



Victorian Eco-Spiritualism: Environmental Citizenship and the Occult Revival in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing

CLARA CONTRERAS AMEDURI*
University of Extremadura (Spain)

Received: 24/11/2022. Accepted: 11/12/2023.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to explore the notion of environmental citizenship in the work of nineteenth-century spiritualist women. By examining female occultist participation in vegetarianism, anti-vivisection, and anti-industrial communalism, it is possible to observe an eco-spiritualist line in women's writing, one which facilitated a more holistic and respectful approach to non-human subjectivities. Such texts therefore offer useful evidence of how spiritualist beliefs allowed women to influence public policies regarding the human-nature relationship in the long nineteenth century.

KEYWORDS: Spiritualism; Environmental citizenship; Nineteenth century; Women's writing.

1. INTRODUCTION

For more than a century, the Victorian spiritualist movement haunted the margins of historical accounts of the periodⁱ, dismissed as the eccentric pastime of allegedly conversing with ghosts (McGarry, 2008: 4). Yet the latest decades of scholarship have brought the nineteenth-century Occult revival back from the dead through the fields of literature, gender, and cultural studies, unveiling the socio-political significance of spiritualist texts and practices, particularly in relation to the 'Woman Question' and other crucial transformations of that rapidly changing era. Spiritualists were famously characterized by their intense political involvement in reformist causes, which ranged from women's suffrage and the abolition of slavery (McGarry, 2008: 2) to dress reform and 'free love' (Braude, 1989: 85). At a defining moment in the development of Western ecological consciousness, the radical viewpoints of this revolutionary

**Address for correspondence:* Facultad de Formación de Profesorado, Avenida de las Letras, s/n, Universidad de Extremadura, Cáceres, 10003, España; e-mail: claraca@unex.es

subculture extended to animal protection activism, vegetarian life choices, and the establishment of anti-industrial communes. However, despite the widespread scholarly focus on female leadership in spiritualist culture (Ferguson, 2012: 432) and the recent turn to ecocriticism in Victorian studies (Adkins and Parkins, 2018: 2), the role of spiritualist women in fomenting a more responsible coexistence with the natural world has remained largely unexplored.

In agreement with John Parham (2002: 156), early historical signs of ecological sensitivity deserve further critical consideration, since they offer insight into the origins of an environmental consciousness that influenced Victorian literature and had become an organized movement by the turn of the century (Murphy, 2019: 26). This article therefore proposes an examination of how transatlantic spiritualist beliefs contributed to the foundation of female-led environmentalist movements which called into question the power dynamics of animal abuse and industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century, taking into account how the syncretic roots of occultist cosmology set the base for an eco-spiritualist discourse with women at the forefront. In order to explore how occultist texts facilitate a phantasmal transhistorical dialogue between present-day environmental concerns and nineteenth-century responses to changes in the Anthropoceneⁱⁱ, the present study concentrates on the concept of environmental citizenship, defined by Andreas Hadjichambis and Pedro Reis as “pro-environmental behaviour, in public and in private, driven by a belief in fairness of the distribution of environmental goods, in participation and in the co-creation of sustainability policy” (2020: 1). As I shall argue, the Victorian spiritualist movement’s engagement with dietary reforms and animal welfare organizations may be interpreted as an early form of environmental citizenship, manifested both through personal choices and public advocacy.

More specifically, this analysis is concerned with the connections between British and American spiritualist women’s literature and the defence of a non-divisive view of nature, one which made space for the visibilization of non-human subjectivities as part of the marginalized voices invoked through mediumship. Notable academics such as Alex Owen, Janet Oppenheim, or Marlene Tromp have pointed out how women’s position as mediums was crucial to a spiritualist philosophy shaped by a concern for silenced stories, translated in the need to channel metaphorical ghosts excluded from nineteenth-century dominant culture. Through the internalization and verbalization of the suppressed experiences of othered subjects, the narrative of the séance room redefined the borders of Victorian identity (Contreras, 2020: 30), expanding its frontiers to include non-normative perspectives ranging from the ‘spirits’ of enslaved African-Americans to the ‘ghosts’ of mistreated women and loyal pets visiting from beyond the grave. This last presence of phantasmal animals in spiritualist culture has recently been addressed by Ruth Heholt in her study of the spiritualist writer Catherine Crowe, where she reflects on her defence of “what may be termed a Victorian sense of ecology, part of which involved an interest in animal rights” (2021: 98). Her unprecedented

consideration of the eco-ethical lens in Crowe's work allows for the development of further scrutiny into which other female spiritualists contributed to the reform of public attitudes to nature and the zoological realm through environmental citizenship in the second half of the nineteenth century.

2. NEW HORIZONS: ECO-SPIRITUALISM IN CONTEXT

When 'ghosts' began materializing in the mid-nineteenth century, Victorian culture was already haunted by the shadow of factory smoke, forest devastation (Murphy, 2019: 20-23), and massive species annihilation (Boase, 2018: 8). However, partly because of these fundamental events (Hall, 2017: 8), the nineteenth century was also a turning point in terms of ecological awareness, marked by changing views on animal abuse (Murphy, 2019: 23). Emerging cultural factors such as the popularization of natural history mirrored a context in which the collective imagination was responding to new ideas about interspecies relations, particularly as a reaction to Charles Darwin's seminal *Origin of Species* (1859). The struggle to come to terms with the notion of human-as-animal implied a disruptive destabilization of boundaries, paired with a growing interest in non-human perspectives (Denenholz and Danahay, 2007: 2). Within the diversity of animal-related discourses in the nineteenth century, James Turner highlights how, for the first time in centuries, non-human life was perceived as deserving of understanding and compassion in mainstream Western culture (1980: 78).

