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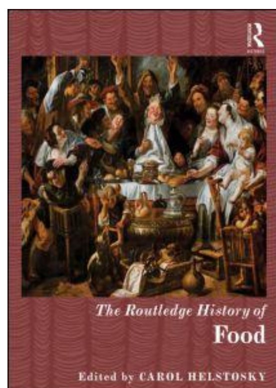

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10

"PEACE ON EARTH AMONG THE ORDERS OF CREATION"

Vegetarian ethics in the United States before World War I

Bernard Unti

In the 1904 article "Some Historical Aspects of Vegetarianism," Yale biochemist Lafayette Mendel pointed out the neglect of moral arguments in contemporary discussions. Critics of vegetarianism were especially inclined to ignore its status as an ethical movement dating from ancient times, Mendel noted. But the longer view made it clear that "vegetarianism involves something more than a mere dietetic program" for personal health and physical purity.[1]

Mendel's claim for the centrality of the ethical case against eating meat has implications for food studies and the history of social reform in the United States. Since the earliest days of the Republic, vegetarianism has been a moral movement that raised questions about the ethics of meat consumption. Ethical arguments were in evidence by the late eighteenth century, and cruelty to animals was a primary concern for reformers both within and outside of American vegetarian organizations before World War I. These advocates sought to move beyond eating meat as a matter of personal preference, taste, or health. They cast their abstention within broader cultural frameworks, calling for a reappraisal of man's relationship to nature, and identifying dietary choice as a political, moral, and social act.

A number of scholarly treatments have cast health-focused vegetarianism as the heart of the vegetarian "movement" in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This approach has its shortcomings, in its tendency to divide people's motivations too rigidly, when they are in fact not so easily parsed, and its neglect of evidence that the era's vegetarians consistently expressed their moral convictions in "movement" publications. Taking into account vegetarianism's complex genealogy and evolution, the sociologist Julia Twigg suggests that we do best to see it as a "united ideology," one that has coherence and revolves around four basic elements – health, humanitarian/animal welfare, economic/ecological, and spiritual – all closely interconnected. These arguments, Twigg observes, do not ever really exist in isolation from one another, and are frequently associated with other beliefs.[2]

Vegetarianism has long been an unusually diffuse reform, and it is better to look at the broad sweep of its associated ideas and values rather than at institutions and groups to measure its tenor and potency. Institutions such as the American Vegetarian Society (1850–62) and the Vegetarian Society of America (1886–1921) lasted for only a decade or two, and failed after the deaths of key leaders. These organizations, along with the Battle Creek Sanitarium and like institutions, were important centers, but they did not comprise

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the whole universe of American vegetarianism. Vegetarianism – and ethical vegetarianism in particular – was evident in many social locations, and vegetarians populated a host of nineteenth- and twentieth-century reform movements, including those devoted to animal protection, anti-vivisection, feminism, health reform, temperance, peace, Free Thought, radical politics, and esoteric religion.

The apparent strength and intensity of the health argument for a few decades in the nineteenth century reflected the influence of hygienic extremism rooted in broad social anxieties concerning industrialization, sexuality, and the rising authority of science. Nineteenth-century vegetarians, moreover, frequently found themselves on the defensive in the face of hostile medical opinion, and had to overcome the basic argument that meat was necessary for health. The need to establish its scientific legitimacy helped to shape modern vegetarianism but it did not alter the centrality of moral and metaphysical claims, which long pre-date the physiological argument.[3]

In the eighteenth century, vegetarian advocates made their case in the absence of any organizations devoted to the cause. America's best-remembered vegetarian from that era was probably Benjamin Franklin, who avoided meat for a number of years under the influence of the English Pythagorean Thomas Tryon. However, vegetarian morality gained more consistent expression in the lives and teachings of a number of influential American Quakers, who adopted vegetarianism as part of a compassionate witness toward the non-human world. Their reliance on the "Inward light," rather than theological speculation or Biblical reference, lent itself to thoughtful, independent reflection on the question of animal suffering.[4]

John Woolman (1720–72) was a vegetarian who combined his boycott of the products of slavery – cotton, sugar, and indigo dye – with a personal stand against the exploitation of animals. He lamented the overworking of draft animals, driven to exertion even as "their eyes and the motions of their bodies manifest that they are oppressed." He avoided stagecoaches and the use of couriers, judging the horses and riders badly abused. "I was early convinced in my mind," Woolman wrote, "that true religion consisted in an inward life, wherein the heart doth love and reverence God the Creator, and learns to exercise true justice and goodness not only toward all men, but also toward the brute creatures."[5]

Anthony Benezet (1713–84) felt the same way, in "a kind of a league of Amity and Peace with the animal Creation," and included lessons on kindness to animals in his readers for children. "The sympathies of Benezet's nature," one biographer wrote, "extended to everything that was susceptible of feeling." So great was Benezet's identification "with everything that was capable of feeling pain, that he resolved, toward the close of his life, to eat no animal food." Once, at his brother's house, "when his family were dining upon poultry, he was asked by his brother's wife, to sit down and eat with them. 'What,' said he, 'would you have me eat my neighbors?'"[6]

The teachers John Comly (1773–1850) and Joshua Evans (1731–97) were vegetarians as well. Comly remembered that at the age of four or five he had thrown a stone at a chicken. As the animal died, "Horror and sorrow seized my infant soul. My heart then learned to feel tenderness toward every living thing that could feel pain." Comly included selections on "Tenderness to Animals" in the children's primers he authored. One lamented the mistreatment of the dray horse: "What a pity that a beast so brave, should to the cruel be a slave," while another featured humane excerpts from William Cowper's "The Task."[7]

Spiritual reflection also led Evans to vegetarianism. "I considered that life was sweet in all living creatures, and taking it away became a very tender point with me," he recalled.

"I believe my dear Master has been pleased to try my faith and obedience by teaching me that I ought no longer to partake of anything that had life."[8]

Given the strength of the animal welfare ethic within the Society of Friends, it is in some respects surprising that Quakers did not form the first American societies devoted to vegetarianism or anti-cruelty concerns. Notwithstanding, whether founded in an ethic of universal love or derived from a holistic reverence for God-given creation, Quaker sensitivity to animals was not simply the product of sectarian doctrine. In laying emphasis on the faculty of suffering, as Jeremy Bentham had, Quakers were part of a developing international consensus in which the capacity for pain defined an animal's moral interests. Those Quakers who were vegetarian, moreover, were extending the humane ethic to its furthest reaches.[9]

It was another nonconformist religious group that would institutionalize the vegetarian ethic in the United States. In 1817, forty-two members of the Bible-Christian Church, a Swedenborgian sect with vegetarianism and complete temperance as its cornerstones, left Salford, England, to promote their beliefs in the United States. They settled in Philadelphia where their leader Reverend William Metcalfe worked as a schoolmaster, printer, and editor, while struggling to build up the church. Metcalfe carried his ministry into the press, publishing a number of letters on vegetarian diet. Sylvester Graham was likely one of his converts.[10]

The Bible-Christians believed that flesh eating violated God's instruction in Genesis 1:29 ("Behold, I have given you every herb yielding seed which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed – to you it shall be for food") and Swedenborg's comment that "eating the flesh of animals, regarded in itself, is something profane." In addition, they exemplified the strong affiliation between temperance and vegetarianism – which they sometimes called "the higher phase of temperance" – characteristic of the era.[11]

If religious conviction shaped the church members' vegetarianism, there was also a strong humane component to it. The Bible-Christian hymnal included the verse from Goldsmith's romantic ballad, "The Hermit": "No flocks that range the valley free, To slaughter we condemn, Taught by that power that pities us, We learn to pity them." In his 1840 sermon, "Bible Testimony on Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals as Food," Metcalfe preached:

> Our high object is to construct, to correct general sentiment … so as to cherish universal humanity; believing that in proportion as the minds of the moral and intellectual among our fellow-mortals are sufficiently awakened to the importance of the dietetics of the Bible, they will withdraw themselves from a system of cruel habits, which involves a portion of the animal creation in needless suffering and untimely death, and which has unquestionably a baneful effect upon the physical existence and the intellectual, moral, and religious powers of man.[12]

Elsewhere, Metcalfe discussed the Sixth Commandment:

> Who has authority or presumption to limit this precept to the killing of men? Is it not recollected … that we are peremptorily enjoyed "not to add to the law, not yet diminish aught from it?" May we not reasonably believe that its application was benevolently intended to reach the animal creation? … Would not the

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> principles of mercy and the sympathies of the human heart lead our judgments to such a conclusion?[13]

The term "vegetarian" emerged in the United Kingdom in the early 1840s, and in 1847, the Vegetarian Society formed as a collaboration between the Bible Christians and vegetarians associated with the Hydropathic Institute in Ramsgate and William Horsell's *Truth-Teller* magazine. Their American counterparts followed suit in May 1850, the Bible-Christian leadership joining with William Alcott, Sylvester Graham, O.S. Fowler, Joel Shew, Lewis Hough, and R.T. Trall to launch the American Vegetarian Society (AVS). For a few years, the AVS met on a regular basis, and a vegetarian banquet during the Whole World's Temperance Convention in 1853 drew over 300 diners, including feminists Lucy Stone, Amelia Bloomer, and Susan B. Anthony.[14]

From 1850 to 1854, the Society's monthly publication, *The American Vegetarian and Health Journal*, edited by Metcalfe and his son Joseph, recorded positive references to vegetarianism, reproduced correspondence between leading advocates, and celebrated the longevity of vegetarians all over the world. Most discussions centered on the religious and physiological arguments in favor of abstinence. However, contributors also cited humane concerns.[15]

