eliminating alcohol would solve the problems of broken homes, unemployment, abuse, predatory lending, and crime. It was one reason support for temperance was entwined with support for women's suffrage: if women could vote, the argument ran, they would vote against the liquor traffic.

And temperance efforts worked. By 1835 Americans were down from seven to five gallons of absolute alcohol, by 1840 it was three, and by 1848 it was one gallon per year. The number began climbing upward in the twentieth century, but only made it to three gallons right before Prohibition in 1920. In the late 2010s, it stands at a little over two gallons.

PURE JUICE OF THE CHOICEST GRAPE

T. B.'s son Charles, as successful a dentist as his father, was a much better salesman. At first he combined grape-juice peddling and dentistry. (He met his first wife, Jennie Ross, as a grape-juice customer.) He began advertising "the pure, unfermented, undiluted juice of the choicest Concord Grape" for either dinner or Communion: "Welch's Grape Juice is so properly the fruit of the vine, that consumers using it are delighted."

In 1893 Charles turned his dental practice over to his sister Dr. Emma Welch Slade. He briefly entertained the idea of going to Africa as a Methodist missionary, but decided, under firm pressure from his wife and his mother, that he could do more for the temperance cause by staying home. Charles incorporated the Welch Grape Juice Company in 1897. In 1916 Methodists made the use of grape juice in Communion mandatory, and soon after many other Protestants did also.

Charles Welch died in 1926 at age 74, a successful businessman and philanthropist. In his will the executors found this sentence: "Unfermented grape juice was born in 1869 out of a passion to serve God by helping his church to give at its Communion 'the fruit of the vine' instead of 'the cup of devils.'" 

Jennifer Woodruff Tait is managing editor of Christian History and author of The Poisoned Chalice. This article is adapted from one that first appeared on the Christianity Today website in March 2017.

TEMPERANCE HYMN BOOK.

PART I.

WOES OF INTEMPERANCE.

11s.

- 1 **H**ARK! hark ye! O listen the sorrow and weeping,
Which rise from the hovel where Misery reigns,
To the howl of the winds a wild harmony keeping,
Which chills the warm life-blood that speeds thro' our veins!
- 2 Sad, sad is the story those accents are telling!
Like the wail of the dying it pierces the air!
Oh, what has so blasted that comfortless dwelling?
The monster Intemperance is rioting there!
- 3 The wife worse than widowed, forlorn and heart-broken,
While hunger and want make her little ones cry;
All trembling and pale, hears the terrible token
Of anguish, the steps of her husband are nigh!
- 4 Those sounds once she caught with unspeakable gladness,
While lit with affection her eye brightly shone,
Now sunken, her bosom o'er burdened with sadness,
Like the funeral knell or the dirge's low moan!
- 5 He comes! See he comes! But no fond salutation,
Breaks forth from his lips which once murmured of love:
Those eyes, once accustomed to smile approbation,
Look dark as the storm-cloud which musters above.

1*

"Be days of drinking wine forgot:" temperance hymns

Be days of drinking wine forgot;

Let water goblets shine.

A temperance hour is worth a power

Of days of drinking wine.

—*Temperance Hymn Book and Minstrel* (1842, to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne")

Lift not the wine-cup, though pleasure may swim

'Mid the bubbles that flash round its roseate brim;

For dark in the depths of the fountain below,

Lurk the sirens that lure to the vortex of woe.

—*National Temperance Songster* (1854)

Touch not the cup when the wine glistens bright

Though like the ruby it shines in the light;

Touch not the cup, touch it not.

The fangs of the serpent are hid in the bowl,

Deeply the poison will enter thy soul,

Soon it will plunge thee beyond thy control;

Touch not the cup, touch it not.

—*Cold-Water Army Songbook* (c. 1890)

WOEFUL PICTURE Above: A page from a temperance hymnal features an oft-reprinted hymn.



What would Jesus buy?

HOW NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHRISTIANS TRANSFORMED OUR GROCERY AISLES

Matt Forster

YOUR BREAKFAST TODAY: a bowl of cereal, a bagel, or perhaps a fruit and yogurt smoothie. Your breakfast 250 years ago: porridge, brown bread or hot-cakes, and a mug of cider or beer. What happened in between to transform the American diet? It had to do with sickness, health, and God.

Early Americans were often sick. A 1793 yellow fever epidemic spread through Philadelphia, killed 5,000 people, infected Alexander Hamilton (he recovered), and shut down the national government. Abigail Adams had rheumatic fever as a child. George Washington had smallpox, suffered from attacks of dysentery, and lost a brother to tuberculosis. Ben Franklin lost a son to smallpox.

As the population of the nation increased from 3.9 million in 1790 to 23 million by 1850, so did the effects of disease: outbreaks of tuberculosis, diphtheria, cholera, pneumonia, malaria, typhoid, and yellow fever. Approaches to disease prevention varied wildly: Washington was bled for his dysentery, a practice that contributed to his death in 1799. And, to avoid smallpox, many Americans received live inoculations. People began to explore the role diet played in keeping healthy and preventing disease; and they often connected this to their faith.

VEGETARIAN VISION

Some of the earliest connections arose outside orthodox Christianity from Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), a Swedish engineer and scientist, who began to experience dreams and visions at age 53. They led him to proclaim a new revelation for the church that (among other things) forbade both meat and alcohol. Joseph Smith would later express a similar “Word of Wisdom” for the Mormons (Latter-day Saints).

Several Swedenborgian groups established congregations in the United States, and Swedenborg’s most dedicated disciple may have been John Chapman (1774–1845), known more familiarly as Johnny Appleseed. Chapman traveled through Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana establishing apple nurseries. He sold saplings to newly arrived settlers who were anxious to trim the growing time from seed to fruit-bearing apple trees.

VEGETABLES AND HOLINESS *Left:* Does faith enter into your weekly grocery run? You’d be surprised.



APPLE MISSIONARY Apples decorate the Fort Wayne, Indiana, grave of Johnny Appleseed, who was frequently found on friendly porches telling stories and preaching temperance and vegetarianism to willing ears.