The pursuit to voice non-human subjectivities was directly linked to the rise of animal protection activism, where, as noted by Diana Donald, women had a decisive role as "agents of change in attitudes to animal suffering" (2020: 99-100). Throughout the nineteenth century, associations such as the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) constituted public platforms for the political activities of women who eluded the normative domesticity of the 'angel in the house' (Donald, 2020: 56-57). Such efforts ran parallel to another movement founded and led mostly by women (Adams and Donovan, 1995: 5), one which also shook the foundations of Victorian society by facilitating female networking and radical collaborations in hushed and dimly lit parlours. Invoked in 1848 by two teenage girls from Hydesville, New York, Spiritualism quickly spread across the country and the Atlantic as more women began to claim they possessed supernatural powers (Braude, 1989: 17). Catherine and Margaret Fox were thus declared mediums – communicators with the souls of the deceased – and embraced their mission to allegedly verbalize messages from ghosts during trance states (Braude, 1989: 10). Modern American Spiritualism was recognizable for its links with radical intellectual circles from its very beginning. The Fox sisters moved into the home of abolitionist Quakers Amy and Isaac Post, where the first séances coincided with antislavery meetings hosting prominent reformers like Frederick Douglass (Braude, 1989: 11). It is therefore no coincidence that the first 'spirit messages' contained such revolutionary

intentions: ghosts speaking through the girls assured that “Spiritualism [would] work miracles in the cause of reform” (Braude, 1989: 17), promising that, if believers followed their post-mortem advice, “[s]lavery and oppression [would] die” (Tiffany, 1856: 169). Indeed, these phantasmal communications not only referred to seeking the end of racial discrimination, but also to the beginning of a new era of progress, social equality, and “universal brotherhood”, as a spirit-message announced in 1871 (qtd. in Cox, 2003: 9-10)ⁱⁱⁱ.

As Robert Nelson explains, radical reform and liberation from embodiment were central to spiritualist religious practices because “[t]he most egregious evils of the nineteenth-century Atlantic world – racial slavery, the institutional subordination of women to men, international war – were rooted in bodily distinctions” (2013: 34). In addition to acts of socio-political resistance, those wrongs might be eradicated if believers “could transcend their bodily differences” and “relate to one another as undifferentiated and equal spirits” (Nelson, 2013: 34). However, for many spiritualists, this identification with fellow human beings was not enough. Rather, the creation of this earthly Paradise also demanded a destabilization of the human-animal barrier in the Great Chain of Being, an acknowledgement of the presence of the non-human Other for the sake of interspecies harmony (Oppenheim, 1985: 44). Followers like Charles Webster Leadbeater, a strong proponent for animal welfare, hoped for “a Golden Age to come, not only for man but for the lower kingdoms, a time when humanity [would] realize its duty to its younger brothers – not to destroy them, but to help them” (Leadbeater, 1913: 34-35). Similar ambitions resonated with the movement’s “panpsychic belief in the sentience of nature” (Denisoff, 2022: 47, 238). As we shall see, ‘spirits’ counted especially on women to deliver this holistic message, clearly encouraging them to “do things other forces militated against” through political activism and literary creation (Braude, 1989: 84). Séance rooms echoed with ghostly instructions to create a cruelty-free society by engaging in anti-vivisection (Kingsford, 1892: 23) and vegetarianism (Gregory, 2018: 141) so that “Earth [would] become the footstool of heaven”, as stated by the British medium Chandos Leigh Hunt Wallace (qtd. in Owen, 1990: 134). Although the defence of the natural world was not unique to the spiritualist community, occultists did present distinctive motivations, arguments, and procedures for environmental citizenship that set them apart from their contemporaries and which can be traced back to the movement’s main religious and philosophical influences.

3. GREEN GHOSTS: THE ROOTS OF ECO-SPIRITUALISM

Although the Fox sisters sparked the beginning of a transnational movement, they were far from being the first to establish communications with the Other Side in the long nineteenth century. Several scholars have pointed out the need to understand Spiritualism as the result of the impact of diverse religious groups, stressing the relevance of the complex inheritance of the Occult revival and its incorporation, for instance, of Native American beliefs and African-

American traditions (Bennett, 2002: 102). Most notably, Logie Barrow locates the syncretic origins of Spiritualism among intersections between several reformist movements connected to the Protestant religious revivals of the late-eighteenth-century Second Great Awakening (1986: 10). The effect of these reformist theologies on spiritualist environmental citizenship is undeniable and can be appreciated not only in the struggle for common political causes, but also in similarities between their holistic approaches to nature.

For example, spiritualist cosmology drew greatly on the mystical experiences of the Swedish philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg (Barrow, 1986: 10), a vegetarian theologian whose depiction of meat-eating as a symbol of the Fall of Man (Kerrigan, 2012: 112) is echoed by Anna Kingsford in her religious justification of vegetarianism, in which this British medium argues that the Biblical expulsion from Paradise was caused by the degeneration and moral debasement provoked by a carnivore diet (Maitland, 2011: 29). In order to regain their Edenic state, humans would have to ensure a harmonious coexistence with all living creatures, since “the real salvation of the human race lies in a return to its ancient obedience to Nature” (Kingsford, qtd. in Maitland, 2011: 29). In this sense, spiritualist texts constitute early contributions to the now-growing field of eco-theology, which, according to Rosemary Radford Ruether, reviews religious traditions in search of a “healed relation to each other and to the earth” (Ruether, 1992: 4). For instance, spiritualists’ reinterpretation of Genesis not only leaves out God’s command to rule over all the creatures of the earth, the sea, and the air (Gen 1:26), but also rewrites the Fall by evoking a ‘lost Paradise’ discourse which Ruether identifies in contemporary ecofeminist and eco-theological currents (Ruether, 1992: 143). Rooted in the idealized memory of preagricultural societies, such theories look back on a distant, hypothetical time when “all was benign between the genders and in the human-nature relationship” (Ruether, 1992: 143). Spiritualist authors’ use of the Biblical tradition to support their vegetarian claims therefore implied an eco-theological deconstruction of traditional Christian beliefs, one which replaced the dogmatic male dominion over women and animals (French, 1985: 341) with a desire to recover a lost capacity for biophilic mutuality (Ruether, 1992: 143).