Such sensitivity was certainly evident in the works of fiction the Metcalfes chose to publish. One such story was contributed by Henry Clubb, an English immigrant who would become an influential member of the Bible-Christian Church in America. In 1854, the *Journal* published "Margaret Woodrow," Clubb's story of a young girl whose deep affections for domestic animals, especially a flock of hens, led her family into vegetarianism.[16]

Clubb attributed his own youthful conversion to the influence of William Gibson Ward, who "described the horrors and cruelties of the slaughterhouse and the dangers of eating the flesh of the animals killed there." At sixteen, Clubb went to teach at the Alcott House Concordium, a school inspired by Robert Owen and Johann Pestalozzi. He found employment with James Simpson, the Vegetarian Society's benefactor, and edited its journal, *The Vegetarian Messenger*. Clubb emigrated to the United States in 1853 and went to work for Horace Greeley at the *New York Tribune*. Through Greeley, he came to know many leading abolitionists.[17]

In 1855, swept up in the popular sovereignty debate set off by the Kansas–Nebraska Act, and hopeful about the role that a vegetarian, alcohol-free, and anti-slavery community could play in the struggle for freedom, Clubb launched the Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Society, which founded a settlement in Neosho County, Kansas. The colony failed and Clubb spent a few years in Michigan as a state legislator and newspaper publisher before serving in the Union Army. He wrote for the Union-owned *Vicksburg Daily Herald* while in Mississippi as a Captain and Assistant Quartermaster. After the war, Clubb settled in Michigan, where he edited the *Grand Haven Herald*. He was in frequent contact with the Bible-Christian Church in Philadelphia, and became its pastor in 1876. From that base, in 1886, he founded the Vegetarian Society of America, resurrecting the organizational framework that Metcalfe, William Alcott, and others had introduced thirty-five years earlier.[18]

The Bible-Christians were just one of the sources of ethical vegetarianism in nineteenth-century United States. A meatless diet was inextricably tied to a variety of social reform initiatives between 1830 and 1860, including the era's utopian communities. There was a humane component in the vegetarianism of the Quaker communitarians of the Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform. More famously, Bronson Alcott, Charles Lane, and their fellow communards at Fruitlands in Harvard, Massachusetts, shunned not only animal

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products but also the products of animal labor. Alcott, who became a vegetarian in 1835, described the conversion as one grounded in concern for the well-being of animals. The commune's members attempted to do without animals to till the soil, considering this a form of enslavement. But they could not be entirely consistent. "In apparel, we cannot as yet dispense well with cotton and leather, the first a product of slaves and the last an invasion of the rights of animals."[19]

Alcott's brother, William, typically cast with Sylvester Graham as a champion of hygienic vegetarianism, was also a proponent of the ethical claim. In *Vegetable Diet* (1838), William Alcott wrote, "If I have a favorite, with the rest, it is the moral argument," and included a section devoted to it. Elsewhere, he expressed dismay at the routine slaughter of animals in front of children, and looked to the day when kindness to animals would form the cornerstone of youthful education. "What a mighty change will be wrought in society," Alcott noted, "when it shall be fully understood that our great duty as monarchs of men or other animals, is to promote to the utmost extent of our power, their happiness?"[20]

The eccentricity of Graham and other advocates has obscured appreciation of the humanitarian strain of vegetarianism, leading some to see it as a peculiar reform produced by Jacksonian-era anxieties over industrialization, urbanization, and sexuality. It is true that Graham offered no ethical arguments concerning meat eating, and not even at the sanitaria of the nineteenth century, hotbeds of ethical and social debate where vegetarianism flourished, did moral arguments emerge prominently. Yet the articulation of ethical perspectives by Alcott and others associated with the AVS underscored the point that cruelty to animals was a motivating concern even for those advocates of diet reform on physiological grounds. Their vegetarianism, rooted in personal health, hygiene, and opposition to sensuality or animality, was also an expression of Christian mercy and moral opposition to cruelty to animals. In their minds, it all went together, just as vegetarianism, with its full "visionary promise," went together with temperance, criminal reform, peace, abolition, and the rights of women.[21]

Even after the demise of the AVS in 1862, vegetarianism thrived. "There are many persons who eschew meat," M.L. Holbrook wrote to the *Dietetic Reformer* in 1874, "but … there is no unity of action between them. Each works in his own way, doing little or much as the case may be." A year later, William Taylor reported that notwithstanding the absence of organized activity, "A deep, strong undercurrent is forming in favor of our system. This current is found in the rapid and extraordinary growth of the humanitarian element and feeling in society at large." In Taylor's view, the humane societies and other philanthropic institutions had put public sentiment "directly in favor," and "ere many years," he predicted, "from this Humanitarian sentiment alone, Vegetarianism will have obtained a heart hold upon the better classes in society which it will never lose, but which will go on increasing."[22]

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, vegetarianism retained its close associations with temperance, then gaining influence via the Women's Christian Temperance Union and other organizations. Clubb and others reinforced other long established connections, too, with religious bodies, humane societies, and peace groups. The wider vegetarian community included such activists as Annie Force English, a Theosophist; Helen Augusta Howard, founder of the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association; Ellen Snow, anti-vivisectionist author and vegetarian advocate; Juliet Severance, the abolitionist, temperance and women's rights advocate dubbed "radical of the radicals" by Victoria Woodhull; and Bolton Hall, labor advocate, birth control campaigner, single tax disciple, and back-to-the-land pioneer.[23]

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Like other reformers, vegetarians held a conference at the 1893 Columbian Exposition at Chicago, and while many presenters focused on its health aspects, several referenced the ethical component of vegetarianism. Clubb told the assembly:

> Vegetarianism as it comes to us declares peace on earth among the orders of creation, that we propose to stop this perpetual war on the animals, and regard them as our friends rather than our victims, believing that we have dominion over them for the purpose of kindness and protection rather than for their destruction and their suffering. We claim, therefore, that we are an animal friend society.[24]

Like Clubb, John Harvey Kellogg was also supportive of the kindness-to-animals ethic. Kellogg, typically viewed as an advocate on health grounds, emphasized the humane qualities of the vegetarian diet in *Shall We Slay to Eat?* (1899):

> The basis for the ethical argument against flesh eating is to be found in the fact that lower animals are, in common with man, sentient creatures. We have somehow become accustomed to think of our inferior brethren, the members of the lower orders of the animal kingdom, as things; we treat them as sticks or stones, as trees and other non-sentient things that are not possessed of organs of sense and feeling. We are wrong in this; they are not things but beings.[25]

There were many others laying emphasis on humane considerations, as a variety of ideologies made this one of the strongest periods of progressive ethical vegetarianism in the United States. Animals' rights, anti-vivisection, socialism, anarchism, atheism, Free Thought, transcendentalism, Buddhism, Theosophy, mysticism, asceticism, and the New Thought all inspired late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century vegetarian activists to their dietary commitments. Together, the numerous vegetarians who populated these movements constituted a de facto moral community that thrived largely outside of the two acknowledged centers of vegetarianism in that era, Kellogg's Battle Creek Sanitarium and the Vegetarian Society of America, led by Clubb. Subordinating dietary arguments to ethical ones, Progressive-era vegetarian activists questioned the traditional cultural assumptions that had guided and defined the human–animal relationship for centuries.[26]

The animal protection movement provided a significant context for the expression of such views. Vegetarianism was not an objective of any American humane organization during the first half-century of organized work. However, concern for the suffering and cruelty inherent in the raising, transportation, and slaughter of animals for food was a priority for all major Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCAs). Nineteenth-century humane ideology held that it was permissible to use animals so long as they did not suffer wanton abuse or prolonged pain to satisfy human wants. The transportation of animals over long distances, without adequate rest, water, space, or handling, offended this standard. The American, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania SPCAs all campaigned against cruelty to animals raised for food. In 1877, they joined with other groups to form the American Humane Association to confront the problem of animal suffering in transit.[27]

Animal protectionists held their own conference at Chicago in 1893, and one prominent participant, Caroline Earle White, noted that, perhaps due to the presence of Hindus at the event, "the idea that it might be wrong to kill animals even for the purpose of furnishing us with food" enjoyed considerable prominence. By the 1890s, a few humane

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advocates began to promote vegetarianism as a way to eliminate animal suffering. White adopted the diet, as did her Women's Pennsylvania SPCA collaborator, Mary F. Lovell (1843–1932), Cynthia Fairchild-Allen (1839–1901), a Chicago-based author and anti-vivisectionist, and Anna Harris Smith (1843–1929), founder of Boston's Animal Rescue League.[28]

Another advocate, Albert Leffingwell, M.D. (1845–1916), entered the humane movement after working with his uncle James C. Jackson at the Dansville Water Cure Establishment. While his main reform concern was the use of animals in physiology experiments and education, Leffingwell entered the pure food debate with *American Meat*, a survey of developments following the 1906 Pure Food Act. Leffingwell charged that government inspection notwithstanding, vast quantities of diseased meat continued to pass into the food supply, with negative implications for human health. His dispassionate analysis gave way to a conclusion in which he compared the Meat Trust to the Slave Power, and explicitly invoked the great suffering of animals. Leffingwell challenged his readers:

> No imagination can even faintly conceive the sum of torment which pertains to the sacrifice of animals for food, in America alone, not only at the shambles, but by starvation on the Western plains or in the journeyings from pasture to slaughterhouse. With all its evils, butchery exists today solely because we demand its victims.[29]