Known for his gregarious nature and unorthodox religious views, Chapman acted as a Swedenborgian missionary. His self-denial fit his church’s emphasis on vegetarianism and temperance, and the iconic image of Johnny Appleseed in ragged clothes and bare feet may be more portrait than caricature.

Meanwhile, at the turn of the nineteenth century, Oliver Evans (1755–1819) had revolutionized the milling industry by improving the traditional mill. His inventions made the process less labor intensive, reduced waste and cross-contamination, and produced a finer flour. Americans had relied on mills to process hard wheat for home-baked bread. The cheaper, finer flour produced by new mills meant a softer loaf of bread; consumers turned to buying bread instead of making it at home. Later flour would even be bleached, as white flour was more attractive to consumers and had a longer shelf life.

Many Christians began to question the value of these advancements. In 1817 William Metcalfe (1788–1862) led his Bible Christian Church to migrate from



US CEREAL SERVICE *Left:* The Battle Creek Sanitarium sent health food by mail to former patients and others.

HOLY BREAD *Below:* Sylvester Graham, whose ideas inspired the invention of graham crackers, thought bread strengthened the soul and body against evil influences.

particularly interested in promoting old-fashioned brown bread:

She who loves her husband and her children as woman ought to love, and . . . perceives the relations between the dietetic habits and physical and moral condition of her loved ones, and justly appreciates the importance of good bread to their physical and moral welfare—she alone . . . [is] a perfect bread-maker.

Graham flour and crackers were developed by bakers marketing to Grahamites. The bland cracker supposedly lessened the urge for “self-pollution,” a euphemism for masturbation. Graham spread his message in print in *On Self-Pollution* (1834), *A Treatise on Bread and Breadmaking* (1837), and *A Lecture to Young Men on Chastity* (1837). Foreshadowing the sophisticated marketing strategies of generations of diet gurus, he even published a book of testimonials.

In 1829 a cholera epidemic broke out in Europe. Graham told his audiences that the diet he described would prevent them from catching cholera.

Critics blasted Graham in the newspapers, saying that a vegetarian diet would leave people weak, but those who had taken his advice and survived the epidemic testified to his diet’s effectiveness, thus increasing his popularity. In 1850 Graham joined William Alcott, William Metcalfe, and Russel Trall to establish the American Vegetarian Society in New York City.

CORNFLAKES FOR GOD

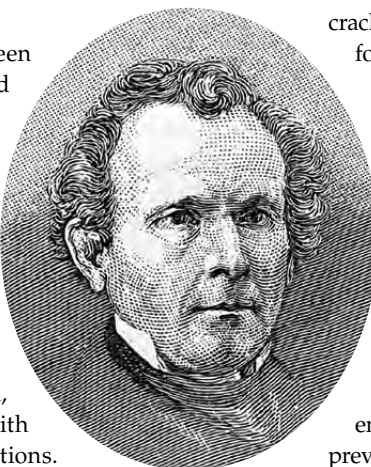
In 1852 Joseph Bates, tireless evangelist of Seventh-day Adventism (see “The sacred duty,” p. 40), baptized John P. Kellogg, the father of John Harvey “J. H.” Kellogg (1852–1943) and Will Keith “W. K.” Kellogg (1860–1951), in Battle Creek, Michigan. Battle Creek would eventually become the Adventist headquarters, and doctor J. H. and marketer W. K. would remain prominent in the movement.

The Adventists established the Western Health Reform Institute in Battle Creek in 1866 as a place to encourage the sick to become well on Adventist principles. When J. H. completed his medical training, Ellen and James White asked him to serve as the institute’s medical director. He held the role until his death 67

England to Philadelphia. The BCC had been established in 1809 by William Cowherd near Manchester, England; it split from nearby Swedenborgians but kept prohibitions against eating meat and drinking alcohol.

In Philadelphia Metcalfe actively promoted pacifism, temperance, abolitionism, and vegetarianism. Like many Christian vegetarians, he taught that Christ himself was a vegetarian. The message wasn’t widely applauded, but his efforts brought him in contact with vegetarians from more orthodox traditions. One was William Alcott (1798–1859), a Christian medical doctor known for writing the first American vegetarian cookbook as well as various articles on “Christian physiology.” (Alcott’s close friend and second cousin Amos Bronson Alcott was the father of Louisa May Alcott of *Little Women* fame.)

Metcalfe may also have met Sylvester Graham (1794–1851), a Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia originally interested in the message of temper-



I still use the cookbook. I still measure my rice according to directions on page 125. I still see the future reign of God already being fulfilled in our lives as we dedicate our bodies and energies in service.—Carol Rose, *More-with-Less* (25th anniversary edition, 2000)

ance. His reading led Graham to conclude that diet greatly affects health and that chemical additives are dangerous. In the Old Testament, Graham found Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden eating the perfect diet, which was, of course, vegetarian. He was

Kellogg's
Toasted Corn Flakes
a suggestion to make a most
decisive test of quality

One single flake of Kellogg's tells you the whole story of flavor and taste. That is why we protect you against imitations by putting my signature on each package. W. K. Kellogg



"Won its favor through its flavor"

Kellogg's TOASTED CORN FLAKES
W. K. Kellogg
KELLOGG TOASTED CORN FLAKE CO.
BATTLE CREEK, MICHIGAN

EAT just one of Kellogg's Toasted Corn Flakes and you'll discover why so many hundreds of thousands of people will have no other.

First you get the flavor—the distinctive, inimitable Kellogg's flavor, with a lurking sweetness and a genuine goodness that tell of quality. Then you get the taste—a rich, real taste that gladdens the appetite and begins to satisfy hunger.

Then you notice the texture of the flake—it's a food; it has the body that proves it has been properly and carefully prepared.