Quite similarly, before spiritualists, many of the religious branches of the Second Great Awakening believed that the entry into the nineteenth century would bring a moment of transcendental change towards a perfected society (Jennings, 2016: 15), a utopian view shared by Quakers, Shakers, and Universalists, all of which had a role in the heterogeneous roots of occultist environmentalism (Cox, 2003: 16). As an example, the yearning for a return to “Innocence”, “Arcady”, or an ideal rustic past has been an important part of Quaker principles since the seventeenth century (Skilbeck, 2021: 245). William Penn, founder of the Quaker Pennsylvania colony, is identified by Malcolm Skilbeck as one of the first American conservationists due to his encouragement of a sense of responsibility towards the natural world (Skilbeck, 2021: 246). Besides engaging in conservation actions, Quakers often chose

vegetarianism as an expression of non-violence towards other creatures (Gregory, 2007: 30), believing it would lead to a more peaceful coexistence for all (Skilbeck, 2021: 246). Such notions had a particular impact on the spiritualist community, since many of its converts were originally Quakers, as in the case of the vegetarian medium Mary Gove Nichols (Blake, 1962: 219). Additionally, a comparative theological study of spiritualist ecology would be incomplete without mentioning Transcendentalism and its contribution to the foundations of the Occult revival (Carroll, 1997: 111). Spiritualist discourse often echoed the transcendentalists' pantheistic approach to nature (Burkholder, 2010: 645), a concept which, as Catherine Albanese mentions, is as ancient as the "earliest human records" (1977: 8).

The desire for human participation in the spiritual unity of all Creation is manifested in belief systems across the globe, including, for instance, Hinduism and Native American religions, both of which were sources of inspiration for Transcendentalism (Albanese, 1977: 8) and Spiritualism (Bevir, 1994: 747; Bennett, 2002: 102). Just like Emerson's ideas on the diffusion of God and the Over-Soul through nature have been compared to the Native American conception of the all-encompassing Great Spirit (Hardack, 2012: 74), spiritualist culture promoted neo-pagan views of nature as "life force" in relation to "the energy of the soul, which continues to exist and evolve after death" (Denisoff, 2002: 238). This perpetuation of the spirit in the afterlife mirrors the Occult revival's appropriation of South Asian customs, not only involving the vegetarian tradition in India (Gregory, 2018: 140), but especially regarding Hindu and Buddhist beliefs in the soul's reincarnation towards perfection (Rawlinson, 1938: 5). Such assumptions, clearly affected by the period's Euro-centric orientalism (Bhattacharya, 2017: 207)^{iv}, were introduced by British spiritualist women who, in search of what they perceived to be an evasion from the materialistic West, travelled to colonial India and dove into sacred texts (Jayawardena, 1995: 108). Consequently, spiritualist culture made space for human responsibility towards nature, based on the conviction that actions against the environment may have a negative impact on the soul's post-mortem evolution (Leadbeater, 1913: 30), as expressed in the seven principles of the movement (Byrne, 2010: 82)^v. Spiritualist environmental ethics therefore reflected, as Oppenheim argues, beliefs about the "sanctity of life, the worth and dignity of the physical frame enclosing an immortal soul" (1985: 231), which framed the holistic inter-species harmony that would partake in the ideal society predicted by the spirits (Leadbeater, 1913: 24).

4. MEDIUMS, PYTHAGOREANS, AND AGITATORS

In order to reach a time "when all the forces of Nature shall be intelligently working together towards the final end, not with constant suspicion and hostility, but with universal recognition of that Brotherhood" (Leadbeater, 1913: 35), occultists needed to heed ghostly instructions for spiritual evolution through the aid of preferably female mediums (Carroll, 1997: 62-3). As

documented by Alex Owen, women were perceived as better mediators of communications from the beyond due to their supposedly innate passivity, moral sensibility, and nervous excitability, which, in line with the period's ideology of the repressive 'separate spheres', were thought to make them more receptive towards the spiritual plane (1990: 7). Taking into account the problematic equation of woman and nature as the "original others" in androcentric systems of domination (King, 2003: 331), as well as the equally essentialistic configuration of female mediums as vessels for the reception spirit-messages (Owen, 1990: 7), the women of the Occult revival managed to reverse such restrictive constructs. In agreement with Hilary Grimes, the medium's hosting of silenced voices within her polyphonic being entails a realization of shared otherness under interconnected oppressions (2016: 95). In this sense, channeling ghosts fulfills the voluntary identification with animals that Marian Scholtmeijer interprets as a tool to dismantle the hegemonic power structures to which women and non-human creatures are subjected (1995: 233). For this reason, by renegotiating gendered and interspecies barriers, mediums manifested an "organic (or holistic) concept of life" that challenged the period's "atomistic individualism and rationalism" (Donovan, 1990: 358).

Therefore, paradoxically and despite the patriarchal origin of such configurations of Victorian femininity, the same questionable attributes which purportedly made women more suitable for the reception of ghostly zoological subjectivities also facilitated female leadership and authority in the spiritualist movement (Owen, 1990: 8). By justifying their actions through spirit possession, mediums projected their voice onto their public sphere, lending their speech to the voiceless and often engaging in non-normative behaviour (Owen, 1990: 216). Through what Tromp interprets as the "disruptive storytelling" of the séance, clairvoyants invited invisible speakers to intertwine with their narrative (2006: 10), thus enacting a radical identification with muted and erased subjects in nineteenth-century culture, including non-human voices (Grimes, 2016: 87). Cases of mediumistic empathy towards animal subjectivities include, for instance, Kingsford's rejection of hunting sports after allegedly experiencing a vision of herself as a fox (Rudacille, 2000: 33-34), thus bridging the human-animal divide through her psychic abilities. Likewise, as Heholt has pointed out, Crowe used her writing to ponder on animal emotion, intuition, and the supposedly enhanced sensibility of dogs to perceive the supernatural (2021: 117). Similar spiritualist attempts to understand zoological emotions appear in the period's anti-vivisectionist discourse, which could reflect a realization of solidarity between woman and animal.

4.1. Mediums in Eco-Spiritualist Anti-Vivisection

In 1882, the editor of the *Journal of Science* published his opinion on "Spiritualism and the Anti-Vivisection Mania", criticizing a paper read by Kingsford at the British National Association of Spiritualists "in a hostile manner" (1882: 304). What the editor interpreted as an attack on biological science (1882: 304) was part of a recurrent conflict between spiritualist

women and medical men who easily labelled them as ‘hysterical’ (Porter, 2003: 5). As noted by Coral Lansbury, women’s anti-vivisectionist rhetoric frequently stressed similarities between women’s predicament and animal abuse, thus denouncing the androcentric oppression of both (1985: 84). This rang particularly true for spiritualist mediums who, by identifying with the non-human, recognized their own struggles as victims of the patriarchal control which often lay behind a hysteria diagnosis (Owen, 1990: 148). Women’s Occult fiction was therefore used as a vehicle for the critique of Victorian medicine, exposing vivisection, unnecessary operations, and experiments on helpless female patients (Depledge, 2014: 220).