Other vegetarians among prominent humane activists included Edward Buffett, Frances Clarke, William H. Galvani, Calla Harcourt, Joseph M. Greene, Cecilia Ritter, and Caroline Spencer. Vegetarians dominated several animal organizations, including the Women's Pennsylvania SPCA and the New England Anti-Vivisection Society, and in 1918, having embraced humane reform and ethical vegetarianism with their mother, Milton and Edith Latham established the Latham Foundation for the Promotion of Humane Education.[30]

In 1900, *The Vegetarian*, itself the product of a merger between *Food, Home, and Garden* and *The Chicago Vegetarian*, merged with a third publication, the animal welfare-focused *Our Fellow Creatures*. It was another sign of close alignment between vegetarians and the humane movement, and the ethical argument's strength. Characterizing reader response, an editor noted that "Many express themselves as being proud of enrollment under the vegetarian and anti-cruelty banner."[31]

Vegetarianism also flourished within esoteric philosophical traditions and religions like Theosophy, Buddhism, and New Thought. These popular spiritual movements extended the long history of exchange between East and West on the subject of animals as food and the relationship of man to nature. Their openness to non-conventional thought and practice, and the strong common denominator of a belief in the unity of all life, made them receptive to vegetarianism.[32]

Theosophists were sympathetic to vegetarianism not least because their interest in the doctrine of metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul, led them to take the question of animal suffering seriously. Anna Kingsford, an ethical vegetarian and anti-vivisectionist, was the one-time head of the Theosophical Society. Helena Blavatsky, one of Theosophy's three founders, made a powerful contribution with her essay, "Have Animals Souls?" in 1886.[33] In the 1890s, the British socialist Annie Besant abandoned secularism in favor of Theosophy, and became an active bridge figure with humane work and vegetarianism.

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Purification of the body as part of removing obstacles to spiritual growth was one reason to become a vegetarian. But, Besant advised:

> still deeper and more attractive than such an object is our *principle*, our recognition of the unity of life, in all that is around us, and that we are but parts of that one universal life. When we recognize that unity of all living things, then at once arises the question – How can we support this life of ours with least injury to the lives around us? How can we prevent our own life adding to the suffering of the world in which we live?[34]

Other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Theosophists wrote about their commitment to ethical vegetarianism in *Food, Home, and Garden*, *The Vegetarian*, and other publications. Robert Logan, president of the American Anti-Vivisection Society, served as Head Brother for the USA of the Animal Welfare Department of the International Theosophical Order of Service. Helen Nearing, a pioneer in the "Back to the Land" movement of the post-World War II era, was a birthright vegetarian deeply involved with Theosophy in the 1920s.[35]

The popularity of Buddhism in late-Victorian America provided still more impetus to the adoption of the vegetarian diet on moral grounds, and another source of challenge to conventional attitudes toward the non-human world. Many vegetarians cited the influence of Buddhism in their thinking, and Buddhist magazines published articles and letters promoting vegetarianism, anti-vivisection, and concern for animals.[36]

New Thought, a popular mind-healing and self-improvement philosophy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, attracted vegetarians. Ralph Waldo Trine (1866–1958), one of New Thought's best-selling authors, was a vegetarian on ethical grounds. So were Charles Fillmore (1854–1948), founder of the Unity Church, a New Thought institution formed in 1889 with meatless diet as a doctrine, and Uriel Buchanan (1872–1967), another prominent exponent. In *Every Living Creature*, a primer of humane thought, Trine devoted almost twenty pages to vegetarianism. "The only really consistent humanitarian," he wrote, "is the one who is not a flesh-eater; and great, I am satisfied, will be the results, both to the human family and to the animal race, as children are wisely taught and judiciously directed along this line."[37]

The international socialist movement was another prominent channel in which the ethical argument for vegetarianism flourished. The formation of the Humanitarian League by the English socialist Henry Salt and others in 1891 was the signal event. The League had roots in pre-Marxian radicalism, and many of its founders were members of the Shelley Society. Salt and others associated with the League, notably Howard Williams, had been writing about vegetarianism since the 1880s. They now joined it to other interests in an effort to promote a comprehensive philosophy of humaneness and justice for animals. When it came to arguing for vegetarianism, they did not invest much time in discussing its physiological benefits; they laid emphasis on the moral case.[38]

Salt and other League members found inspiration in Henry David Thoreau and celebrated his endorsement of vegetarianism as well as his practice of humane natural history. Thoreau's reflections in Chapter 11 of *Walden*, "Higher Laws," marked the emergence of a new and ultimately influential perspective on vegetarianism, one that signaled the broader connections between diet, ethics, and demeanor toward the non-human world. Thoreau knew the Alcotts and Graham, and while not consistently vegetarian, he made his

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convictions clear: "Whatever my own practice may be, I have no doubt that it is a part of the destiny of the human race, in its gradual improvement, to leave off eating animals." For Thoreau, as for the socialist vegetarians on both sides of the Atlantic who admired him, the case for vegetarianism was ultimately a moral one.[39]

In 1892, Salt published *Animals' Rights Considered in Relation to Progress*. His chapter, "The Slaughter of Animals for Food," sought to place the cruelty of slaughter at the center of the debate over the treatment of animals. Salt underscored what American humanitarians had themselves observed in twenty years of campaigning, that in a rapidly modernizing world "the cruelties inseparable from the slaughtering system have been aggravated rather than diminished." In 1894 an American edition appeared, financed by Sarah J. Eddy, a Rhode Island advocate. Mary F. Lovell, an accomplished humane worker, gave up flesh foods after reading it.[40]

The Humanitarian League's network also included Count Leo Tolstoy, one of the most important influences on the growth of vegetarianism in the late nineteenth century. Tolstoy's vegetarianism was not simply that of the ascetic but contained a strong humanitarian component, and it was an American, the philosopher William Frey (1839–88), who inspired his adoption of the diet. In 1895, Tolstoy translated *The Ethics of Diet*, Howard Williams' history of vegetarianism, into Russian, with an essay, "The First Step," about his visit to a slaughterhouse. Tolstoy described vegetarianism as integral to the achievement of moral perfection. American vegetarians were well aware of his sympathies, republishing "The First Step" and noting his commitment in their publications.[41]

A devoted group of followers in North America celebrated and attempted to live by Tolstoy's principles. Tolstoy catalyzed a North American vegetarian diaspora, when the Dukhobors, members of a persecuted vegetarian pacifist religious sect, emigrated from Russia to Canada during the 1890s in an enterprise partially financed by the profits from his novel *Resurrection*. Some years later, Henry Clubb reported that a group of Russian Jews in Philadelphia were practicing vegetarians who frequented "The Tolstoy Restaurant" opened by one of their fellows.[42]

Thanks to radical thinkers, vegetarianism was an important theme in American utopian literature. Edward Bellamy's *Equality* (1897) presented a case for vegetarianism and wilderness conservation unmatched in American literature. In Bellamy's novel (a sequel to his runaway best-seller, *Looking Backward*), it was not health reform but "the great wave of humane feeling, the passion of pity and compunction for all suffering – in a word the impulse of tenderheartedness – which was really the great moral power behind the Revolution." Two decades later, the one-time Bellamyite Charlotte Perkins Gilman affirmed the characteristic linkages between early twentieth-century vegetarianism, pacifism, and feminism. In Gilman's *Herland* (1915), the elimination of meat consumption and animal exploitation signified the displacement of male dominance in a maternalist, non-violent, and ecological society. Gilman condemned zoos, performing animal spectacles, and the wearing of fur apparel in her publication *The Forerunner*, and her poem "The Cattle Train" circulated widely.[43]

Ethical vegetarianism was common among the political radicals associated with humane work, like Sarah Cleghorn, Alice Park, Ernest Howard Crosby, Benjamin Fay Mills, and John Howard Moore. Cleghorn (1876–1959) supported animal rights, anti-vivisection, suffrage, pacifism, anti-lynching, prison reform, and socialism. Park (1861–1961), an active suffragette, represented the American Humane Education Society in outreach to schools and conferences, and ran a humane press bureau. Crosby (1856–1907), a social critic and

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philosophical anarchist, wrote for the Humanitarian League, led the New York Vegetarian Society, expressed his preference for the ethical argument, and asserted vegetarianism's links to a broader panoply of reforms. Discussing his vegetarianism, the evangelist and Christian socialist Benjamin Fay Mills (1857–1916) cited his concern for the suffering of animals on cattle trains.[44]

The most active of the socialist vegetarians was John Howard Moore (1862–1916), who emerged in the mid-1890s as an advocate of temperance, ethical vegetarianism, and sympathy with non-human animals. In 1898, at age thirty-six, he received an A.B. degree in zoology from the University of Chicago, at about the same time that he began to teach at Crane Technical High School. Moore wrote for the Humanitarian League, the Millennium Guild, the Massachusetts SPCA, the American-Anti-Vivisection Society, the American Humane Association, and the Chicago Vegetarian Society. Henry Salt regarded Moore's *The Universal Kinship* (published by the Unitarian socialist and vegetarian Charles H. Kerr) as one of the most important humanitarian titles ever written. Mark Twain and Jack London publicly endorsed the book.[45]

Like Salt, Moore was absorbed with the implications of Darwinism for the treatment of non-human animals. Moore's work began from the premise that "while the biology of evolution is scarcely any longer questioned, the psychology and ethics of the Darwinian revelation, though following from the same premises, and almost as inevitably, are yet to be generally realized." Animals were our mental and physical cousins, and this relationship necessitated a broad revision of our behavior toward them. Vegetarianism, in solidarity with the sentient world, was "the ethical corollary of evolution."[46]

Moore, Park, Crosby, Trine, and Clarence Darrow (Moore's brother-in-law) were members of the Humanitarian League, and the latter three were speakers at the League's weekly tea. Under Moore's influence, the Chicago Vegetarian Society was essentially an American redoubt of the Humanitarian League, and visibly focused on making the ethical argument for vegetarianism. Among other writings of Moore's, it published his three-part essay, "Why I am a Vegetarian."[47]

The writing of Progressive-era vegetarians like Moore and Trine advanced the case for vegetarianism on ethical grounds, first and foremost. Whenever they emphasized its health benefits, such individuals were seeking to augment their argument, and responding to typical and widespread objections to vegetarianism. In their minds, there was no real answer to the moral argument they made. For these advocates, the scientific vindication of the vegetarian diet made it all that much easier to assert its morality.[48]

It was natural that Moore would support the first American animal protection society to incorporate vegetarianism as a core principle, the Millennium Guild, which formed in Boston in 1911. The Guild was America's first animal rights group, condemning all forms of animal exploitation, including the consumption of flesh. Its founder M.R.L. "Emmarel" Freshel (1867–1948) came to vegetarianism and animal protection after encountering faith leaders from the Eastern traditions at the World's Parliament of Religions in 1893, reading Ralph Waldo Trine's *Every Living Creature*, and meeting Tolstoy.[49]

The Guild's manifesto could have been written by Henry Salt. "All sentient creatures have a right to life, and, except in cases of self-defense, to protection in that life by human beings," read its credo.