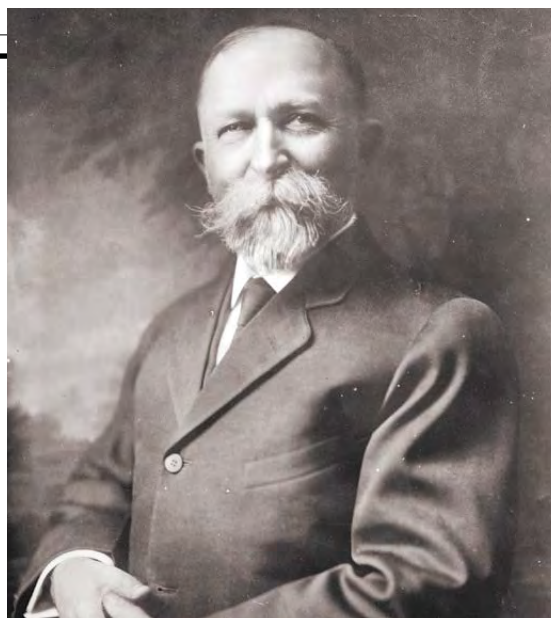
AFTER you have eaten just this one flake, you find yourself with a pleasant longing for more; your nerves of taste are telling you that you have just eaten something that was not only good for you, but which you honestly enjoyed.

You will convince yourself that Kellogg's is a complete food, without cream and sugar. That is the reason why it is so very good with cream and a little sugar, why it is such a favorite with fresh or canned berries and fruits. The secret of all this is the Kellogg method.

AND a part of the credit is shared by the Kellogg was the package, which brings you the flakes with their oven-freshness unchanged, so that you can almost detect the tempting aroma drifting from our oven doors.

You may as well have the choicest. Ask your grocer for Kellogg's Toasted Corn Flakes, with W. K. Kellogg's signature on the package.

KELLOGG TOASTED CORN FLAKE CO.
BATTLE CREEK, MICHIGAN



FLAVOR AND TASTE Left: William Keith Kellogg moved to include sugar in his recipes, a move his brother, John Harvey (above), resisted.

years later, even though he was "dis-fellowshipped" from the SDA church in 1907.

J. H. believed strongly in the Adventist approach to wellness. Patients at the Battle Creek Medical and Surgical Sanitarium (Kellogg changed the name) were encouraged to consume lots of water, get plenty of sunshine, exercise, and eat a bland, low-fat diet. The Kellogg brothers shared with their predecessors the idea that a rich, flavorful diet excited the passions and led to spiritual and moral weakness.

In 1894 W. K. and J. H. developed a way to bake whole grains into flakes. The original creation was a wheat flake called Granose, soon followed by grain-based coffee substitutes, granola bars, and various roasted grain concoctions.


One of the patients who tried these early breakfast cereals was C. W. Post. Suffering from a series of stress-related breakdowns, Post went to Battle Creek for a cure. He left with the idea of developing and marketing his own breakfast cereals, which he began to do in 1895. The first was a "cereal beverage" called Postum; then came Grape Nuts and Post Toasties, a form of cornflakes originally called Elijah's Manna from 1 Kings 17. (This was not the last time the Old Testament would inspire health food. In 1964 Christian natural foods grocer Max Torres began Food for Life, which still markets baked goods based on Ezekiel 4:9 and Genesis 1:29.)

Meanwhile the Kellogg brothers established the Sanitas Food Company in 1897 and began actively producing and marketing cornflakes. Religious

convictions had little to do with the wave of consumers who turned to this new breakfast diet. It was clever advertising that convinced many of the health benefits and convenience. "You could simply pour breakfast out of a box," historian Howard Markel said. "Even dad could make breakfast now."

The *More-with-Less* cookbook... can constantly remind your family of its central theme, "There is a way which gives not less, but more." More joy, more peace, less guilt; more physical stamina, less overweight and obesity; more to share and less to hoard for ourselves.—Mary Anna Showalter Eby, *More-with-Less* (1976)

To make cornflakes more attractive to consumers, W. K. wanted to add sugar to the recipe. John Harvey disagreed—the addition of sugar ran counter to his entire philosophy. In 1906 they parted ways, and W. K. founded the Battle Creek Toasted Corn Flake Company. Two lawsuits later in 1922, W. K.'s company was renamed the Kellogg Cereal Company.

The sanitarium was eventually sold, and the Kellogg brothers never reconciled. (Supposedly J. H. wrote an apologetic letter to his brother on his deathbed, but John's secretary found it too abject and never sent it.) Even so, along with Chapman, Metcalfe, Alcott, and Graham, the Kellogg brothers' faith had remade the American breakfast table. 

Matt Forster is a freelance author living in Clarkston, Michigan, and a frequent contributor to Christian History.



RECORDING A VISION In her early thirties, Ellen White posed for this image around 1859.

The sacred duty: a Seventh-day Adventist menu

Q What do cornflakes, peanut butter, veggie burgers, and probiotic soy milk have in common?
A You can thank Seventh-day Adventists for all of them.

IN 1863, LESS THAN three weeks after the Seventh-day Adventist Church was officially organized, its designated prophet had a 45-minute vision about health. Ellen White's (1827–1915) own health was not great; her husband James's was worse; and many Adventist pioneers were breaking down from overwork and careless habits.

It was time, she told the movement's leaders, to start practicing the laws of health established in Eden. Most Adventists had already given up alcohol and tobacco. They now needed to reject coffee and tea, rich desserts, white bread, and meat.

For White, health reform went way beyond the practical necessity of keeping the fledgling church's 3,500 members alive. Living healthfully, she insisted, was a "sacred duty." As bearers of God's image and temples of the Holy Spirit, Christians should take the best possible care of their bodies. In a 1909 sermon, she reaffirmed her vision of 46 years earlier:

[God] instructed me that those who are keeping his commandments must be brought into

sacred relation to himself, and that by temperance in eating and drinking they must keep mind and body in the most favorable condition for service.

Food habits, however, resist change, and White's ideal diet—especially her recommendation to subsist on fruits, vegetables, and grains—did not appeal to everyone. Some Adventists did indeed give up all meat; others argued that only pork was harmful; still others banned any foods deemed "unclean" in Leviticus. White herself did not go completely vegetarian for another 30 years. By then some Adventists were advocating a vegan diet (she called them "extremists").

