



Reviving the Violet Flame: The New Age conspiratorial journey of Canada's Queen Romana Didulo

Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses

1–24

© The Author(s) / Le(s) auteur(s), 2023



Article reuse guidelines/

Directives de réutilisation des articles:

sagepub.com/journals-permissions

DOI: 10.1177/00084298231209700

journals.sagepub.com/home/sr**Carmen Celestini**

School of Religion, Queen's University, Canada

Amarnath Amarasingam 

School of Religion, Queen's University, Canada

Abstract

Romano Didulo, the self-proclaimed Queen of Canada, gained notoriety as an influencer online within the QAnon conspiracy movement. Taking advantage of both the pandemic and the silence of Q (the anonymous online persona behind what became the QAnon movement), Didulo has created a movement of her own. Didulo relies on a religious movement from the theosophical traditions of the 1930s and 1940s: the I AM movement, which was started by Guy Ballard and his wife Edna Anne Wheeler Ballard after Guy Ballard had a mystical encounter with Saint Germain on Mount Shasta in California. The movement's title comes from God's words to Moses in Exodus 3:14 – 'I am who I am' – and encompasses Christian dogma, occultism, eastern religions and New Age mysticism. While there is much to examine about Queen Didulo – her conspiracism, her anti-government agitation, and so on – the authors argue here that there is something at the core of all of this that has yet to be fully articulated: Didulo's religious pedigree.

Résumé

Romano Didulo, l'autoproclamée reine du Canada, s'est fait connaître en tant qu'influenceuse en ligne au sein du mouvement conspirationniste QAnon. Profitant à la fois de la pandémie et du silence de Q (le personnage anonyme en ligne à l'origine de ce qui est devenu le mouvement QAnon), Didulo a créé son propre mouvement. Didulo s'appuie sur un mouvement religieux issu des traditions théosophiques des années 1930 et 1940 : le mouvement I AM, lancé par Guy Ballard et sa femme Edna Anne Wheeler Ballard après que Guy Ballard a eu une rencontre mystique avec

Corresponding author:

Amarnath Amarasingam, School of Religion, Queen's University, 99 University Ave, Kingston, ON K7L 3N6, Canada.

Email: aa152@queensu.ca

Saint Germain sur le mont Shasta en Californie. Le nom du mouvement provient des paroles de Dieu à Moïse dans l'Exode 3,14 - "Je suis qui je suis" - et englobe le dogme chrétien, l'occultisme, les religions orientales et le mysticisme du Nouvel Âge. Bien qu'il y ait beaucoup à examiner au sujet de la reine Didulo - son conspirationnisme, son agitation antigouvernementale, etc. - les auteurs soutiennent ici qu'il y a quelque chose au cœur de tout cela qui n'a pas encore été pleinement articulé : le pedigree religieux de Didulo.

Keywords

Conspiracy theory, theosophy, QAnon, pseudolaw movement, new religious movements

Mots clés

Théorie du complot, théosophie, QAnon, mouvement pseudo-juridique, nouveaux mouvements religieux

Introduction

Romano Didulo, the self-proclaimed Queen of Canada, gained notoriety as an influencer online within the QAnon conspiracy movement (Amarasingam and Argentino, 2020; Robertson and Amarasingam, 2022). Taking advantage of both the pandemic and the silence of Q, Didulo has created a movement of her own. She preaches an anti-vaccine, anti-COVID-19 conspiracy theory in which she is the commander-in-chief of Canada, issuing new rules and laws for the nation. While predominately an online group, Didulo and her followers have made forays into the offline world, such as an attempt to arrest police officers in Peterborough, Ontario for 'genocide' and 'treason' for supporting COVID-19 mandates and vaccinations (Fraser, 2022). Didulo clearly defines for her followers who the real patriots of Canada are, distinguishing them from those she considers to be traitors.

More than a conspiracy theory influencer, Didulo has become a religious leader to her followers. Many of her followers on Telegram send her their requests as though they were prayers. Didulo is quick to respond if the prayer is something that she can resolve, such as using her network of followers to create food banks. Didulo and her movement have been the subject of research by conspiracy theory, extremism and social movement scholars. Yet an important aspect of her movement has not been researched: her use of religion. This is the dynamic we examine here. Didulo relies on a religious movement from the theosophical traditions of the 1930s and 1940s: the I AM movement, which was started by Guy Ballard and his wife Edna Anne Wheeler Ballard after Guy Ballard claimed to have had a mystical encounter with St Germain on Mount Shasta in California. The movement's title comes from God's words to Moses in Exodus 3:14 - 'I am who I am' - and encompasses Christian dogma, occultism, eastern religions and New Age mysticism.