> Consistent humaneness cannot be practiced by persons who feed upon the products of the slaughter house, who kill other creatures for food, or whose habits

> necessitate the doing of this degrading work by others … Universal peace is a possibility only when man evolves a true sense of the right of all races, human and sub-human.

A cynical reporter who attended one meeting was derisive in characterizing the Guild's work as the latest fancy of idle wealthy women. However, Agnes Ryan drew a different impression of the group and its founder. Describing her feelings after listening to Freshel's talk on war and meat eating, Ryan noted, "Here was a new type of woman; here was a new spiritual force at work in the universe … She clearly stressed the idea that wars will never be overcome until the belief that it is justifiable to take life, to kill – when expedient – is eradicated from human consciousness." Ryan (1878–1954), a feminist pacifist, met her husband Henry Bailey Stevens (1891–1976) while both worked for a woman's suffrage publication in Boston. They married in 1915, committing themselves to the principles of the Guild, and published books and articles that reflected their commitment to the rights of animals.[50]

The political, social, and cultural affinities of Freshel, Ryan, and Stevens reflected the close nexus between vegetarianism, pacifism, feminism, and universal justice on the eve of World War I. These individuals were not alone. Alice Park, another feminist pacifist, traveled on Henry Ford's peace ship with four other vegetarians, including the suffragette May Wright Sewall. Feminists often underscored the liberating effects of vegetarianism, and in a 1903 article one writer observed that it was a part "of the great movement through the centuries toward the recognition of the rights of every living creature."[51]

Under Freshel's leadership, the Guild promoted vegetarianism and other positions consistent with a belief that animal exploitation was immoral. The Guild pioneered such forms of activism as the promotion of alternatives to fur coats and the distribution of anti-veal cards in restaurants. Its literature bore the imprint, "The object of this Association is to promote by precept and example, a just consideration of the rights of all races, human and subhuman, and to teach that foremost among the unnecessary evils of the world and one which underlies most of the other evils, is the mutilation and slaughter of our fellow creatures for food and other selfish ends."[52]

Freshel made her convictions evident throughout *The Golden Rule Cookbook*, published in 1907 and reprinted at about the time she founded the Guild. In the introduction, she wrote:

> It is well to write, and legislate, and pray for better and kinder treatment of these frightened, thirst maddened, tortured creatures on their way to our tables, but the surest, quickest, way to help (and this can be done even while continuing to work for the alleviation of their sufferings) is to stop feeding upon them.[53]

The Golden Rule Cookbook explicitly shifted the balance from health-based arguments to the ethical claim that humans had a moral duty to stop eating animals. Freshel distinguished the two rationales, noting that "the Vegetarian who is one because his conscience for one reason or another condemns the eating of flesh, occupies a very different place in the world of ethics from one who is simply refraining from meat eating in an effort to cure bodily ills." In support of this position, she filled her preface not with anecdotes and evidence about the nutritional superiority of the meatless diet, the typical formula, but with information on the cruelty involved in raising and slaughtering animals for food. Freshel's vegetarian politics influenced her decision to avoid giving any of her dishes such names as

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"Vegetarian Hamburg Steak" or "Pigeon Pie." Her recipes laid positive emphasis on vegetable food and did not include the presentation of "meat substitutes," a designation she abhorred.[54]

Freshel and her husband Curtis were friendly with George Bernard Shaw, the western world's most famous vegetarian, and were occasional guests at his home during their travels in England. Curtis Freshel founded the Millennium Food Company to produce non-animal foods and to let vegetarians express their identity and their moral presence through their consumer purchases. Its most successful item was Bakon Yeast, a seasoning whose hickory smoked flavor made it an appealing addition to foods. "Millennium Extract" and "Millennium Meat" made their way into markets, and the company sold its products mail-order through notices in humane publications. Instead of conventional testimonials, the advertisements featured quotations from Tolstoy and other notables endorsing vegetarianism.[55]

A small but influential group of advocates clustered around the Guild. Freshel was in contact with the Vegetarian Society of America and the Chicago Vegetarian Society and a correspondent and advertiser in *The Vegetarian*. She brought J. Howard Moore to Boston to lecture, and in 1912 the Guild published Moore's essay on fur, "The Cost of a Skin." Just a few years later, another colleague, Mary S. Brown, published *Reasons for a Vegetarian Diet*, which stated the case as Freshel would have done, and carried a dedication to her.[56]

The Guild's highest profile supporter was Minnie Maddern Fiske (1865–1932), a leading stage actress and perhaps the most visible and influential American animal protectionist of her time. Fiske participated in public debates over cattle transportation and slaughter, plumage and fur, vivisection, rodeo, hunting, and animal shelter work, and offered a benefit performance for the Millennium Guild in November 1916.[57]

Although Freshel enjoyed cordial relations with many humane society workers, she questioned their dietary choices:

> One marvels to see hundreds of consecrated workers in session, putting forth every effort for the enacting of laws for the amelioration of the sufferings of cattle travelling to slaughter by car and ship, who are still content to patronize the butcher shop to buy food supplied by the dead bodies of these tortured victims of a false appetite.[58]

Ten years earlier, Henry S. Clubb and J. Howard Moore had leveled the same indictment. "Humane societies," Moore wrote,

> which protect an animal from a blow and the next moment without compunction massacre and swallow it, are stupendous illustrations of inconsistency and of how men flounder when they attempt to go somewhere in the night. To overload or overdrive a horse or to abbreviate its continuation is impious, but to put a rifle ball through the brain of an ox is a perfect propriety.[59]

Writers in *The Vegetarian* sounded such notes, too, chiding the publications *Our Dumb Animals* and the *Humane Journal*, and the organizations they represented, for turning a blind eye to the cruelties of meat-eating and the stockyard.[60]

Such arguments drew engaged response from the champions of mainstream animal protection reform. In defense of the campaign for humane slaughter, the Massachusetts SPCA's Francis Rowley challenged vegetarians' claims to moral superiority. Their charges,

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he argued, did nothing to alter the fact that the cruelties attending meat production required the attention and action of every concerned party:

> No one can escape his responsibility in this matter by saying "Since I eat no meat, my hands are free from blood." Just so long as these lowlier children of life are being slaughtered for food, you and I and every other man and woman, whether vegetarian or not, are under the sacredest obligation to do our part toward lessening by every possible means the unnecessary sufferings involved in their destruction.[61]

At the same time, Rowley freely admitted "that the less meat eaten the less the demand that creates the whole traffic in food animals fraught with its many cruelties." Jefferson Seligman, the champion of a competition for humane slaughtering devices, conceded the same point. "The thing to be advocated," Seligman observed, "is for people to eat less meat."[62]

It did not have to be an either/or proposition, as many understood. Mary F. Lovell and Caroline Earle White of the Women's SPCA issued thoughtful challenges concerning vegetarianism to their humane and anti-vivisectionist colleagues while campaigning pragmatically for the relief of food animals suffering in transit. Lovell understood the complexity of promoting vegetarianism within the humane movement. Among the obstacles, she observed, "The greatest hindrance to humanitarian consistency is appetite. A lesser one is the supposed difficulty of providing tempting menus; another is the fear of losing strength, and still another is the dread of being thought singular." The pressures of conformity, the relative inconvenience of the diet, the strength of long-standing food preferences and habits, and the heavy promotion of meat and other animal products as essential elements in the human diet, also played their part.[63]

Vegetarianism did not take hold within the humane movement more broadly because animal protection operated within a framework that accepted the use of animals in a variety of contexts while seeking to improve their treatment. The more radical notion that humans should not use animals for food was not widespread, but it was influential. Humane publications often carried positive references to vegetarian diet, and the experiments in which Lafayette Mendel took part drew favorable comment.[64]

World War I, with its appalling loss of life, diminished or derailed many humanitarian causes worldwide, including the vegetarian movement. Coincidently, in 1917, American entry into the war provoked the first attempt at recognition for vegetarian conscientious objectors in the United States, when a group called the "Federation of Humano-Vegetarians" appealed to President Wilson. American law then required membership in a recognized religious sect before a military exemption was granted. S.D. Mott and his fellows, who cited their faith in "the Universal Kinship of the 'Animal Kingdom' and the 'Brotherhood of Man'," and underscored their "allegiance to the elementary commandment 'Thou Shalt Not Kill'" in pleading for objector status, were unsuccessful.[65]