SOY MILK, ANYONE?

If White started her church down the path of healthy eating, her protégé John Harvey Kellogg (1852–1943) marketed health reform to the rest of the world (see "What would Jesus buy?," pp. 36–39). The Whites persuaded young Kellogg,

a self-taught printer's assistant, to go to medical school. In 1876 the newly minted doctor, now 24, was appointed director of the Battle Creek Sanitarium. The health resort,

featuring such cures as colonic irrigation followed by probiotic yogurt flushes, soon became trendy among the elite: the guest list was said to include such household names as Henry Ford, Mary Todd Lincoln, Sojourner Truth, J. C. Penney, and Warren G. Harding.

Following White's lead, Kellogg promoted a vegetarian diet heavy on whole grains, nuts, and fiber. To enhance the sanitarium's menu, he set up a food lab and developed peanut butter, soy milk, granola, imitation meats, and his trademark cornflakes.

Kellogg eventually left the church, but Adventists did not abandon his diet. In 1906 the church set up a health-food company near a Southern California sanitarium. In 1939 an Adventist doctor started a second near one in Ohio. By the 1960s those two companies—Loma Linda and Worthington—were the largest fake meat producers in the United States.

Today the Seventh-day Adventist Church counts some 20 million members worldwide. Many are vegetarian; most avoid alcohol, tobacco, and "unclean" meats. Whatever one thinks of Adventist theology, in Southern California, at least, Adventists live an average of 10 years longer than their neighbors. —LaVonne Neff, freelance author and blogger at *LivelyDust*, raised as an Adventist

Easter Bread

The most beautiful food I know is my mother's Easter bread.

½ c. milk
½ c. sugar
1 tsp. salt
½ c. shortening
grated peel of 2 lemons
squeeze of same lemons
1 lb. of powdered sugar
2 pkgs. yeast
½ c. warm water
2 eggs room temperature
a bunch of monochromatically colored
hard-boiled eggs
4½ c. flour
1 egg, beaten
colored sprinkles

Scald milk. Add sugar, salt, shortening, and lemon peel. Separately sprinkle yeast on warm water and stir to dissolve. Add to milk mixture with 2 eggs slightly beaten and 2½ c. flour. Beat until smooth. Use enough remaining flour to make easy-to-handle dough. Knead until smooth 5 to 8 min. Place in lightly greased bowl; turn dough to grease it. Cover and let rise in a warm, draft-free spot until doubled (about 1 hr.). Punch down, rise again for 30 min. Roll into thin logs; make rings of dough or a braid of three logs; nestle an egg in each ring or braid opening. Let rise again for 30 min. Brush with beaten egg and sprinkle with sprinkles. Bake 15 min. in a 375° oven. Make glaze of lemon juice and powdered sugar, cooked over a double boiler. Serve warm with glaze and salt and pepper. —Contributed by Julie Byrne from the kitchen of her mother, Mary Anne Tietjen Byrne

Resurrection Meringues

Make these the night before Easter; a great way to teach your children the true meaning of Easter, and the cookies are delicious!

1 c. whole pecans
1 tsp. vinegar
3 egg whites
Pinch of salt
1 c. sugar

Other items needed: Bible, zip-top bag, wooden spoon, tape

- Preheat oven to 300°. **IMPORTANT!**

Do this before you do the next steps.

- Place pecans in zip-top bag, and let children beat them with the wooden spoon to break them into small pieces. Explain that after Jesus was arrested, the Roman soldiers beat him. *Read John 19:1–3.*
- Let each child smell the vinegar. Put 1 tsp. vinegar into mixing bowl. Explain that when Jesus was thirsty on the cross he was given vinegar to drink. *Read John 19:28–30.*
- Add egg whites to vinegar. Explain that eggs represent life. Explain that Jesus gave his life to give us life. *Read John 10:10–11.*
- Sprinkle a little salt into each child's hand. Let them taste it and brush the rest into the bowl. Explain that this represents the salty tears shed by Jesus's followers and the bitterness of our own sin. *Read Luke 23:27.*

- So far the ingredients are not very appetizing. Add 1 c. sugar. Explain that the sweetest part of the story is that Jesus died because he loves us. He wants us to know and belong to him. *Read Psalm 34:8 and John 3:16.*

- Beat with a mixer on high speed for 12 to 15 minutes until stiff peaks are formed. Explain that the color white represents the purity in God's eyes of those whose sins have been cleansed by Jesus. *Read Isaiah 1:18 and John 3:1–3.*

- Fold in broken nuts. Drop by teaspoons onto wax-paper-covered cookie sheet. (Or, put ingredients in a gallon zip-top bag and cut off a tiny piece of the corner to use as a piping bag. Pipe cookies onto cookie sheet.) Explain that each mound represents the rocky tomb where Jesus's body was laid. *Read Matthew 27:57–60.*

- Put the cookie sheet in the oven, close the door, and turn the oven off. Give each child a piece of tape to seal the oven door. Explain that Jesus's tomb was sealed. *Read Matthew 27:65–66.*

- Go to bed. Explain that they may feel sad to leave the cookies in the oven overnight. Jesus's followers were in despair when the tomb was sealed. *Read John 16:20 and 22.*

- On Easter morning open the oven and give everyone a cookie. Notice the cracked surface. The cookies are hollow! On the first Easter, Jesus's followers were amazed to find the tomb open and empty. **HE IS RISEN!** *Read John 11:25–26.*
—Contributed by Quita Sauerwein



From Cana to Jell-O

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP MEALS: FEEDING THE HUNGRY AND EACH OTHER

Barton E. Price

WE'VE ALL BEEN TO A CHURCH dinner: the long table covered in casseroles and crockpots, too many desserts, not enough vegetables, three kinds of macaroni. Parents are trying to corral excited children, and everyone's scanning the room for a seat with people they like or at least know.

Christians didn't invent the practice of social meals. Pagan Greeks and Romans participated at symposia, weddings, and funerals; Jewish weddings and Passover observances brought family, friends, and neighbors together to share a meal.