Many of the religious practices from the early I AM movement are reflected in Didulo's conspiracy-based social group, including her adherents referring to themselves as 'I AM', the use of the colours purple and violet, notions of vibrations, other dimensions, and concentrating on an image of a purple flame to bring God's presence into their beings. Important to Didulo's power is a foundational component of the I AM belief

system: that Ascended Masters, or spiritual beings who guide the destiny of humankind and speak through human messengers, are individuals who will lead humanity into a realm of peace and harmony to displace evil in the world. According to Guy Ballard, Ascended Masters included Jesus Christ, George Washington and himself, and now, according to the Queen of Canada, Didulo herself is a shape-shifting Ascended Master. Following in Ballard's footsteps, Didulo has incorporated many of his leadership practices, including sending out Decrees of motivation and peace to followers. All of Didulo's messages on social media are referred to as Decrees, which evoke mantra-like qualities for her followers to concentrate on to bring forward the I AM God Presence.

Years after the death of Guy Ballard in 1939, a very similar religious movement emerged, led by a newly declared Ascended Master Elizabeth Clare Prophet, who founded the Church Universal and Triumphant from the Lighthouse Summit Church. A significant difference in Prophet's movement was the tone of the Decrees, which became much more ominous, calling for the destruction of her enemies, including then American President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the First Lady. Eventually, Prophet declared that nuclear war would break out on a specific date – a date she and her followers had been planning for. They moved into bunkers and tunnels under a tract of church-owned land in Montana and, when the nuclear Armageddon did not occur, Prophet continued to make prophecies about the end times that included the ramifications of the AIDS epidemic, the war with Iraq, and events that she believed were cracking the Seven Seals as described in the Book of Revelation. Her congregation gathered arms and military equipment to prepare to survive in the end times, leading to Prophet's husband's arrest for illegally purchasing weapons.

The presence of theosophical religious ideas in Didulo's conspiracy-based social movement is an important component in understanding conspiratorial convergence and occult religion in a time of radical politics. In this article, we note that while there is no 'smoking gun' evidence that Didulo draws from the I AM movement, the parallels are just too obvious and telling to ignore. We argue that Didulo's use of religious practices from the I AM movement and Church Universal and Triumphant is foundational to her conspiracy movement both online and offline. The Queen has melded together the QAnon movement and the conspiracy theory of GESARA/NESARA (explained below) with the religious I AM movement of yore to recreate herself not only as an Ascended Master, but also the God Presence who will save humanity and the world. Rather than solely looking to the Queen as a militia leader, we need to delve into the power of conspiratorial convergence and religion to understand what is occurring in this online movement. Underneath the salacious details of threats and citizen arrests, there is a potential religious order which believes that a God has come to save the world. Queen Didulo has created a perfect scenario where the chaos of the contemporary world can be responded to via a godlike being, who has the power to end evil and lead adherents to a peaceful and pure world.

Method and sample

As noted, the Queen Didulo movement largely exists online, with occasional forays into offline gatherings and protests. The Queen and her followers operate several channels

and groups on Telegram, which keep the community close-knit and dedicated to their cause. Telegram, while widely used in certain parts of the world, came to the attention of extremism scholars in 2015 when jihadist groups like the Islamic State and al-Qaeda migrated to the platform after being deplatformed by mainstream applications like Twitter, Facebook and Instagram (Amarasingam et al., 2021). More recently, many far-right, populist and conspiratorial groups have also found Telegram to be useful for maintaining their own online communities. Didulo set up channels and groups on Telegram in early 2021; they have grown steadily in popularity since. This article is based on a thorough archiving of all of the posts on three Telegram channels maintained by Didulo and her followers, as well as an analysis of all of her speeches posted on these channels. While there is much to examine about Queen Didulo – her conspiracism, her anti-government agitation, and so on – we argue here that there is something at the core of all of this that has yet to be fully articulated: her religious pedigree.