The engagement of mediums in anti-vivisection was also motivated by the spiritualist interest in the animal soul, an issue which was at the centre of the debate around animal pain (Bates, 2017: 58). In line with Jeremy Bentham’s proposal “The question is not, can they reason? . . . But, can they suffer?” (1838: 143), Spiritualism took part in the emergence of propagandist novels presenting accounts of painful experiments on live animals (Donald, 2020: 284). As an example, the protagonist of Sarah Grand’s *The Beth Book* (1897) confronts her husband, a doctor, when she discovers his vivisection activities, declaring that she “cannot understand any but unsexed women associating with vivisectors” (2013: 457). Beyond echoing gendered expectations of female compassion (Donald, 2020: 43)^{vi}, the author, influenced by the Occult revival (Lloyd, 2009: 177), here establishes an eco-feminist analogy between women’s suffering and animal cruelty (Saudo-Welby, 2017: 1). Likewise, the spiritualist writer and medium Florence Marryat explored the vivisection debate by presenting male scientists as degenerate torturers in her sensation fiction. For example, Henry Brandt, one of the villains in her novel *The Blood of the Vampire* (1897), is depicted as “a brute – the perpetrator of . . . atrocities in vivisection and other scientific experiments” (Marryat, 2010: 76), whereas Quentin Lesquard, the male protagonist in *An Angel of Pity* (1898), also perpetuates animal suffering in a laboratory that “must be done away with at once and forever” (Marryat, 1898: 300). Both novels include amoral medical men with no concern for animal pain, which Marryat criticizes by incorporating clearly anti-vivisectionist rhetoric into the text, showing the extent to which spiritualist women were empowered to influence public opinion and scientific awareness (Depledge 2014: 223).

In this regard, Anna Kingsford’s life and activism constitute a particularly apt example of female spiritualist participation in animal protection activism. A “mystic and zoophilite” (Gregory, 2007: 164), she used her occult powers to push sociocultural boundaries at a moment when “the doors of colleges, the academies, the scientific societies” were “barred against women” (Maitland, 2011: 18). Driven by her intention to abolish vivisection, she became a fierce advocate for animal rights and one of the first Englishwomen to earn a medical degree (Gregory, 2007: 164). As reported by her friend and biographer Edward Maitland, Kingsford was supposedly encouraged to persevere in her studies and activism by a lady delivering a message from the Holy Spirit “with a rapt and inspired expression, as though she had been

some sybil delivering an oracle” (2011: 23). She also believed to have executed vivisection scientists with her psychic abilities, punishing torturers by simply willing their death (Maitland, 2011: 268)^{vii}. This radical position as the avenger of non-human creatures, which led her to declare a preference for animals over her own species^{viii}, was sustained by her spiritualist belief in the reincarnation of human and animal souls, (Maitland, 2011: 31). Such convictions were the reason behind her medical studies, through which she hoped to halt cruel practices in science, as expressed in her essay “The Uselessness of Vivisection” (1882), as well as to prove the benefits of the Pythagorean diet, or the abstinence from flesh food (Kingsford, 1892: 8). Like many spiritualists, Kingsford understood vegetarianism and anti-vivisection as co-dependent causes and the “only effectual means to the world’s redemption” (Maitland, 2011: 21). According to certain mediums, people needed to stop feeding on slaughtered animals in order to heal body and soul, so that, as assured by Hunt Wallace, “health and happiness [would] flow into the place of disease and sorrow” (qtd. in Owen, 1990: 134). Spiritualist animal welfare was therefore part of wider holistic efforts towards environmental citizenship, cooperating in a utopian intersectionality that would bring the end of brutality, torture, and even sickness.

4.2. Mediums in Eco-Spiritualist Vegetarianism

For spiritualists, vegetarianism was not only a necessary element in the interspecies harmony predicted by ghosts, but also a powerfully transformative tool. Scholars such as James Gregory or Samantha Calvert have pointed out multiple connections between vegetarianism and the Victorian crisis of conventional faith, noting how the meatless diet frequently overlapped with the search for alternative beliefs (Calvert, 2018: 127). Indeed, as Leadbeater explains in his essay *Vegetarianism and Occultism* (1913), the spiritualist rejection of the meat industry was loaded with religious implications, such as the conviction that “all life in the world is Divine” and “the animals therefore are truly our brothers” (1913: 30). The overlapping between both movements facilitated important debates concerning spiritualist cosmology and the supernatural aspects behind vegetarianism. “I am rather a pantheist than anything else”, Kingsford once informed Maitland, “and my mode of life is that of a fruit-eater” (Maitland, 2011: 27-28). Similar arguments for vegetarianism in spiritualist culture mirror the mystical relationship with nature inherited from the abovementioned syncretic influences, rooted in the belief that “animal slaughter was not only morally degrading but a psychic pollution and an assault on the community of nature” (Gregory, 2018: 141).

Occultist vegetarianism was therefore not limited to environmental citizenship, but extended to an equally holistic view of the physical and spiritual body (Leadbeater, 1913: 26). Blurring binary oppositions between body and soul implied, as Gregory clarifies, that a person’s diet could affect their spiritual health (2018: 136). Hunt Wallace, for instance, argued in her *366 Vegetarian Menus* (1885) that meatless food was the most conducive to long life,

since she considered animal products to be “positively destructive to . . . moral, mental, and physical welfare” (1885: 5). In America, the abolitionist sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimké also embraced the healthy benefits of the “Graham diet” while becoming drawn to spiritualist practices (Lerner, 2004: 79)^{ix}. Mediums were believed to be particularly sensitive to the dangers of the carnivore lifestyle, since a polluted psyche would limit their ability to receive messages from the Great Beyond (Calvert, 2018: 130). Vegetarian clairvoyants were consequently more capable of empathising with non-human life, having developed their mystical eye to “see the vast hosts of animal souls”, as well as to recognize their “feelings of horror and resentment” caused by the meat industry (Leadbeater, 1913: 31-32). Such was the case of the well-known occultist Annie Besant, who, according to Leadbeater, was quick to perceive the “awful aura” of animal suffering from many miles away (1913: 31). She made a similar claim in her pamphlet *Vegetarianism in the Light of Theosophy* (1913), where she describes how the human soul may be damaged by internalizing the vibrations of animal torment:

Notice the terror that strikes them as they come within scent of the blood! See the . . . images of terror, of fear, of horror, as the life is suddenly wrenched out of the body, and the animal soul . . . breaks up and perishes. And remember that wherever this slaughtering of animals goes on the material world, that these react on the minds of men, and that anyone who . . . feels these terrible vibrations, suffers under them. (Besant, 1913: 15)

For Besant, feeding on animal suffering entailed a negative impact on spiritual evolution, since it obstructed the development of the human soul after death (Besant, 1913: 8). In this sense, it is possible to perceive the influence of the author’s ideas on karma and reincarnation as a result of her contact with Hindu texts in India (Bhattacharya, 2017: 197). As Calvert indicates, theories of reincarnation are characteristic of religions requiring a vegetarian diet, especially in South Asian cultures where interactions with the natural environment are believed to affect human afterlife (2018: 126). This responsibility for nature was especially present in Theosophy, Spiritualism’s successor in the Occult revival, whose reliance on Eastern esoteric wisdom was even stronger (Owen, 1990: 94). Likewise, Kingsford’s doctoral thesis, published as *The Perfect Way in Diet* (1881), and Hunt Wallace’s recipe book present further evidence of the orientalist inspiration for plant-based occultism, as both spiritualist writers mention ancient vegetarian practices in non-Western religions as forms of spiritual purification (Kingsford, 1892: 19-20, Hunt Wallace, 1885: 5).

As previously stated, Kingsford’s best-selling defence of the meatless diet was grounded in the theory that primitive humans were vegetarians by nature, and that their initial oneness with their Creator could only be regained through the abolition of animal slaughter (Kingsford, 1892: 10). To recover their Edenic state and achieve this pantheistic unity, dietary reform ought

to be combined with social reform, since, according to spiritualists, “Deathless Food” would inevitably bring a betterment of civilization (Gregory, 2018: 142). Much like the Quaker return to Arcady (Skilbeck, 2021: 245), Kingsford’s vision of a perfected society required a transformed world in which humans would be “working with God and Nature” to “reconvert it into Paradise” (Kingsford, 1892: 9). As Hunt Wallace’s cookbook suggests, this universal change could begin in the female-dominated Victorian kitchen (Tromp, 2012: 294), since vegetarianism was perceived as the basic gateway to all other egalitarian reform movements (Maitland 2011: 28). Considering such depictions of interspecies equity, the utopian overtones in spiritualist defences of “beautiful food”, as Mary Gove Nichols called it (1855: 182), are hard to ignore. Echoing Kingsford’s declaration that “universal peace is absolutely impossible to a carnivorous race”, numerous intentional communes attempted to ensure “the future creed of a nobler and gentler race” (Maitland 2011: 28) by establishing vegetarian utopias based on the respect for all living beings as the foundation for environmental citizenship.

4.3. Mediums in Eco-Spiritualist Communalism

By the mid-nineteenth century, an intense wave of utopian communal life was attempting to materialize the golden age predicted by the spirits. Particularly in the United States, such social and economic experiments strove for agrarian self-sufficiency and equally distributed labour, dreaming of a “bountiful, property-free existence in the orchards of Paradise” (Jennings, 2016: 12). Dwellers shared lodgings in refurbished buildings on common land in rural areas (Silver-Isenstadt, 2002: 83), in contact with natural cycles and away from the spiritual and environmental pollution of the carnivore industrial city, which Leadbeater defined as “a terrible place . . . where the whole atmosphere, both physical and psychic, is charged with fumes of blood and with all that that means” (1913: 32). Many communes constituted alternative spaces where spiritualist groups intersected with reformist circles, practicing environmental citizenship to “develop a more sustainable society and world with the transformation of the values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviour of individuals” (Hadjichambis and Reis, 2020: 2).

Spiritualist communes presented networks of progressive movements, hosting vegetarians, women’s rights advocates, free lovers, or dress reformers (Jennings, 2016: 122)^x. Well-respected mediums and activists were eagerly received at communities like Hopedale or Harmonia, as was the case of Cora Scott (Owen, 1990: 210) and Sojourner Truth (Washington, 2009: 279). Other spiritualist women, like Mary Gove Nichols, travelled around America in search of Edenic vegetarian utopias where they may exert their leadership. An enthusiastic public speaker and strong advocate for the meatless diet (Blake, 1962: 231), Gove Nichols experimented with communitarian living and natural healing practices (Owen, 1990: 122), as described in her autobiographical *Mary Lyndon* (1855), written at the Modern Times commune (Gatheral, 2021: 168). Following the spirits’ guidance (Silver-Isenstadt, 2002: 188), she and

her husband founded several “harmonic homes” (Silver-Isenstadt, 2002: 200), that is, vegetarian educational centres to welcome a “New Era for Humanity” through the aid of “Proper Mediums and a Harmonious Circle” (Gove Nichols, qtd. in Silver-Isenstadt, 2002: 203). At utopian settings like Desarrollo and Mnemonia (Blake, 1962: 232), Gove Nichols applied reformist doctrines inspired by other vegetarian groups like the Ham Common Concordists (Owen, 1990: 108) and Fruitlands, a commune famously established by Louisa May Alcott’s family (Blake, 1962: 232).

Moreover, spiritualist colonies such as the Brotherhood of Light (Pitzer, 1997: 455), the Harmonial Vegetarian Society (Kitch, 2000: 299), and the Krotona theosophist institute, led by Besant (Melton, 1997: 409), also embraced the meatless diet for the sake of universal harmony, sharing Gove Nichols’ view of vegetarianism as “the inlet to a new and holier life”, fomenting “a capacity for all other reforms” (Gove Nichols, qtd. in Blake, 1962: 227). Further eco-ethical principles in these congregations involved the egalitarian aims promoted by the spirits (Jennings, 2016: 290), encouraging a sense of co-operation fuelled by the movement’s pantheistic syncretism. Utopian communalism was also characterized by its rejection of industrial capitalism (Jennings, 2016: 19), which had triggered the massification of meat consumption (Adams, 2010: 206) and changed human relations with animals through the intensification of farming methods (Adkins and Parkins, 2018: 5). In response, spiritualist societies encouraged dwellers to grow their own vegetables (Gregory, 2018: 142), thus offering an anti-materialist and anti-industrialist alternative to the dominant system.