Jesus instituted not only the Eucharist, but Christian fellowship meals. His public ministry began when he changed water into wine at a wedding feast in Cana (John 2:1-12) and expanded when he miraculously fed multitudes. It's no surprise that he dined with his disciples, but he also ate with "tax collectors and sinners" and Pharisees. After his Resurrection, he even revealed himself to fellow travelers during a meal at Emmaus:

When he was at the table with them, he took bread, blessed and broke it, and gave it to them. Then their eyes were opened, and they recognized him; and he vanished from their sight. (Luke 24:30-31)

NO COUCHES IN CHURCH

The Bible describes early church social dining experiences after the Resurrection, soon called *agape* feasts or love feasts (Acts 2:42; 1 Cor. 11:17-34; Jude 12). These events involved a regular meal, a message of exhortation, and the Eucharist. Pastoral letters, apologetic works, and the church manual called the *Didache* all refer to these as a kind of church supper and Lord's Supper all rolled into one.

Congregations soon began to separate the two meals, opting for the Eucharist in the morning and a love feast in the evening. By the third century, the Roman Empire had forbidden meals shared among secret societies—bad news for the love feast. The regional Council of Laodicea in 363-364 announced: "It is not permitted to hold love feasts, as they are called, in the Lord's Houses, or churches, nor to eat and to spread couches in the house of God." The Trullan Council reaffirmed this in 692.



HE CAME EATING AND DRINKING The New Testament tells of Jesus at meals of feasting and fellowship from the wedding at Cana (*above*) to the Last Supper (*left*, in a unique picture from a 16th-c. Armenian Gospel).

But food and fellowship remained fixtures of community life. Medieval western Europe observed about 50 feast days per year—essentially one per week. They served as respites from labor and commemorated saints from the Bible or from church history and legend.

Specific foods became associated with certain saints and days: eel for Christmas Eve in Italy, mince pie for Christmas in England, king's bread for the Epiphany in Spain, soup with greens for Maundy Thursday in France, leeks in Wales for St. David's Day, ginger scones for St. Ninian's Day in Scotland, and pancakes for Shrove Tuesday everywhere. The Eastern Orthodox tradition had its own set of holy foods and days, such as *vasilopita* (bread) baked for St. Basil's Day.

In the late 1700s, Carmelite missionary Paolino da San Bartolomeo encountered Indian Christians who traced their spiritual lineage to the apostle Thomas and had never stopped practicing love feasts in their



PASS THE MACARONI, PLEASE *Left: Christian fellowship remains rooted around sharing food together.*

worship, eating *appam* (pancakes of rice and coconut milk). But for Westerners, the Protestant Reformation's impulse to restore primitive Christianity eventually led to bringing the love feast back as a spiritual and social practice.

The Schwarzenau Brethren, also called German Baptists or Dunkers, reclaimed love feasts for evening worship in the early 1700s. To this day their successors, the Church of the Brethren, hold love feasts on Maundy Thursday, including ceremonial foot washing and Eucharist (see "Did you know?" inside front cover). The Moravians (who called themselves *Unitas Fratrum* or Unity of the Brethren) also re-instituted the love feast in 1727.

Methodists were the most significant contributors to the spread of love feasts in the United States. John Wesley first encountered Moravians traveling to Georgia by ship in 1736, singing and praying during a storm while he cowered in fear of shipwreck. Moravian piety impressed Wesley, and after he

Even when [St. Teresa of Ávila] was the head of her order, she always took her turn in the kitchen—and to aristocratic Spanish nuns who resisted having to learn how to cook, she declared, "The Lord walks among the pots and pans!"—Evelyn Birge Vitz, *A Continual Feast* (1985)

returned to England, he had his famed heart-transforming experience in 1738 at a Moravian meeting. Moravians inspired Methodist use of the love feast to strengthen community among members.

Love feasts served practical purposes for Methodists too. Local Methodist societies outnumbered ordained clergy. They relied on local lay preachers who could exhort from the Bible and lead a society. They practiced love feasts to build social bonds and fulfill what they saw as a biblical imperative to break bread together.

At these lay-led meetings, Methodists shouted, prayed, and sang hymns like this one recorded by Ebenezer Hills: "We come from far to taste thy love / And brethren here to meet. . . / A feast of love we then shall keep / Of perfect love professed, / At God's right hand then take a seat / And reign among the blest." By the middle of the nineteenth century, the church had enough ordained Methodist clergy to go around, and love feasts faded as impractical—and too noisy.

Love feasts weren't bound to orthodoxy; early Latter-day Saints embraced the concept. The "feasts of fat things" (Isa. 25:6) were communal meals to which impoverished members of the church were invited and well fed; Mormon hymnwriter William Phelps wrote: "There's a feast of fat things for the righteous preparing / That the good of this world all the saints may be sharing. . . Come to the supper of the great Bridegroom."

At the Kirtland Temple in Ohio, the first LDS temple, Mormons also engaged in a "solemn assembly" with a shared meal, Bible lessons, exhortation, prayer, and personal testimonies. Finally, "blessing feasts" involved male church leaders gathered for dinner and to receive blessings as patriarchs.

CHOKING ON A PEACH PIT

The first half of the nineteenth century was also the heyday of revival camp meetings. Attendees cooked for themselves, and campers shared their surplus in community meals. The *New York Times*, in a satirical article reporting on a Methodist camp meeting in Sing Sing (now Ossining), New York, in 1865, commented, "The food obtained on the ground is generally of a very good quality." At that meeting preacher John Inskip choked on a peach pit, the *Times* reported; after he finally swallowed it, "a hymn of praise was sung, and an old lady some distance away cried out at the top of her voice: 'Bless God, I know it's down, for they are singing!'"

Some decades later when camp meetings had begun to evolve into institutions with fixed locations and permanent facilities, Ellen White (see "The sacred duty," p. 40) described what food would be best for a good camp meeting:

If [attendees] make no cake or pies, but cook simple graham bread, and depend on fruit, canned or dried, they need not get sick in preparing for the meeting, and they need not be sick while at the meeting. None should go through the entire meeting without some warm food. There are always cookstoves upon the ground, where this may be obtained.