As shown in Figure 1, on the three main Telegram channels maintained by Didulo and her followers, there were only a few hundred daily messages in February 2021, when Didulo arrived on Telegram. Following the February 2022 ‘Freedom Convoy’ in various parts of Canada, the number of posts and replies on her channels increased dramatically to several thousand per day. It was during the Convoy period, and the media coverage she received due to her cross-country travels (more on this below), that her popularity increased in significant ways. The total number of original posts on these channels during the period analysed is 110,144, while the total number of replies (i.e. follower engagement) is 349,451. This shows, of course, that the online community around her is a vibrant one, with daily conversations, forwarding of content and original posts.

Conspiratorial convergence

Our theoretical framework for this article is a phenomenon known as ‘conspiratorial convergence’. It occurs when various conspiracy theories or individuals with conspiracy-minded beliefs merge their ideas and find common ground. It involves the interconnection and blending of separate conspiracy theories, resulting in a more comprehensive and elaborate narrative. These theories can vary widely in subject matter, ranging from government control to secret societies, extraterrestrial presence and global conspiracies. Each theory may have its own set of believers, who subscribe to its unique explanations. Conspiratorial convergence occurs when people who believe in different conspiracy theories start to recognize shared elements or perceived connections between their respective beliefs. They may find common themes, actors or motivations across different conspiracy theories, leading them to believe that these theories are not isolated but are interconnected parts of a larger conspiracy. Some scholars describe this as ‘narrative convergence’ (Tuters and Willaert, 2022) or ‘improvisational millennialism’ (Barkun, 2013). We build on these ideas in this article as well.

We argue that part of what drove this conspiratorial convergence in the Queen Romana movement was the QAnon context, as well as the pandemic and the related COVID-19 and anti-government conspiracies that arose during lockdown and public health mandates. This climate brought together QAnon-related conspiracies (such as GESARA/NESARA), COVID-related conspiracies (about the virus, the vaccines and the public

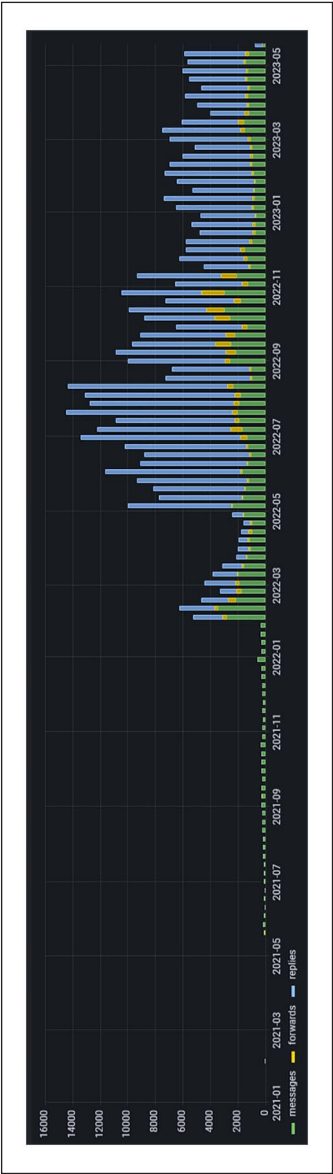


Figure 1. Activity of three Telegram channels and groups maintained by Queen Romana and her followers, 1 January 2021 to 18 May 2023.

health mandates), and anti-government and pseudolaw ideas (Sarteschi, 2023), as well as traditional conspiracies about globalists and the deep state. While many of these convergences have been written about, especially in thorough journalistic accounts, what remains relatively underexplored is the role of religion within these movements. As noted above, while Didulo herself has never claimed in her own words that she is drawing on the historical I AM movement, we argue below that the similarities are too numerous to be coincidental.

The historical context of the I AM movement

The I AM movement from the 1930s and 1940s had its foundations in Helena Blavatsky's theosophical movement, which combined Buddhism, Hinduism and Kabbalah, as well as the 19th-century New Thought movement (Prophet, 2008: 32–33). The founder of the I AM movement, Guy Ballard, added to the theosophical foundations by intertwining religion with nationalism and a conservative-centred patriotism. According to Ballard's teachings, the USA would be the location of the new golden age of civilization. Through the use of prayers and rituals, the 'lightbearers' in the USA would reverse the bad karma that had accumulated and was holding humanity back from attaining its godly existence (Whitsel, 2003: 8).