Such was the case of the Lomaland theosophist community, founded by Katherine Tingley, a social worker and spiritualist, in 1898 (Melton, 1997: 401). Established in Point Loma, California, the commune gathered its food from a fruit and vegetable garden (Melton, 1997: 405). Tingley argued that “[t]he commerce and the industries of the world have fallen into the hands of those who are governed entirely by selfish interests”, and believed in the world’s renovation through education (1909: 5). For this purpose, she designed the Raja Yoga communal school, where future generations would be instructed in universal brotherhood and the awareness that humans are “immortal souls, not divorced from beneficent Nature, but indeed and in truth a part of it” (Tingley, 1909: 18). “True education”, she explains in *The Life at Point Loma* (1909), “is the power to live in harmony with our environment” (1909: 8). Her approach to teaching may be classified as what today would be termed environmental education, a crucial tool in environmental citizenship (Hadjichambis and Reis, 2020: 4), since lessons in biology at Lomaland involved outdoor schooling and a direct contact with nature to promote children’s awareness regarding land development, sustainability policies, and the dangerous depletion of natural resources (Skeans 2018). The ecological sensibility fomented by Tingley reflects the aspirations of spiritualist cosmology, rooted in the conviction that “[t]he curse of our nations is separateness” because humans “forget that they are a part of Universal Life” (Tingley, 1926: 4). Communal education, vegetarianism, and agricultural self-

sufficiency therefore constituted vehicles for environmental citizenship in the Occult revival, whose purpose to heal the broken Edenic bond was communicated through the overcoming of interspecies boundaries in search of spiritual oneness with nature.

5. INVOKING ENVIRONMENTAL UTOPIAS: THE LEGACY OF ECO-SPIRITUALISM

As reflected in the works of the abovementioned spiritualist women, the nineteenth-century Occult revival provided meaningful tools for citizen participation in environmental activism. Through their involvement in anti-vivisection, vegetarianism, and anti-industrial communalism, these reformists warned against many of the environmental issues we face today, such as the abuse of natural resources, cruelty against animals, and general disconnection from the natural world. Spiritualist texts were therefore not limited to conversations across the grave, but, instead, afford an insightful glimpse into the first environmentalist efforts in Britain and the United States, showing how occultist women combined their syncretic beliefs with their political convictions to reinterpret the relationship between humans and nature. This holistic approach to the non-human world blends the two main categories of environmental citizenship, described by Hadjichambis and Reis as “the personal duty or lifestyle approach” and “the participatory rights approach” (2020: 2-3). By engaging in animal welfare advocacy and making unconventional life choices like communalism or the meatless diet, spiritualist mediums stepped into the public sphere to defend their ecological convictions, relying on a pantheistic cosmology to consider non-human subjectivities. Despite the fact that Anglo-American Spiritualism fell into decline not long after the Fox sisters’ confession of fraud (Davenport, 1897: 84), occultist environmental citizenship may have served as inspiration for similar ecological activities in more recent years, such as the Back to the Land movement of the hippie counterculture (Miller, 1992: 75), or even the re-emerging interest in off-the-grid eco-villages after the Covid-19 pandemic (Farooqui 2022), not to mention the ongoing wave of female-led animal protection activism (Adams and Donovan, 1995: 5). We may no longer believe in ghosts, but, much like Victorian spiritualists, we are still exploring different ways to imagine more sustainable futures.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study has been funded by the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement number 872557 through the project “EnviroCitizen: Citizen Science for Environmental Citizenship”.

NOTES

ⁱ I am extending the term ‘Victorian’ to include both British and American texts of the nineteenth century, according to Anne Rose’s arguments on the applicability of the label for the socio-cultural context of the same time span in the United States (1992: 7).

ⁱⁱ We can point to other contributors to this debate on community such as Roberto Esposito, who, in *Communitas: The Origin and Destiny of Community* (2010), analyzes community drawing upon the concepts of ‘munus’ and ‘donum’.

ⁱⁱⁱ The fact that spirit-messages used the term “brotherhood” to refer to universal kinship reveals problematic aspects of spiritualist discourse, signalling the extent to which spiritualists could sometimes perpetuate androcentric structures (Cox. 2003: 9-10). As an example, the male perspective embedded in the notion of “brotherhood” was a recurrent trope in spiritualist ideology, appearing, for instance, in the main principles of the movement, which advocated for the “brotherhood of man” (Byrne, 2010: 82), as well as in the names of spiritualist and non-spiritualist utopian communes (Pitzer 1997: 397).

^{iv} Scholars such as Sumangala Bhattacharya have pointed out the problematic aspects of the spiritualist movement’s reductive orientalism (2017: 207-208), which took part in the period’s exoticization of India’s past for the sake of cultural appropriation, as famously documented by Edward Said (2008: 44).

^v Such principles include “personal responsibility, compensation and retribution hereafter for all the good and evil deeds done here”, and “eternal progress open to every human soul” (Byrne, 2010: 82).

^{vi} Donald documents how women’s animal protection campaigns in the nineteenth century were influenced by the period’s configuration of women as compassionate caregivers (2020: 43).

^{vii} According to Maitland, she is reported to have stated “*I have killed Paul Bert, as I killed Claude Bernard; as I will kill Louis Pasteur, and after him the whole tribe of vivisectors*” (Maitland, 2011: 68, emphasis in original).

^{viii} She said to Maitland: “I can’t love both the animals and those who systematically ill-treat them” (Maitland, 2011: 48).

^{ix} Named after the moral reformer Sylvester Graham, who popularized vegetarianism in the nineteenth century (Lerner, 2004: 79).

^x Although utopian communes facilitated the subversion of conventional gender roles (Silver-Isenstadt, 2002: 65), it should be noted that some of these organizations eventually reproduced the same androcentric dynamics they were attempting to escape. Many of them maintained traditional divisions of labour, often assigning more domestic tasks to women (Pitzer 1997: 169, 304). Furthermore, non-monogamous colonies frequently resulted in the sexual exploitation of female members of the community, like in the theosophist Aquarian Foundation (Pitzer 1997: 412), as well as in the Oneida community, which inspired similar spiritualist experiments with ‘free love’ (Pitzer 1997: 273). Such instances prove how, far from being completely free of patriarchal ideologies, eco-spiritualist practices were not necessarily as revolutionary as it might seem.