YOU ARE MY FRIENDS *Right:* Jesus instituted the Eucharist at the Last Supper, and it was also a time of fellowship with his disciples before his death.

THE BREAD OF LIFE *Below:* Dunkers celebrate a love feast with food and testimony.



In the twentieth century, urban church facilities began to include large kitchens and dining halls to serve food to the destitute, essential during the Great Depression. Smaller churches hosting communal meals required parishioners to bring food items to “carry-ins” or “potlucks” (see “Did You Know?” inside front cover).

Following World War II, Americans moved out of compact urban neighborhoods into sprawling suburbs. Feelings of isolation prompted the creation of community centers, reception halls, and fellowship halls . . . and *more* potlucks. Innovative foodwares allowed food to be stored and transported: Pyrex glassware (1908), Tupperware (1948), and Corningware (1958). Electricity-powered refrigeration, spurred on by the public works projects of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal programs, also aided the potluck.

YOU CAN PUT IT IN JELL-O

And then there was Jell-O. Invented in 1897, this gelatin became popular due to an aggressive marketing campaign that distributed cookbooks with recipes for congealed salads. By the 1930s people were suspending fruit, vegetables, and even pasta in molded Jell-O; two real potluck recipes from the 1950s call for tuna with pimiento-stuffed olives in tomato Jell-O and lemon Jell-O with cabbage, radishes, eggs, and chives.

Roman Catholics and Orthodox continue to put their own special twists on communal meals. The traditional Roman Catholic abstention from meat on Fridays means church-sponsored fish dinners; in many cities, parishes or caterers distribute fish fry schedules for each Friday of Lent. Catholic “Beef and Beer” fund-raisers seem to have taken the name from Catholic convert G. K. Chesterton (1874–1936), who claimed to defend “the institutions of Beef and Beer” against the “hygienic severity of vegetarianism and total abstinence” of his friend George Bernard Shaw (see “What would Jesus buy?,” pp. 36–39).

Orthodox Christians observe a stringent Great Lent fast, much longer than that of Western churches,



by abstaining from all meat, fish, dairy, oils, and wine. They conclude Holy Week with an Easter vigil that begins at midnight and goes on for hours, often ending after sunrise. With the liturgical refrain “Christ is risen from the dead, trampling down death by death; and upon those in the tombs bestowing life!” still echoing in their ears, they celebrate breaking the fast with a large potluck of no-longer-prohibited foods, among them lamb soup, bread, cheese, and eggs.

Another form of communal meal-sharing exists in the Amish tradition of barn raisings, all-day construction projects that require multiple community meals. And, in the twenty-first century, love feasts have found new life in emergent communities and house churches attempting to connect ancient Christian practice and modern-day mission. Some theologians and pastors use the love feast to advocate for inclusion of people whom the church has historically excluded.

After 2,000 years Christians are still eating fellowship meals. A recent issue of *COV*, the magazine of the Evangelical Covenant Church, asked, “Whatever happened to the church potluck?” Not to worry, commentators said; potlucks are alive and well in their churches. One pastor from Alaska shared a typical Alaskan potluck menu: “Moose, goose, muktuk, seal, seal oil, fish prepared in different ways . . . [and] *akutaq*—a berry, sugar, and Crisco whipped dessert.” Another added, “The shared meal is where Jesus makes himself known, and it is where the body finds communal expression. . . . I hold to a pretty high theology of believers dining together.” ☐

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Recommended resources

HERE ARE SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FROM CH EDITORIAL STAFF AND THIS ISSUE'S AUTHORS TO HELP YOU UNDERSTAND THE STORY OF FOOD AND FAITH.

BOOKS

There are many books on the **history and theology of Christians eating**. Check out Bridget Ann Henisch, *Fast and Feast* (1976); Paul Brand, *The Forever Feast* (1994); Daniel Sack, *Whitebread Protestants* (2001); Sander Gilman, *Obesity: The Biography* (2010); Michael Schut, ed., *Food and Faith* (2010); David Grumett and Rachel Muers, *Theology on the Menu* (2010); Ken Albala and Trudy Eden, eds., *Food and Faith in Christian Culture* (2011); Norman Wirzba, *Food and Faith* (2011); Jennifer Ayres, *Good Food* (2013); Preston Yancey, *Out of the House of Bread* (2016); and an encyclopedia by Paul Fieldhouse, *Food, Feasts, and Faith* (2017).

And while there are also many books about the **Eucharist**, here are a few that look at it in conjunction with ancient food practices: Andrew McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists* (1999) and *Ancient Christian Worship* (2016); Dennis Edwin Smith and Hal Taussig, *Many Tables* (1990); Angel Méndez-Montoya, *The Theology of Food* (2009); and Hal Taussig, *In the Beginning Was the Meal* (2009).

Food in the Bible is treated in Robert Karris, *Eating Your Way through Luke's Gospel* (2006); Miriam Feinberg Vamosh, *Food at the Time of the Bible* (2006); Ellen Davis, *Scripture, Culture, and Agriculture* (2008); Nathan MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?* (2008); and Douglas Neel and Joel Pugh, *The Food and Feasts of Jesus* (2013).