Blavatsky's theosophy established a belief in the Great White Brotherhood. The Brotherhood is a spiritual order, hierarchical in nature, of Ascended Masters. The word 'white' does not denote race but refers to the white light of Christ that surrounds the Masters (Prophet, 1987: v). In theosophy, the members of the Great White Brotherhood were the intermediaries between humans and God, who, through their actions, pronouncements and messengers, provided an impersonal and slowly evolving process for the betterment of humankind. With Ballard's I AM movement, the Ascended Masters of the Brotherhood became tangible beings, who interacted on a personal basis with the messengers (Whitsel, 2003: 25). Ascended Masters are those who have 'mastered time and space, passed their initiations, balanced at least 51 percent of their karma, and ascended into the Presence of the I AM THAT I AM to become immortal God-free beings' (Whitsel, 2003: 9). Ballard's claim was that he had an encounter with one of the Ascended Masters, Saint Germain, on Mount Shasta. Saint Germain continued to request Ballard's presence on the mountain, where they would meet and the Ascended Master would reveal the power of the I AM Presence, as well as the destiny of North America. With this initial interaction, Ballard's I AM movement transformed the Ascended Masters into active participants in this world, who often performed supernatural acts (Whitsel, 2003: 25).

Ballard asserted that, with Saint Germain's guidance, he travelled through time and various dimensions, witnessing both humanity's history and its future. These journeys showcased the ebb and flow of civilizations and the pivotal roles the Ascended Masters played throughout. Ballard saw the vast treasures the Ascended Masters held, ready to bestow on humanity when it reached its spiritual zenith. These Masters controlled human wealth, granting affluence but also judging its influence on individuals' spiritual pursuits (King, 2012: 93–95). Saint Germain presented a vision of North America's future as a beacon of peace, prosperity and spiritual leadership, emphasizing its destiny to guide the

rest of the world (King, 2012: 97). Ballard shared Saint Germain's prophecy that awakened individuals would lead the nation, prioritizing its welfare over personal gains and heralding a new golden age (King, 2012: 43–44).

As the Ballard movement grew, husband and wife would perform dictations from the Ascended Masters before a live audience, a practice that differed from Blavatsky, who only provided written messages (Prophet, 2008: 41). Guy Ballard also encouraged his audience members to join the I AM movement, informing them that the journey he had been taken on by Saint Germain could be theirs as well. He promised his followers that the Ascended Masters would take them on similar journeys, through time and space, as he had once undertaken with Saint Germain. In doing so, they too could visit the caves where the Ascended Masters resided, and they would be allowed access to an 'atomic accelerator', which was a chair that would allow them to ascend and become immortal masters, without experiencing death (Prophet, 2008: 41–42). His books and Decrees created the rituals and practices of the new religious movement, all with a promise of success, peace and immortality.

An important component of the religious practices of the I AM movement is the purple flame, which represents 'God's Purifying Flame of Divine Love' (Saint Germain Foundation, n.d.a). Guy Ballard claimed to have learned from Saint Germain that the violet/purple flame is 'the only means' that a human can free themselves from their own 'discord and imperfection' (Saint Germain Foundation, n.d.b). To enable themselves to do this, the believer has to visualize the purple flame and focus their concentration on it. The goal is to be able to feel the flame pass through their body from their feet upwards, encompassing their body. When they do this, they can be freed from the limitations and disharmony of Earth. The Great Eternal Law of the I AM movement is that each believer must purify themselves through the daily use of the Violet Consuming Flame until their being and the world manifest perfection, eventually becoming an Ascended Master themselves (Saint Germain Foundation, n.d.d). This visualization is where the term 'I AM' also plays an important role because the phrase itself, whether spoken or thought, releases the Power of Creation. The I AM adherents understand the world through a complex grid of vibrations that are created through consciousness (Saint Germain Foundation, n.d.d). This power is released through vibrations that travel through the 'electronic substance in the ethers' (Saint Germain Foundation, n.d.c).

Central to the religious movement is the concept of Decrees. These are seen as a channel for communication with the Ascended Masters, functioning either as a command from the Masters or as a request to them for assistance. For adherents, 'decreeing' is viewed as an amplified form of prayer (Saint Germain Foundation, n.d.b). In the I AM movement's belief system, akin to the power of positive thinking, visualization is pivotal. When believers visualize their desires, they harness God's Power of Sight, turning their desires into tangible experiences. Thought, being the sole creator of vibration, offers a limitless energy source to manifest desires (King, 2012: 63). This manifestation is achieved by connecting with God's light, allowing individuals to maintain their Divine Source (King, 2012: 64–65). This connection leads to a heightened consciousness, enhancing senses like sight and hearing to unparalleled extents (King, 2012: 35). Tapping

into this God-Energy is the pathway to achieving perfection and dominion over earthly and natural forces (King, 2012: 66).