While these conscientious objectors were ahead of their time, their little known appeal underscores the limitations of the view that a health-focused vegetarianism was the whole of the vegetarian movement at any point. To identify and understand the roots of today's ethical debate over meat consumption, we must look for its continuities with eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and early twentieth-century vegetarianism. The advocates of the 1960s and 1970s did not invent a vegetarian movement; they discovered and revitalized an existing one. In an age concerned about world hunger, environmental collapse, overpopulation,

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and the threats posed by large-scale industrial agriculture, writers like Frances Moore Lappé and Peter Singer found no inspiration in Graham or Kellogg. They attempted to situate vegetarianism within larger political, environmental, and ethical frames, which, as they and other modern advocates would discover, had been established decades earlier.[66]

Whether late twentieth-century thinkers sought to ground their claims for vegetarianism in transformed views of human–animal relations, Romantic values, Eastern thought, feminism, an emerging environmental ethic, or Darwinian theory, they could find strong precedent and insights in the legacy of the many individuals who spoke up for the vegetarian diet on moral grounds. Ethical vegetarians of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries did more than personally distance themselves from the cruelty and suffering occasioned by the slaughter of animals for food. They brought the subject into public focus, even as their lifestyles affirmed humane ideology through its most radical extension. Collective biography reveals them as champions of an ethical vegetarianism that sought to provoke a dynamic and novel understanding about the relationship of humans to the natural world. In their core values they challenged the status quo of human–animal relations, and sustained a vision of vegetarianism that sought to revise those relations. In that sense, they are the architects of the vegetarianism that flourishes all around us.

A modern vegetarianism tied to the exclusion of meat on ethical grounds emerged in the eighteenth century, gathered strength in the nineteenth, and on the eve of the twentieth century, instated itself within a broader progressive milieu. Grahamism and Kelloggism shaped American vegetarianism, introducing trends in individual consumption and consumerism as a path to individual self-improvement.[67] But the purchase of meat substitutes, cookbooks, food mills, and other products were deeply embedded within broader phenomena and values, above all the vegetarian moral critique, which, while slowed by the collapse of humanitarian feeling in the World War I era, assumed ever-greater importance in the ensuing century. As an identity movement in which individuals define themselves through ethical food choices and consumption, vegetarianism has consistently fused personal and social change, and maintained its place within a wider universe of reforms aimed at social improvement. As an ethical protest against the killing of animals for food, it has been an enduring force.

Notes

1 Lafayette B. Mendel, "Some Historical Aspects of Vegetarianism," *Popular Science* 64 (March 1904), 457. As he wrote, Mendel was a subject in a study of low protein diet and vegetarianism, focused on the minimal optimal requirements for protein in the human diet; see K. Carpenter, *Protein and Energy: A Study of Changing Ideas in Nutrition*, New York, 1994, pp. 100–18.

2 The most recent work to emphasize the centrality and dominance of health-focused vegetarianism is A. Shprintzen, *The Vegetarian Crusade: The Rise of An American Reform Movement, 1817–1921*, Chapel Hill, 2013. For Twigg's view, see Julia Twigg, *The Vegetarian Movement in England, 1847–1981: A Study in the Structure of Its Ideology*, Ph.D dissertation, University of London, 1981; and "Vegetarianism and the Meaning of Meat," in A. Murcott, ed., *The Sociology of Food and Eating*, Aldershot, 1984, p. 20. On the strength and prevalence of ethical convictions among vegetarians writing in the principal movement publications of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Emelyn A.J. Richards, "Is Barbarism Necessary to National Existence?", and Robert T. Newhall, "A Young Student's Experience," *Food, Home, and Garden* 1, 1 (May 1896), 8; Frederick Fairies Heath, "Vegetarianism as a Socialist Views It," *The Chicago Vegetarian* 3, 4 (December 1898), 5; Arthur J. Benson, "Couldn't Help Being Vegetarian," *The Chicago Vegetarian* 3, 6 (February 1899), 11; "Sara Thacker," *Food, Home, and Garden* 3, 29 (June 1899), 83–4; J.M. Peebles, "An Octogenarian Physician's Reasons for Abstinence from Meat," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 8, 1 (November 1903), 3; Harriet B. Loud,

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"Why I am a Vegetarian," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 4, 1 (October 1899), 3; "Live and Let Live," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 4, 2 (November 1899), 12; "The World's Vegetarian Congress," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 4, 7 (April 1900), 5; Atherton Curtis, "The Moral Basis of Vegetarianism," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 5, 1 (October 1900), 4–6; Myra E. Withee, "Why I Became a Vegetarian," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 5, 2 (November 1900), 14; "A Vegetarian Appeal for the Animals," *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures* 5, 5 (February 1901), 137; and Harriet C. Garner, "Why I Became a Vegetarian," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 15, 10 (June 1912), 103–4.

3 J. Whorton, "'Tempest in a Flesh-Pot': The Formulation of a Physiological Rationale for Vegetarianism," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 32, 2 (April 1977), 120–1; and J. Whorton, "Historical Development of Vegetarianism," *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 994, 59 (Suppl), 1103S–1109S. In *The Bloodless Revolution: A Cultural History of Vegetarianism from 1600 to Modern Times*, New York, 2006, Tristram Stuart argues that vegetarianism has provoked intense, critical reaction throughout its history.

4 *The Autobiography of Ben Franklin*, New York, 1965, pp. 40–1; R. Bushman, "On the Uses of Psychology: Conflict and Conciliation in Benjamin Franklin," *History and Theory* 5 (1966), 225–40; American Philosophical Society, *Benjamin Franklin on the Art of Eating together with the Rules of Health and Long Life and the Rules to find out a fit Measure of Meat and Drink*, Princeton, 1958, pp. 6–11; and H. Brinton, "Quakers and Animals," in A. Brinton, ed., *Then and Now: Quaker Essays, Historical and Contemporary*, Philadelphia, 1960, p. 190. Tryon specifically chided American Quakers for the violence of their diet; see "The Planter's Speech to His Neighbours and Country-men in Pennsylvania, East and West-Jersey, etc., And to all such as have Transported themselves into New-Colonies for the sake of a quiet Life; to which is added the complaints of our supra-inferior inhabitants," in T. Tryon, *The Country-man's Companion: or, A New Method of Ordering Horses and Sheep So As to Preserve Them Both from Diseases and Casualties*, London, 1684, pp. 118–20.

5 J. Woolman, "A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich," in *The Journal of John Woolman*, Boston, 1879, p. 290; J. Woolman, *A Journal of the Life, Gospel, Labours, and Christian Experiences of That Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, John Woolman, Late of Mount Holly*, Philadelphia, 1837, pp. 8–9, 171, 175–6; and *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, ed. P. Moulton, New York, 1971, p. 28.

6 Anthony Benezet to John Smith, 9th Day, 12th Month, 1757, Roberts Vaux Papers, Box 1, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, quoted in D. Kelley, "'A Tender Regard to the Whole Creation': Anthony Benezet and the Emergence of an Eighteenth-Century Quaker Ecology," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 106 (January 1982), 76; Anthony Benezet, *A First Book for Children*, Philadelphia, 1778, p. 18; Anthony Benezet, *The Pennsylvania Spelling-Book*, Providence, 1782, p. 27; Wilson Armistead, *Anthony Benezet: From the Original Memoir*, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 132; and Benjamin Rush, *Essays: Literary, Moral, and Philosophical*, 2nd edn, Philadelphia, 1798, p. 313.

7 *Journal of the Life and Religious Labors of John Comly*, Philadelphia, 1853, pp. 5, 8; John Comly, *Comly's Primer, or the First Book for Children*, Philadelphia, 1841, p. 35; and John Comly, *Comly's Reader and Book of Knowledge*, Philadelphia, 1845, pp. 158–9.

8 J. Evans, *Journal of the Life, Travels, Religious Exercises, and Labours in the Work of the Ministry*, Byberry, 1837, pp. 27–8; and Donald Brooks Kelley, "Joshua Evans 1731–1798: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Quaker Singularity," *Quaker History* 75 (Fall 1986), 71.

9 Donald Kelley argues that Benezet and other American Quakers evinced an ecological consciousness rooted in universal benevolence and love toward animals and non-human nature. Kerry Walters asserts that Quaker concern for animals was theocentric: to display and practice compassion and respect for all life was to honor God, whose presence was reflected in all parts of the organic order. See Kelley, "'A Tender Regard to the Whole Creation,'" 69–88; Donald Kelley, "The Evolution of Quaker Theology and the Unfolding of a Distinctive Quaker Ecological Perspective in Eighteenth-Century America," *Pennsylvania History* 52 (October 1985), 242–53; Donald Kelley, "Friends and Nature in America: Toward an Eighteenth-Century Quaker Ecology," *Pennsylvania History* 53 (October 1986), 257–73; and K. Walters, "The 'Peaceable Disposition' of Animals: William Bartram on the Moral Sensibility of Brute Creation," *Pennsylvania History* 56 (July 1989), 157–76. On early Quaker thought, see Brinton, "Quakers and Animals," 188–99. On Bentham and the developing transatlantic consensus on animal suffering, see A. Maehle, "Cruelty and Kindness to the 'Brute Creation': Stability and Change in the Ethics of the Man–Animal Relationship, 1600–1850," in A. Manning and J. Serpell, eds, *Animals and Human Society: Changing Perspectives*, New York, 1994, pp. 81–105.