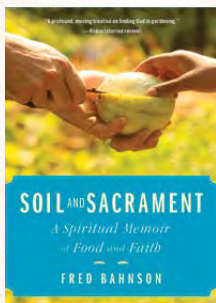
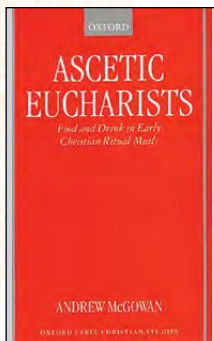
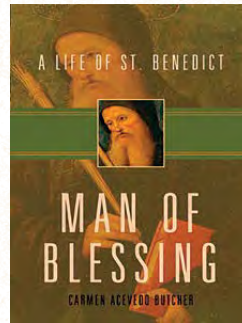
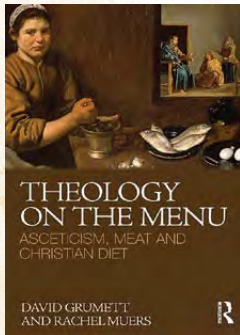
Look into the history of Christians, **gardens, and farms** in Vigen Guroian, *Inheriting Paradise* (1999); Gary Fick, *Food, Farming, and Faith* (2008); Sarah McFarland Taylor, *Green Sisters* (2009); Craig Goodwin, *Year of Plenty* (2011); Fred Bahnson, *Soil and Sacrament* (2013) and (with Norman Wirzba) *Making Peace with the Land* (2012); Kevin Lowe, *Baptized with the Soil* (2015); and Lisa Graham McMinn, *To the Table* (2015). While

many of Wendell Berry's books are relevant to this topic, start with his *The Unsettling of America* (1977), *The Gift of Good Land* (1981), and *Bringing It to the Table* (2009).

Learn more about ancient and modern **hospitality** in Christine Pohl, *Making Room* (1999); Peter Reinhart, *Bread upon the Waters* (2000); Sara Miles, *Take this Bread* (2008); Joan Chittister, *Wisdom Distilled from the Daily* (2009); Tim Chester, *A Meal with Jesus* (2011); Carmen Acevedo Butcher, *Man of Blessing* (2012); and Shauna Niequist, *Bread and Wine* (2013).

Read about **fasting and vegetarianism** in Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* (1987); Veronika Grimm, *From Feasting to Fasting, the Evolution of a Sin* (1996); Teresa Shaw, *The Burden of the Flesh* (1998); Frederica Mathewes-Green, *The Illumined Heart* (2001); Rachel Muers and David Grumett, eds., *Eating and Believing* (2008); and Andrew Jotischky, *A Hermit's Cookbook* (2011). The book that birthed the Christian diet industry is Charlie Shedd's *Pray Your Weight Away* (1957), and recent evangelical concern about food practices is traceable to Ron Sider, *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger* (1977).

Nineteenth-century crusaders for health and temperance appear in Norman Clark, *Deliver Us from Evil* (1976); William Chazanof, *Welch's Grape Juice* (1977); James Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness* (1982); Jack Blocker, *American Temperance Movements* (1989); Carol Mattingly, *Well-Tempered Women* (1998); Ruth Clifford Engs, *Clean Living Movements* (2000); Juliann Sivulka, *Stronger than Dirt* (2001); Ronald Numbers, *Prophetess of Health* (2008) and (edited with Terrie Dopp Aamodt and Gary Land)

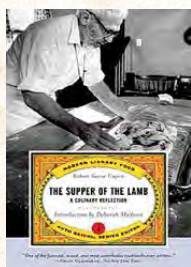




Ellen Harmon White (2014); Andrew Smith, *Eating History* (2009); Jennifer Woodruff Tait, *The Poisoned Chalice* (2011); and Howard Markel, *The Kelloggs* (2017).

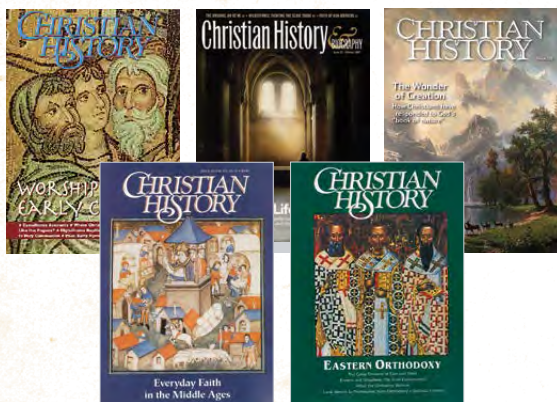
Fellowship meals old and new feature in Laura Shapiro, *Perfection Salad* (1986); Reta Halteman Finger, *Of*

Widows and Meals (2007); Paul Fike Stutzman, *Recovering the Love Feast* (2011); Alice Julier, *Eating Together* (2013); and Jamir Lanuwabang, *Exclusion and Judgment in Fellowship Meals* (2017). If you're wondering what to bring to the potluck, we suggest Rae Katherine Eighmey and Debbie Miller's *Potluck Paradise: Favorite Fare from Church and Community Cookbooks* (2008) or Jennifer Niemur's *Global Potluck* (2009).



And finally while you'll find recipes in many of the above, some of the most famous **Christian cookbooks** include the genre-founding book by Mary Mann, *Christianity in the Kitchen* (1861) and three books you've met in this issue: Robert Farrar Capon, *The Supper of the Lamb* (1969); Doris Janzen Longacre, *More-with-Less* (1976, 40th anniversary edition 2016); and Evelyn Birge Vitz, *A Continual Feast* (1985).

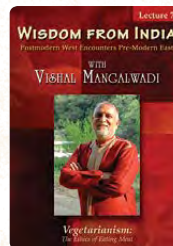
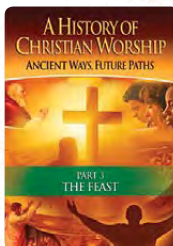
PAST CHRISTIAN HISTORY ISSUES



Read these related issues of *Christian History* online. Some are still available for purchase:

- 24: *Bernard of Clairvaux*
- 37: *Worship in the Early Church*

- 49: *Everyday Faith in the Middle Ages*
- 54: *Eastern Orthodoxy*
- 64: *St. Antony*
- 93: *A Devoted Life*
- 119: *The Wonder of Creation*
- and our special guide, *The History of Worship between Constantine and the Reformation*



VIDEOS FROM VISION VIDEO

Videos on the theme of this issue include *History of Christian Worship: The Feast; Last Supper; Seeds, Dirt, Fruit; Sparrows; The Daniel Plan; Wisdom from India: Vegetarianism*; and for kids, *Bedbug Bible Gang: Miracle Meals*.