This visualization of what is truly desired is simplified into basic human descriptors, in that the adherents are encouraged to spend each morning and evening focusing on the Heart Center and to accept 'Beauty, Youth, and Strength'. These simple requests are also seen in an official statement: 'I AM! The Ascended Master Payment of this (of every) bill or obligation, instantly and eternally manifest through Divine Love'. This transforms everyday financial responsibilities by invoking the higher power of the Ascended Masters and their proclamations (Saint Germain Foundation, n.d.c). An Ascended Master is an individual who has transcended human limitations and can be trusted to use powers beyond ordinary human experience. Such Decrees invoke these powers for both spiritual guidance and practical matters, like paying bills (Saint Germain Foundation, n.d.a). These Masters are at one with God and life, so all things and beings obey their command. However, the I AM believers turn to them for both the mundane of bill payments and the seeking of eternal peace, a mix of the human desire as one beholden to the demands of this realm, yet desperately seeking the next. As we show below, Queen Romana has herself told followers that they no longer need to pay any of their bills.

The I AM movement, an offshoot of theosophy, was the first to interweave a political agenda with the teachings of the Ascended Masters, embracing a patriotic fervour around America's 'cosmic destiny'. According to dictations Guy Ballard received from Saint Germain, the Ascended Master had chosen the USA as the birthplace for a new civilization, setting an exemplary model for the world (Whitsel, 2003: 23). Guy and Edna Ballard incorporated elements of nationalism and patriotism, which some argue concealed more questionable parts of the movement. Gerald Bryan, an ex-member, asserted that the Ballards tried to involve Dudley Pelley, leader of the Silver Legion of America, in their movement. Pelley, who saw Hitler's rise as a prophecy linked to the Great Pyramid of Giza, founded the Silver Shirts in 1933. This group was rooted in white supremacy, anti-Semitism and corporatism. By 1934, his American Aryan Militia boasted around 15,000 members. In 1935, Pelley sought the US presidency under his Christian Party, driven by another pyramid prophecy predicting a US economic crash leading to his ascent. While Pelley did not join the I AM movement, some Silver Legion members did. Bryan also suggested that Edna Ballard had once followed Pelley's mystical teachings before co-founding the I AM movement (Toy, 1989: 140–141; Whitsel, 2003: 24).

According to Bryan, the Ballards seemed motivated by financial gains. He recalled that during his first I AM event, a significant focus was on money. The host at the event mentioned that donating money would pave the way for blessings from the Ascended Masters. The message was clear: without giving money, one would not receive blessings, as dictated by the principles of the Ascended Masters. Additionally, the host stressed the importance of supporting America and its Constitution to 'save America' (Bryan et al., 1940: 9). Bryan, in his book on the I AM movement, *Psychic Dictatorship in America*, accused the Ballards of brainwashing their followers, but also astutely observed that they used fear to mobilize them. In his recollection, the Ballards created ambiguous entities to instil fear in the I AM believers. Bryan noted that one of the entities mentioned was an 'evil astral being' or a black magician, capable of casting spells or even possessing individuals (Bryan et al., 1940: 45). He believed that the Ballards, using such scare tactics,

aimed to launch a political movement to overthrow what they perceived as a ‘spiritually impure’ American government. Guy Ballard often received messages from an Ascended Master named K-17, who was said to be the ‘Director of the Inner Secret Service’. K-17 informed Ballard of secret evil plots by American leaders, as well as any foreign acts of deceit (Whitsel, 2003: 24). To remedy this deceit, the Ballards promised their followers that a new government would arise in America that would have an Ascended Master in the presidency (Bryan et al., 1940: 39).

Splintering of I AM and the Church Universal and Triumphant

After the death of Guy Ballard in 1939, the I AM movement faced considerable challenges. The movement fragmented into various groups which were inspired by the religious ideas and practices that Ballard had developed. Among the emerging groups was the Bridge to Freedom, which was started by Geraldine Innocente, a former member of the I AM movement. Innocente believed that the growth of the I AM movement was hampered due to its teachings being primarily in English, so she began translations to cater to her largely Spanish-speaking followers. For privacy reasons, Innocente often wrote under the pen name Thomas Printz (Whitsel, 2003: 27). Another offshoot was the Lighthouse of Freedom, led by Francis Ekey. This group extended the teachings of the I AM movement by providing classes on the teachings of the Ascended Masters.