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10 Maintenance Committee, *History of the Philadelphia Bible-Christian Church*, Philadelphia, 1922, pp. 39–40. Stephen Nissenbaum rejects the claim that Graham was one of the Bible-Christians' converts. Graham encountered them during an 1829 visit to Philadelphia, where he lectured on temperance, and soon after, he began recommending vegetarianism to audiences. There is no proof to support the conversion claim apart from the fact that the Bible-Christians and others commonly made it; see H. Williams, *The Ethics of Diet: A Catena of Authorities Deprecatory of the Practice of Flesh-Eating*, London, 1883, p. 262; C. Forward, *Fifty Years of Food Reform: A History of the Vegetarian Movement in England*, London, 1898, p. 15; *Food, Home, and Garden* 4, 1 (April 1889), 26; and Henry S. Clubb, "A Century of Vegetarianism," *The Vegetarian* 13, 2 (October 1909), 11. However, Nissenbaum produces no evidence save his conviction that Graham's vegetarianism was more physiological and less religious than that of Metcalfe and his followers. See S. Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform*, Westport, 1980, p. 39. Robert Abzug believes that Nissenbaum underestimates the religious influence behind Graham's vegetarianism; see R. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*, New York, 1994, pp. 260–1, n2.

11 E. Swedenborg, *Arcana Coelestia; or Heavenly Mysteries Contained in The Sacred Scriptures, or Word of the Lord, Manifested and Laid Open. Arcana Coelestia* #1002, 1003, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 1956; and James Gregory, *Of Victorians and Vegetarians*, London, 2007, pp. 75–6.

12 W. Metcalfe, "Bible Testimony on Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals as Food," in W. Metcalfe, *Out of the Clouds, Into the Light*, Philadelphia, 1872, pp. 182–3.

13 Metcalfe, *Out of the Clouds*, p. 165.

14 "Vegetarian Festival," *New York Daily Times*, September 5, 1853, 1; and "Vegetarian Banquet in New York," *American Vegetarian and Health Journal* [*AVHJ*] 3, 9 (September 1853), 185–6.

15 C.H. de Wolfe, "The Anticipated Results of Vegetarianism," *AVHJ* 2, 1 (January 1851), 9–10, and "Dumb Animals," *AVHJ* 2, 1 (January 1951), 15; Charles Lane, "Health, Economy, Humanity," *AVHJ* 2, 2 (February 1852), 21–2; "The Logic of Field Sports," *AVHJ* 2, 2 (February 1852), 32; "The Slaughter of Animals," *AVHJ* 1, 8 (August 1851), 139; "The Brahmin's Appeal," *AVHJ* 2, 3 (March 1852), 44–5; "Sunday School Teaching," *AVHJ* 2, 3 (March 1852), 48; "Sir Richard Phillips," *AVHJ* 2, 7 (July 1852), 122–3; William A. Alcott, "Kindness to Animals," *AVHJ* 2, 12 (December 1852), 185–6; N.P. Rodgers, "Sympathy for Wild Birds," *AVHJ* 3, 1 (January 1853), 20; "Vegetarians," *AVHJ* 3, 4 (April 1853), 79; J.H. Hanaford, "Unity of Reforms," *AVHJ* 3, 5 (May 1853), 81; Mrs J.H. Hanaford, "Vegetarian Gleanings," *AVHJ* 3, 8 (August 1853), 148–9; Lewis S. Hough, "Speaking Vegetarianism," *AVHJ* 4, 4 (April 1854), 77–8; "Brutal Tendencies of Slaughtering Animals for Food," *AVHJ* 4, 7 (July 1854), 144; and "The Slaughter Houses of Buenos Aires," *AVHJ* 4, 8 (August 1854), 157–61.

16 Henry S. Clubb, "Margaret Woodrow," *AVHJ* 4, 1 (January 1854), 1–4; and *AVHJ* 4, 2 (February 1854), 17–23. Other fictional stories laying emphasis on humanitarian vegetarianism include those by Anne Denton, "Meat Eating," *AVHJ* 4, 4 (April 1854), 80–1, and Amelia M. Hough, "Fanny's Lamb," *AVHJ* 4, 5 (May 1854), 89–93.

17 Henry S. Clubb, "Origin of the Word 'Vegetarian,'" *Vegetarian Messenger* (November 1901), accessed at http://christianvegetarianarchive.blogspot.com/2011/02/origin-of-word-vegetarian-by-rev-henry.html; Henry S. Clubb, "The Vegetarians," *Good Housekeeping* (January 1903), 113; J.A. Fowler, "Henry S. Clubb," *Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 118, 12 (December 1905), 379–82; Maintenance Committee, *History of the Philadelphia Bible-Christian Church*, 68–9; and Gregory, *Of Victorians and Vegetarians*, pp. 33–4, 44.

18 H. Clubb, *Life of the Honorable Neal Dow, Including the Origin of the Maine Liquor Law*, New York, 1856; H. Clubb, ed., *The Philosophy of Sacred History by Sylvester Graham*, New York, 1855; H. Clubb, *The Vegetarian Settlement Company, Kansas, Containing Full Information for Inquirers*, New York, 1855; M. Colt, *Went to Kansas: Being a Thrilling Account of an Ill-Fated Expedition To That Fairy Land, and its Sad Results*, Watertown, 1862; *History of the Bible-Christian Church*, pp. 67–82; Russell Hickman, "The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (November 1933), 377–85; R. Fogarty, *All Things New: American Communes and Utopian Movements, 1860–1914*, Chicago, 1990, pp. 32–4; Shprintzen, *Vegetarian Crusade*, pp. 148–9; and G. Cotton and J. Giambrone, *Vicksburg and the War*, Gretna, 2004, pp. 125–6.

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19 T. Hamm, *God's Government Begun: The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform, 1842–1846*, Bloomington, 1995, p. 182; C. Sears, comp., *Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands*, Boston, 1915, pp. 49–51, 82–3, 88–9; and B. Alcott, *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*, Boston, 1938, p. 180.

20 W. Alcott, *Vegetable Diet: As Sanctioned by Medical Men, and by Experience in All Ages*, Boston, 1838, pp. 223, 264–5; William A. Alcott, "What Are Animals Made For, If Not To Be Eaten?" *AVHJ* 1, 3 (March 1851), 53; and "Remarks of Dr. Alcott," *AVHJ* 1, 10 (October 1851), 177. On the collaboration of Alcott and Graham in forming the American Physiological Society in 1837, see Hebbel Hoff and John Fulton, "The Centenary of the First American Physiological Society," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 5, 8 (October 1937), 687–734.

21 James Whorton has interpreted the era's emphasis on scientific arguments favoring vegetarianism as the natural result of conviction that "the most moral diet had to be thoroughly demonstrated to be the most healthful." J. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health Reformers*, Princeton, 1982, pp. 63–8. Among abolitionists, vegetarianism and other body reforms involved a purification of private life deemed necessary to social regeneration. See T. LeDuc, "Grahamites and Garrisonites," *New York History* 20 (April 1939), 189–91; and Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, *passim.* On vegetarianism's "visionary promise," see K. Gleadle, "'The Age of Physiological Reformers': Rethinking Gender and Domesticity in the Age of Reform," in A. Burns and J. Innes, eds, *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780–1850*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 203.

22 M.L. Holbrook, "Vegetarianism in the United States," *The Dietetic Reformer and Vegetarian Messenger* 32 (1 August 1874), 94–5; and William Taylor, "From the Reverend Dr. Taylor, Philadelphia," *The Dietetic Reformer and Vegetarian Messenger* 46 (1 November 1875), 284–6.

23 H.S.C., "Returning Good for Evil," *The Voice of Peace* 8, 6 (September 1881), 95; J.H. Neff, "Dominion," *Food, Home, and Garden* 1, 2 (June 1896), 20; Henry S. Clubb, "God's Covenant with Beasts," *Food, Home, and Garden* 1, 9 (July 1897), 134–6; Henry S. Clubb, "The Churches Coming In," *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures* 7, 6 (March 1903), 164; and Henry S. Clubb, "History of Vegetarianism, Chapter 13," *The Vegetarian* 13, 4 (December 1909), 30. On the individual advocates discussed, see "Annie Force English," *Food, Home, and Garden* 1, 5 (March 1897), 67–8; H. Augusta Howard, "The Audubon Society," *Food, Home, and Garden* 1, 5 (March 1897), 68–9; "The Treachery of Satan," *Food, Home, and Garden* 3, 25 (February 1899), 33; "Ellen Snow," *Food, Home, and Garden* 3, 27 (April 1899), 55; "Champion of Animals' Rights," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 4, 1 (October 1899), 15; "Juliet Severance," *Chicago Vegetarian* 1, 2 (1907), 6–7; W. Hayden, *Evolutionary Rhetoric: Sex, Science, and Free Love in Nineteenth-Century Feminism*, Carbondale, 2013, pp. 32–4; and Bolton Hall, "Vegetarianism," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 13, 12 (August 1910), 25.

24 The 1893 World Vegetarian was folded into the Temperance Conference at Chicago; Shprintzen, *Vegetarian Crusade*, p. 156. Some of the conference speeches are in C. Forward, ed., *The Hygienic Review: World Vegetarian Conference Number*, London, 1893; Clubb is quoted in Forward, *The Hygienic Review*, pp. 240–1. On the full roster of speakers, see Gary K. Jarvis, "The Road Not Taken: Humanitarian Reform and the Origins of Animal Rights in Britain and the United States, 1839–1919," Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 2009, 68–9.