REFERENCES

- Adams, C. J. (2010). *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*. New York: Continuum.
- Adams, C. J. & Donovan, J. (1995). Introduction. In Adams & Donovan (Eds.), *Animals and Women: Feminist Theoretical Explorations* (pp. 1-9). Duke University Press.
- Adkins, P. & Parkins, W. (2018). Introduction: Victorian Ecology and the Anthropocene. *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 19, 1-15.
- Albanese, C. L. (1977). *Corresponding Motion: Transcendental Religion and the New America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Barrow, L. (1986). *Independent Spirits: Spiritualism and English Plebeians, 1850-1910*. London: Routledge.

- Bates, A. W. H. (2017). *Anti-Vivisection and the Profession of Medicine in Britain: A Social History*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bennett, B. (2002). Crossing Over: Spiritualism and the Atlantic Divide. In Beer, J. & Bennett, B. (Eds.), *Special Relationships: Anglo-American Affinities and Antagonisms 1854-1936* (pp. 89-110). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bentham, J. (1838). *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, vol. 1, John Bowring (Ed.), Edinburgh: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.
- Besant, A. (1913). *Vegetarianism in the Light of Theosophy*. Chennai: Adyar Library Pamphlet Series, no. 27, Theosophical Publishing House.
- Bevir, M. (1994). The West Turns Eastward: Madame Blavatsky and the Transformation of the Occult Tradition. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 3, vol. 62, 747-767.
- Bhattacharya, S. (2017). The Victorian Occult Atom: Annie Besant and Clairvoyant Atomic Research. In Karpenko, L. & Claggett, S. (Eds.), *Strange Science: Investigating the Limits of Knowledge in the Victorian Age* (pp. 197-124). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Blake, J. (1962). Mary Gove Nichols, Prophetess of Health. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 3, vol. 106, 219-23.
- Boase, T. (2018). *Mrs Pankhurst's Purple Feather: Fashion, Fury and Feminism – Women's Fight for Change*. London: Aurum.
- Braude, A. (1989). *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Indiana University Press.
- Burkholder, R. E. (2010). Nature Writing and Environmental Activism. In Myerson, J., Harbert Petrulionis, S. & Dassow Walls, L. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Transcendentalism* (pp. 642-659). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Byrne, G. (2010). Spiritualism in Context. *Modern Spiritualism and the Church of England, 1850-1939* (pp. 18-39). London: Boydell Press.
- Calvert, S. J. (2018). 'Ours is the Food that Eden Knew': Themes in the Theology and Practice of Modern Christian Vegetarians. In Grummet, D. & Muers, R. (Eds.), *Eating and Believing: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Vegetarianism and Theology* (pp. 123-135). New York: T&T Clark.
- Carroll, B. E. (1997). *Spiritualism in Antebellum America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Contreras, C. (2020). *Hosting the Ghost: Transatlantic Spiritualism and the Reception of Racialized Otherness from Victorian to Neo-Victorian Gothic Literature*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Salamanca, Spain.
- Cox, R. (2003). *Body and Soul: A Sympathetic History of American Spiritualism*. London: University of Virginia Press.
- Davenport, R. B. (1897). *The Death-Blow to Spiritualism, Being the True Story of the Fox Sisters as Revealed by Authority of Margaret Fox Kane and Catherine Fox Jencken*. New York: G. W. Dillingham & Co.
- Denenholz Morse, D. & Danahay, M. A. (2007). Introduction. In Denenholz Morse, D. & Danahay, M. A. (Eds.), *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture* (pp. 1-13). London: Ashgate.
- Denisoff, D. (2022). *Decadent Ecology in British Literature and Art, 1860–1910: Decay, Desire and the Pagan Revival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Depledge, G. (2014). Experimental Medicine, Marital Harmony and Florence Marryat's *An Angel of Pity* (1898). In Beller, A-M. & MacDonald, T. (Eds.), *Rediscovering Victorian Women Sensation Writers: Beyond Braddon* (pp. 219-234). London: Routledge.
- Donald, D. (2020). *Women Against Cruelty: Protection of Animals in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Donovan, J. (1990). Animal Rights and Feminist Theory. *Signs*, 15, vol. 2, 350-375.
- Editor. (1882). Spiritualism and the Anti-Vivisection Mania. *The Journal of Science*, vol. 19, 304.
- Farooqui, S. (2022). Interest in Off-the-Grid Living Soars During Pandemic. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved 19 October, 2022 from <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/british-columbia/article-interest-in-off-the-grid-living-soars-during-pandemic/>