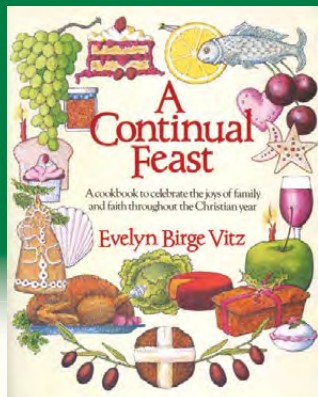
WEBSITES

There's no shortage of food history on the Internet; we can only give you a taste here (no pun intended). The [Food Timeline](#) has information, recipes, and an extensive bibliography about all aspects of food from prehistoric times to the present. The [Smithsonian](#) has a food history section, and PBS maintains a food blog called *The History Kitchen*. *The Old Foodie* is another interesting food history blog. And, the Lilly Library at Indiana University has put some of its [cookbook collection](#) online. In fact many older cookbooks can be found through Google Books.

Kendall Vanderslice at *Vanderslice of the Sweet Life* has a nice bibliography on faith and food, and the Christian Food Movement has a [blog](#) and an extensive [resource guide](#) of farms, cookbooks, other books about food, community gardens, conferences, and organizations. Finally, our issue advisor LaVonne Neff blogs frequently about food at [Lively Dust](#).



FOOD FOR THE BODY, MIND, & SOUL



◆ A CONTINUAL FEAST

Evelyn Vitz

A glorious cookbook full of wonderful recipes and ideas from throughout the Christian tradition, with suggestions about when, and why, these dishes can be served. More than 275 recipes to celebrate all the holidays throughout the Christian year, as well as the many shared rituals that strengthen family bonds and enrich the day-to-day events of our lives. How these rituals, rites, and feasts came about, how they are celebrated around the world, and how you can bring them into your home are described every step of the way. Includes wonderful illustrations.

CFE-P . . . Sewn Softcover, Illustrated, \$21.95

"Food from many countries to celebrate all the important days of the Christian year. Vitz is an excellent discriminating cook who writes with intelligence, good humor, and a loving heart."

— *Library Journal*

◆ THE HIDDEN MANNA

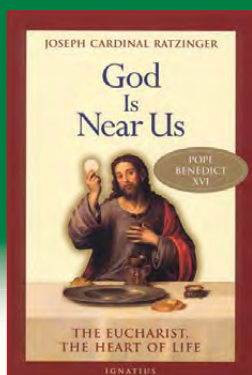
A Theology of the Eucharist

James T. O'Connor

A beloved classic on Eucharistic teaching, this in-depth study lets the breadth and richness of the Church's tradition speak for itself. O'Connor presents and comments on substantial excerpts from the major sources of the Church's tradition extending all the way back to apostolic times. Focusing on the doctrine of the Real Presence, he follows the discussions and disputes from the earliest Church Fathers through the Middle Ages and up to modern times.

HM2-P . . . Sewn Softcover, \$21.95

"A comprehensive study of the Church's meditation on the Mystery of the Eucharist. *The Hidden Manna* is a superb work." — **Cardinal John O'Connor**



◆ GOD IS NEAR US The Eucharist, the Heart of Life

Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger

Cardinal Ratzinger (Benedict XVI) compellingly shows us the biblical, historical, and theological dimensions of the Eucharist. He discusses the importance of personal devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, and the reception of Holy Communion, for the spiritual benefit of the individual Christian and for the life of the Church. He shows how any transformation of the world on the social plane grows out of the celebration of the Eucharist, and beautifully illustrates how the omnipotent God comes intimately close to us in the Holy Eucharist, the Heart of Life.

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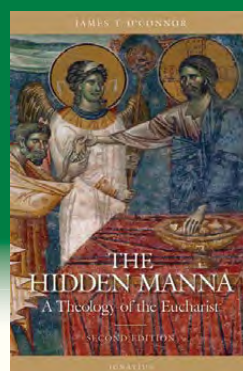
◆ LEISURE The Basis of Culture

Josef Pieper

Considered one of the most important philosophy titles of the twentieth century, Pieper's classic work is even more significant today than when it first appeared 60 years ago. He shows how leisure is an attitude of the mind and a condition of the soul that fosters a capacity to perceive the reality of the world. Pieper explains that true religion can be born only in leisure that allows time for the contemplation of God. He says that unless we regain the art of silence and insight, the ability for non-activity, and true leisure, we will destroy our culture and ourselves.

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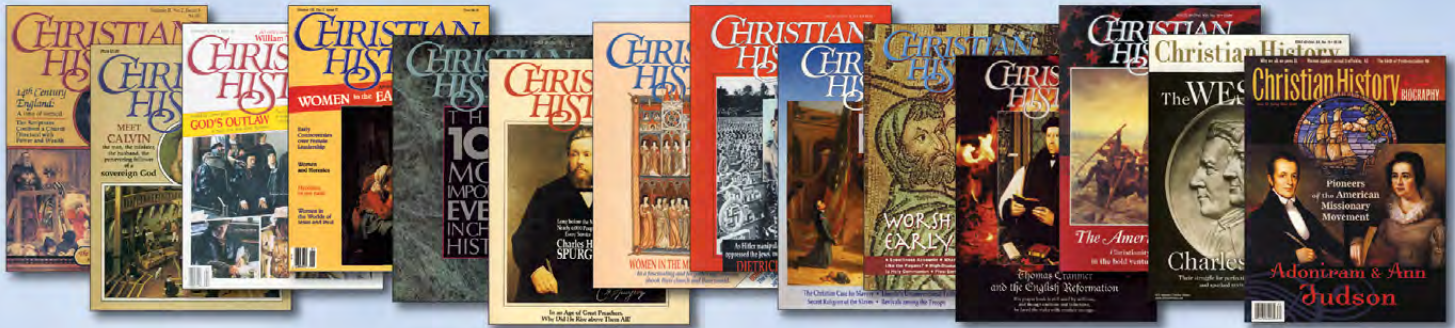
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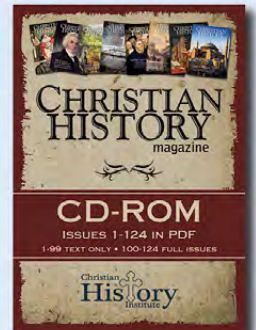
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