25 J. Kellogg, *Shall We Slay to Eat?*, Battle Creek, 1899, p. 126. Kellogg advanced the ethical argument in *The Living Temple*, Battle Creek, 1903, pp. 184–5, and *The Natural Diet of Man*, Battle Creek, 1923, pp. 72–5, and his comments on hunting are in *Journal of Zoophily* 24, 9 (September 1915), 132. Clubb's writings for children included an account of how young Louisa May Alcott and two friends watered suffering cattle at a train spur; Henry S. Clubb, "The Beauty of Compassion," *Voice of Peace* 3, 7 (October 1881), 111–12.

26 Jarvis, "The Road Not Taken," 2, 25–6.

27 Bernard Unti, "The Quality of Mercy: Organized Animal Protection in the United States before World War II," Ph.D dissertation, American University, 2002.

28 Caroline Earle White, "Editorial," *Journal of Zoophily* 2, 11 (November 1893), 168–9; C. Fairchild-Allen, *The Pleadings of Mercy for the Animal World, and All Other Defenseless Creatures*, Chicago, 1883; Cynthia Fairchild-Allen, "Abhorrence at Meat Eating," *Chicago Vegetarian* 1 (June 1896), 44; and Cynthia Fairchild-Allen, "The Sister Charities," repr. in *Chicago Vegetarian* 1 (December 1896), 5–7, cited in Jarvis, "The Road Not Taken," 184; "Mrs. Fairchild-Allen," *Food, Home, and Garden* 2, 22 (November 1898), 147; "Mrs. Fairchild-Allen," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 4, 12 (September 1900), 12–13; and "Meat Fallacy," *Our Fourfooted Friends* 7, 6 (September 1908), 9–10.

29 A. Leffingwell, *American Meat*, New York, 1910, p. 190.

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30 William H. Galvani, "Meat and Murder," *Good Health* 28, 12 (December 1893), 359–60; Caroline Spencer, "Flesh-eating in the Light of Humane Thought," *Journal of Zoophily* 7 (June 1898), 70–1; Mary F. Lovell, "The Commonest Form of Cruelty," *Journal of Zoophily* 7 (September 1898), 103–4; Joseph M. Greene, "Why We Eat Meat – a Reply," *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures* 6, 11 (August 1902), 248–50; Joseph M. Greene, "Eating Meat: An Argument Against That Common Custom," *Journal of Zoophily* 14 (August 1905), 88; W.P. Price-Heywood, "Should Anti-Vivisectionists be Vegetarians?" *Journal of Zoophily* 15 (January 1906), 10; Mary F. Lovell, "The Union Stock-yards of Chicago," *Journal of Zoophily* 16 (January 1907), 6–7; "Meat Not Essential," *National Humane Journal* 40 (July 1910), 109; AHA, *Annual Report 1911*, 35; "Calla Harcourt, Noted Humanitarian," *Humane Journal* 9, 10 (August 1914), 560–4; and B. Gronlund, *Annual Review, Department of Ethical and Humane Education*, Oakland, 1917.

31 *The Vegetarian Magazine* 5, 3 (December 1900), 80; and "The Outlook for *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures*," *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures* 5, 4 (January 1901), 112.

32 "Brotherhood," *The Path* (November 1889), 247; and Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution, passim*.

33 A. Kingsford, *The Perfect Way in Diet*, London, 1881; A. Kingsford, "The Uselessness of Vivisection," *Nineteenth Century* (February 1882), 171–83; and H. Blavatsky, "Have Animals Souls?" *The Theosophist* (January, February, and March 1886).

34 A. Besant, speech at Manchester on October 18, 1897, in Ralph Waldo Trine, *Every Living Creature, Or, Heart-Training Through the Animal World*, New York, 1899, p. 40. In "Vegetarianism in the Light of Theosophy," Besant pondered the astral impact of Chicago's slaughtering industries; see A. Besant, "Vegetarianism in the Light of Theosophy," in C. Forward, ed., *Cameos of Vegetarian Literature*, London, 1898, pp. 94–110.

35 "About Killing Animals," *The Path* (March 1892), 397; Harriet C. Stein, "Why Theosophists Do Not Kill," *Food, Home, and Garden* 2, 13 (1898), 6; and Ransom H. Randall, "Vegetarianism from the Theosophical Standpoint," *The Vegetarian* 6, 2 (November 1901), 27–9. Both Nearing and Logan had ties to Jiddu Krishnamurti, celebrated as the World Teacher by the Theosophical Society. In 1929, Logan rented the Academy of Music in Philadelphia for Krishnamurti's public lecture.

36 L. Longford, *Buddhist Diet Book*, New York, 1886; Paul Carus, "Vegetarianism," *Open Court* 12 (1898), 565–70; Thomas C. Laws, "The Rights of Animals," *Open Court* 7 (September 7, 1893), 3791; Amos Waters, "The Ethics of Anti-Vivisection: A Reply to Dr. Carus," *Open Court* 11 (1897), 686–9; Nora E. Hulings-Siegel, "How Three Omnivora Were Converted," *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures* 6, 6 (March 1902), 123–4; and T. Tweed, *The American Encounter with Buddhism 1844–1912: Victorian Culture and the Limits of Dissent*, Bloomington, 1992, pp. 81–2.

37 Trine, *Every Living Creature*, 30; J. Rapport, "Eating for Unity: Vegetarianism in the Early Christian School of Unity," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 9, 2 (Spring 2009), 35–44; and Uriel Buchanan, "The Savagery of Civilization," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 5, 2 (November 1900), 46–7.

38 Apart from its opposition to animal exploitation in various forms, the League advanced a range of human-centered concerns, including prison reform, anti-imperialism, and the abolition of corporal and capital punishment; see H. Salt, *A Plea for Vegetarianism*, Manchester, 1886; H. Salt, *Seventy Years Among Savages*, London, 1921; H. Salt, *Company I Have Kept*, London, 1930; G. Hendrick, *Henry Salt: Humanitarian, Reformer and Man of Letters*, Urbana-Champaign, 1977; G. Hendrick and W. Hendrick, eds, *A Savour of Salt*, Fontwell, 1989; and S. Hay, "The Making of a Late-Victorian Hindu: M.K. Gandhi in London, 1888–1891," *Victorian Studies* 33, 1 (Autumn 1989), 74–98. A wealthy American, Atherton Curtis, was a principal benefactor of the League; see Atherton Curtis, "Animal Protection in France," *Humane Review* 1, 1 (April 1900), 49–56; and Salt, *Seventy Years Among Savages*, pp. 211–12.

39 Henry David Thoreau, "Higher Laws," *Walden*, New York, 1910, pp. 278–95, quote on p. 286; H. Salt, *Henry David Thoreau*, London, 1890, pp. 93, 102, 178, 246–9; "Thoreau's Experience," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 4, 5 (February 1900), 13; Henry S. Salt, "Henry David Thoreau and the Humane Study of Natural History," *Humane Review* 4 (October 1903), 220–9; Henry S. Salt, "Thoreau and the Simple Life," *Humane Review* 7 (January 1907), 202–8; D. Dombrowski, "Thoreau, Sainthood, and Vegetarianism," *American Transcendental Quarterly* 60 (1986), 25–36; R. Epstein, "A Benefactor of His Race: Thoreau's 'Higher Laws' and the Heroics of Vegetarianism," *Between the Species* 1, 3 (Summer 1985), 23–38; and Jarvis, "The Road Not Taken," 59–78. Thoreau's

approach to the study of animals signaled the advent of a humane natural history, one that contrasted strikingly with common practice. He discarded use of the gun and trap in favor of the notebook and sketchpad early in life, insisting that observation of animals in their natural setting should replace the study of slain creatures.

40 H. Salt, *Animals' Rights Considered in Relation to Social Progress*, London, 1892, p. 60; and Mary F. Lovell, "The Terrors of Vegetarianism," *The Starry Cross* 29, 12 (December 1920), 181.

41 L. Tolstoy, "The First Step," in *Recollections and Essays*, trans. with an introduction by A. Maude, 4th edn, London, 1961, pp. 123–35. On Tolstoy, see "Leo Tolstoi," *Food, Home, and Garden* 1, 2 (June 1896), 19–20; *The Gospel of Humaneness: Selections from the Writings of Count Leo Tolstoy*, ed. C. Forward, London, 1897; L. Tolstoy, "Vegetarianism an Ethical Movement," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 4, 3 (December 1899), 9; Trine, *Every Living Creature*, pp. 76–7; "Leo Tolstoy," *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures* 7, 5 (February 1903), 136–7; "Leo Tolstoy," *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures* 7, 5 (February 1903), 136–7; and E. Crosby, *Tolstoy and His Message*, New York, 1904. Frey's writings include *The Religion of Humanity*, London, 1894, and *Vegetarianism in Connection with the Religion of Humanity*, London, 1887. On Frey's visit with Tolstoy, see A. Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy, Later Years*, 7th edn, New York, 1917, vol. 2, pp. 215–16. *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures* reprinted "The First Step" in three parts, in its February, March, and April 1903 issues; the crucial excerpt appears in *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures* 7, 7 (April 1903), 187–93.

42 "The Dukhobors," *Food, Home, and Garden* 3, 28 (May 1899), 70–1; Henry S. Clubb, "Pastor's Report," May 24, 1915, in Bible Christian Church Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; and C. Spencer, *The Heretic's Feast*, Hanover, 1995, pp. 288–90. Several other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century religious and secular utopian communities, such as the Shakers at Mt Lebanon, New York, practiced vegetarianism on ethical grounds; Forward, *Fifty Years of Food Reform*, pp. 52–6; B. Berry, *America's Utopian Experiments: Communal Havens from Long-Wave Crises*, Hanover, 1992, p. 154; and E. Kolmer, "A New Heaven and a New Earth: The Progressive Shakers and Social Reform," *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies (HJEAS)* 4, ½, Theory and Criticism [Part 2] (1998), 269–70.