- Ferguson, C. (2012). Recent Studies in Nineteenth-Century Spiritualism. *Literature Compass*, vol. 9, 431-440.
- French, M. (1985). *Beyond Power: On Women, Men, and Morals*. New York: Summit.
- Gatheral, J. (2021). *The Bohemian Republic: Transnational Literary Networks in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Routledge.
- Gove Nichols, M. (1855). *Mary Lyndon; or, Revelations of a life. An Autobiography*. New York: Stringer and Townsend.
- Grand, S. (2013). *The Beth Book*, Jenny Bourne Taylor (Ed.). London: Victorian Secrets.
- Gregory, J. (2018). 'A Lutheranism of the Table': Religion and the Victorian Vegetarians. In Grummet, D. & Muers, R. (Eds.), *Eating and Believing: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Vegetarianism and Theology* (pp. 135-153). New York: T&T Clark.
- . (2007). *Of Victorians and Vegetarians: The Vegetarian Movement in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. London: Tauris Academic Studies.
- Grimes, H. (2016). Ghostwomen, Ghostwriting. *The Late Victorian Gothic: Mental Science, the Uncanny, and Scenes of Writing* (pp. 83-111). London: Routledge.
- Hadjichambis, A. & Reis, P. (2020). Introduction to the Conceptualisation of Environmental Citizenship for Twenty-First-Century Education. *Conceptualizing Environmental Citizenship for 21st Century Education* (pp. 1-17). Springer.
- Hall, D. W. (2017). Introduction: The Matter of Place-Consciousness. In Hall, D. W. (Ed.), *Victorian Ecocriticism: The Politics of Place and Early Environmental Justice* (3-15). New York: Lexington Books.
- Hardack, R. (2012). 'Not Altogether Human': Pantheism and the Dark Nature of the American Renaissance. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Heholt, R. (2021). *Catherine Crowe: Gender, Genre, and Radical Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Hunt Wallace, C. L. (1885). *366 Vegetarian Menus and Cook's Guide*. London: Philanthropic Reform Publishing Offices.
- Jayawardena, K. (1995). 'Consolation in an Alien Society': Women Theosophists and Orientalists. *The White Woman's Other Burden: Western Women and South Asia During British Rule* (pp. 107-175). London: Routledge.
- Jennings, C. (2016). *Paradise Now: The Story of American Utopianism*. New York: Penguin Random House.
- Kerrigan, W. (2012). *Johnny Appleseed and the American Orchard: A Cultural History*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- King, Y. (2003). The Ecology of Feminism and the Feminism of Ecology. In Pepper, D., Webster, F. & Revill, G. (Eds.), *Environmentalism: Critical Concepts*, (pp. 328-358). London: Routledge.
- Kingsford, A. (1892). *The Perfect Way in Diet: A Treatise Advocating a Return to the Natural and Ancient Food of our Race*. London: Keagan Paul, Trench, & Co., Hathi Trust.
- Kitch, S. L. (2000). *Higher Ground: From Utopianism to Realism in American Feminist Thought and Theory*. Chicago: University Chicago Press.
- Lansbury, C. (1985). *The Old Brown Dog: Women, Workers and Vivisection in Edwardian England*. New York: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Leadbeater, C. W. (1913). *Vegetarianism and Occultism*. Chicago: The Theosophical Publishing House.
- Lerner, G. (2004). *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Lloyd, N. (2009). The Universal Divine Principle, the Spiritual Androgyne, and the New Age in Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins*. *Victorian Literature and Culture*. 1, vol. 37, 177-196.
- Maitland, E. (2011). *Anna Kingsford: Her Life, Letters, Diary and Work*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marryat, F. (1898). *An Angel of Pity*. London: Hutchinson.
- . (2010). *The Blood of the Vampire*, Greta Depledge (Ed.). London: Victorian Secrets.
- McGarry, M. (2008). *Ghosts of Futures Past: Spiritualism and the Cultural Politics of Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Melton, J. G. (1997). The Theosophical Communities and their Ideal of Universal Brotherhood. In Pitzer, D. (Ed.), *America's Communal Utopias* (pp. 396-419). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Miller, T. (1992). The Roots of the 1960s Communal Revival. *American Studies*, 2, vol. 33, 73-93.
- Moine, F. (2015). *Women Poets in the Victorian Era: Cultural Practices and Nature Poetry*. London: Routledge.
- Murphy, P. (2019). *Reconceiving Nature: Ecofeminism in Late Victorian Women's Poetry*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.
- Nelson, R. K. (2013). Spirit Politics: Radical Abolitionists and the Dead End of Spiritualism. In Wright, B. & Dresser, Z. W. (Eds.), *Apocalypse and the Millennium in the American Civil War Era* (pp. 31-51). Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Oppenheim, J. (1985). *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychological Research in England, 1850-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Owen, A. (1990). *The Darkened Room: Women, Power, and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Parham, J. Was There a Victorian Ecology? In Parham, J. (Ed.) *The Environmental Tradition in English Literature* (pp. 156-171). New York: Ashgate, 2002.
- Pitzer, D. E. (1997). America's Communal Utopias Founded by 1965. In Pitzer, D. E. (Ed.), *America's Communal Utopias* (pp. 449-495). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Porter, R. (2003). Introduction: Georgina Weldon and the Mad Doctors. In Bennett, B., Nicholson, H. & Porter, R. (Eds.), *Women, Madness, and Spiritualism: Georgina Weldon and Louisa Lowe* (pp. 3-29). London: Routledge.
- Rawlinson, H. G. (1938). India in European Literature and Thought. In Garratt, G. T. (Ed.). *The Legacy of India* (pp. 1-38). London: Oxford University Press.
- Rose, A. C. (1992). *Victorian America and the Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rudacille, D. (2000). *The Scalpel and the Butterfly: The Conflict Between Animal Research and Animal Protection*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ruether, R. (1992). *Gaia and God: An Ecofeminist Theology of Earth Healing*. San Francisco: HarperCollins.
- Said, E. (2008). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin.
- Saudo-Welby, N. (2017). Learning from Nature: Feminism, Allegory and Ostriches in Olive Schreiner's *The Story of an African Farm* (1883). *Becoming Animal*, 85. Retrieved 22 April, 2022 from <https://journals.openedition.org/cve/3200>.
- Scholtmeijer, M. (1995). The Power of Otherness: Animals in Women's Fiction. In Adams & Donovan (Eds.), *Animals and Women: Feminist Theoretical Explorations* (pp. 231-63). Duke University Press.
- Skeans, M. (2018). Theosophy & Educational Culture. *American Culture*. Retrieved 26 July, 2022 from <https://americanculturesdsu.wordpress.com/tag/lomaland/>.
- Skilbeck, M. (2021). *Loving and Studying Nature: Celebrating the Earth Through History, Culture and Education*. Springer. doi: 10.1007/978-3-030-80751-1.
- Silver-Isenstadt, J. L. (2002). *Shameless: The Visionary Life of Mary Gove Nichols*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Tiffany, J. (1856). Spiritual Manifestations Not Incredible. *Tiffany's Monthly*, 1, 156-169.
- Tingley, K. (1909). *The Life at Point Loma*. Point Loma: Aryan Theosophical Press.
- . (1926). *The Gods Await*. Point Loma: Woman's International Theosophical League.
- Tromp, M. (2006). *Altered States: Sex, Nation, Drugs and Self-transformation in Victorian Spiritualism*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- . (2012). Eating, Feeding, and Flesh: Food in Victorian Spiritualism. In Kontou, T. & Willburn, S. (Eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Nineteenth-Century Spiritualism and the Occult* (pp. 285-311). London: Routledge.
- Turner, J. (1980). *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind*. New York: John Hopkins University Press.
- Washington, M. (2009). Truth Is Powerful. *Sojourner Truth's America* (pp. 272-298). Chicago: University of Illinois Press.