43 E. Bellamy, *Equality*, New York, 1897; Henry Q. Mack, "The Prophecy of Bellamy," *Food, Home, and Garden* (August–September 1897), 160; Frederick Heath, "Bellamy on Vegetarianism," *The Chicago Vegetarian* 3, 4 (December 1898), 6; and C. Gilman, *Herland*, with an introduction by A. Lane, New York, 1979. "The Cattle Train" appeared in *The Forerunner* 2 (March 1911), 67, and was reproduced in humane publications.

44 C. Buettinger, "Sarah Cleghorn, Antivivisection, and Victorian Sensitivity About Pain and Cruelty," *Vermont History* 62, 2 (Spring 1994), 88–100; S. Cleghorn, *Threescore: The Autobiography of Sarah N. Cleghorn*, New York, 1936; U. Winter, ed., *Alice Park of California: Worker for Woman Suffrage and for Children's Rights*, Upland, California, 1948; "Ernest Howard Crosby," *Food, Home, and Garden* 3, 35 (December 1899), 163–4; Ernest Harold Crosby, "Vegetarianism and Other Reforms," *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures* 5, 10 (July 1901), 267–8; Ernest Harold Crosby and Elisée Reclus, *The Meat Fetish* (London, 1905); Benjamin Fay Mills, "Why I am a Vegetarian," reprinted from *Fellowship*, in *Journal of Zoophily* 16, 11 (November 1907), 127–8; Salt, *Company I Have Kept*, pp. 114–15; K. Iacobbo and M. Iacobbo, *Vegetarian America: A History*, Westport, 2004, pp. 143–7; and Jarvis, "The Road Not Taken," 24, 31–2. The influence of such advocates notwithstanding, vegetarianism did not flourish as a tenet of left-wing activism in the United States. Franklin Rosemont suggests that the rise of Marxism as the dominant mode of socialism pushed the question of animal treatment to the margins as a concern for the American left. Marx and Engels made this easier by dismissing animal protection as a petty-bourgeois concern. See F. Rosemont, "Animal Rights," in M. Buhle, P. Buhle, and D. Georgakas, eds, *Encyclopedia of the American Left*, New York, 1990, pp. 40–3; and K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. G. Stedman-Jones, London, 2002, p. 252.

45 J. Howard Moore, "The Cost of Rum," *Union Signal* 22, 24 (June 11, 1896), 6; Moore, "Why I am a Vegetarian," *Chicago Vegetarian* 2, 1 (September 1897), 6; and Salt, *Company I Have Kept*, pp. 110–11. Moore's writings included *Better World Philosophy: A Sociological Synthesis*, Chicago, 1899; *The Universal Kinship*, Chicago, 1906; *The New Ethics*, Chicago, 1909; *Fermented Beverages: Their Effects on Mankind*, London, 1910; *The Law of Biogenesis: Two Lessons on the Origin of Human Nature*, Chicago, 1914; *Savage Survivals*, Chicago, 1916; *Why I Am a Vegetarian*, Chicago, 1895; and "Evolution and

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Humanitarianism," *National Humane Review* (January 1913), 4. In 1992, Charles Magel and Centaur Press re-issued *The Universal Kinship* with appendices including letters from Moore to Salt, a biographical essay, and the eulogy Clarence Darrow delivered at Moore's funeral.

46 Moore, *The Universal Kinship*, p. 320; and Moore, "Why I am a Vegetarian," *Chicago Vegetarian* 2, 4 (December 1897), 8. Moore shot himself at age fifty-three, worn out by an unspecified illness and despondency over the suffering of animals. An obituary cast him as a misanthrope, but Clarence Darrow stressed his gentle nature and his commitment to universal justice. See "Scorning Man, He Ends Life to Thrushes' Call," *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, June 18, 1916, A11; and Clarence Darrow, "Eulogy," in Charles R. Magel, ed., *The Universal Kinship*, Fontwell, 1992, pp. 341–7.

47 Salt, *Seventy Years Among Savages*; Salt, *Company I Have Kept*; Magel, "Introduction," *The Universal Kinship*, p. xiii, and Jarvis, "The Road Not Taken," 118–19.

48 Trine, *Every Living Creature*, pp. 25–46; and J. Howard Moore, *The New Ethics*, London, 1907, pp. 77–146. At eighty-one, Benjamin Smith Lyman, a geologist and mining engineer who spent years in Japan, published a scholarly treatise and cookbook, *Vegetarian Dishes and Diet*, Philadelphia, 1917, which made the scientific case in thoroughly Progressive mode. The era also saw its ethical screeds, like M. Coville, *An Appeal Against Slaughter*, Syracuse, 1914.

49 C. Lancaster, "Emmarel, A Biographical Sketch," n.d., in author's possession.

50 "Boston Society Women Strive for 'Perfect Lives,' Form Millenium Guild – Give Up Meat Diet, Cast Off Furs, Feathers and Kid Gloves," *Philadelphia Ledger*, December 11, 1918, in Benjamin Smith Lyman Collection, Box D-15-7, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and A. Ryan, "The Heart to Sing," unpublished autobiography, pp. 314–15, quoted in C. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, New York, 1990, p. 123. On Ryan and Stevens, see M. Rollison, "Priestess of Reform: The Life of Agnes Ryan," M.A. thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1985; "Henry Bailey Stevens," *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* 59 (1980), 132; and Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, pp. 123, 176–7.

51 Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, pp. 189–90; "Suffragists' Vegetarian Banquet," *The Vegetarian* 8, 1 (November 1903); and "Women's Servitude," *The Vegetarian Magazine* 16, 5 (January 1913), 84.

52 Millennium Guild pamphlets, undated, in author's possession.

53 M. Freshel, *The Golden Rule Cookbook*, Cambridge, 1907, 13.

54 Freshel, *The Golden Rule Cookbook*, p. 12.

55 "Millennium Extract," *Journal of Zoophily* 21, 6 (June 1912), 340; and "Curtis Freshel," *New York Times*, July 5, 1968, 25. Curtis Freshel continued the Guild's work through the mid 1960s, at which time radio personality Pegeen Fitzgerald took it over, supporting Henry Spira and other advocates of the era. After Fitzgerald's death, the Guild's assets went to a cat shelter in Connecticut.

56 Letter, Maud R.L. Sharpe, *The Vegetarian Magazine* 14, 3 (1910), 104–5; and M. Brown, *Reasons for a Vegetarian Diet*, Boston, 1918. The speech Moore gave at Freshel's invitation was likely "Ethics and the School," published in *Our Dumb Animals* 44, 11 (April 1912), 161, 165.

57 "Famous Actress Pleads for Dumb Animals," *The Vegetarian* 11, 5 (September 1907), 16; and Lancaster, "Emmarel."

58 Freshel, *The Golden Rule Cookbook*, pp. 12–13. Several of Freshel's speeches are in *Proceedings of the International Anti-Vivisection and Animal Protection Congress*, Philadelphia, 1926, pp. 104–10, 149–54.

59 Henry S. Clubb, "Cruelties of Flesh-Eating," *Food, Home, and Garden* 1, 2 (June 1896), 22; and J. Howard Moore, "Why I am a Vegetarian," *Chicago Vegetarian* 2, 4 (December 1897), 7.

60 "Do Animals Have Rights?," *The Chicago Vegetarian* 3, 10 (June 1899), 10; "As to Humane Societies," *The Chicago Vegetarian* 3, 11 (July 1899), 10; Jarvis, "The Road Not Taken," 262–3.

61 F. Rowley, "Slaughter House Reform," in *Proceedings of the International Anti-Vivisection and Animal Protection Congress Held at Washington, DC, December 8th to 11th, 1913*, New York, 1914, 50.

62 Rowley, "Slaughter House Reform," 50; "Transportation Cruelty," *Our Dumb Animals* 50 (March 1918), 147; and "Painless Death Foils Yankee Wit," undated clipping, Scrapbook 12: 176, American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Archive, New York.

63 Mary F. Lovell, "The New Ethics," *Journal of Zoophily* 8, 8 (August 1909), 84; Mary F. Lovell, "The Inconsistency of Humane People," *Journal of Zoophily* 17, 7 (July 1908), 71–2; and Mary F. Lovell, "The Terrors of Vegetarianism," *The Starry Cross* 29, 12 (December 1920), 181.

64 "Yale Soldiers on Meatless Diet," *The Vegetarian* 8, 1 (November 1903), 7–8; George T. Angell, "Important to all our Readers," *Our Dumb Animals* 38, 6 (November 1905), 80; George T. Angell,

"Some Facts About Japanese Soldiers," *Our Dumb Animals* 38, 7 (December 1905), 102; and Irving Fisher, "What the Recent Tests at Yale University Have Proved," *The Vegetarian* 11, 1 (May 1907), 6–7.

65 M. Davis, *The Case for the Vegetarian Conscientious Objector*, Brooklyn, 1944, pp. 12–13. Ammon Hennacy and other members of the Tolstoy Peace Group would renew the case for the vegetarian conscientious objector during World War II. See *Thou Shalt Not Kill*, Brooklyn, n.d.

66 C. Helstosky, "Food Studies and Animal Rights," in K. Albala, ed., *Routledge International Handbook of Food Studies*, Abingdon, 2013, p. 308.

67 Shprintzen, *Vegetarian Crusade*, pp. 143–5.

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