Mark Prophet, a contributor to the Lighthouse of Freedom newsletter, claimed to be in direct contact with the Ascended Master El Moyra (Prophet, 1987: 60). By 1958, Prophet, claiming to be guided by El Moyra, had distanced himself from Ekey’s group and founded the Summit Lighthouse in Washington, DC. Prophet’s teachings blended elements of theosophy with the I AM movement, and he started sharing weekly messages called ‘Pearls of Wisdom’ from the Ascended Masters (Whitsel, 2003: 28). He also emphasized the political aspects of the teachings – notably, the opposition to communism (Whitsel, 2003: 7–8). Mark Prophet was born in 1918 and claimed to have had spiritual encounters from his early childhood. In the 1930s, he studied Rosicrucianism, where he was introduced to the Ascended Master Saint Germain (Prophet, 2008: 40–41). He discovered the I AM movement in the 1950s and then embarked on his own spiritual journey. Shortly after establishing the Summit Lighthouse, he met Elizabeth Clare Wulf, and they eventually married after Prophet divorced his first wife (Buckland, 2005: 323).

Together, Mark and Elizabeth Prophet worked to expand the reach of the Summit Lighthouse. Under the guidance of the Ascended Master El Moyra, Mark founded the Keepers of the Flame Fraternity, which offered advanced teachings. The members of this fraternity viewed themselves as guardians against the dark forces that were trying to derail America’s divine destiny (Whitsel, 2003: 30–31). Conspiracy theories became integral to their beliefs, including those involving unidentified flying objects (Whitsel, 2003: 13).

Mark Prophet passed away in 1973. Elizabeth Clare Prophet then assumed leadership, asserting herself as the sole messenger of the Ascended Masters (Prophet, 2008: 34). In 1974, she rebranded the Summit Lighthouse as the Church Universal and Triumphant, and restructured its membership hierarchy (Whitsel, 2003: 38). She travelled across the

USA, prophesying about global transformations, and her teachings blended patriotic fervour with apocalyptic predictions (Whitsel, 2003: 41). This mix prompted many followers of the Church Universal and Triumphant to move away from mainstream society. They began constructing a large community in Montana, prepping for potential disasters – most notably, a nuclear war in 1990. When this prediction did not come to pass, Elizabeth credited the Church's prayers for preventing it (Whitsel, 2003: 2).

Following the unfulfilled 1990 nuclear war prophecy, the Church experienced a decline in membership. The core narrative of the Church Universal and Triumphant was closely tied to the Cold War era and, with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Church's message became less compelling to many. Elizabeth's diagnosis with Alzheimer's disease in 1997 posed additional challenges for the Church. With her children distancing themselves from the Church Universal and Triumphant, a similar institution, called the Temple of Presence, emerged (Whitsel, 2003: 4–5).

Queen Romana Didulo

Little is known of the history of Romana Didulo but, according to her own website, her name is a composite of her parents' names: her father's, Romualdo Didulo, and her mother's, Ana Didulo. She was born into a wealthy family and has an older sibling – a brother. Her father died when she was 10 and her mother passed away a year later. She moved to Canada from the Philippines at the age of 15 on 25 July 1990 (Didulo, n.d.c). She claims that no one knew the truth about her prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, as she was living a double life. One of these lives was mundane, living in a basement apartment in Victoria, British Columbia, and working menial jobs. In the evenings, however, she claims that she would go home and have discussions with the leaders of the American military and the allied forces to liberate Canada (Didulo, 2022b). Late in 2020, Didulo founded her own political party – Canada1st. The platform for the party is somewhat ambiguous as the party's website remains unfinished, but it does contain linked YouTube videos. The Canada1st videos feature Didulo (n.d.c) in front of a Canadian flag addressing political issues such as veterans' affairs, gun laws and COVID-19 masking.

In 2021, Didulo proclaimed on her now defunct website that she was the 'Head of State, Commander-in-Chief, Head of Government of Canada, President and Queen of The Kingdom of Canada' (Didulo, n.d.a). She claimed that she had been appointed to this position by the White Hats, the American military, and the global allied troops and their governments (Didulo, 2021). In May 2021, she released her first public action, which was directed at Canadian politicians, health officials, police and medical personnel, informing them that all COVID-19 mandates and treatments must cease (Netolitzky, 2022: 982). This first public declaration also supported QAnon theories that President Joseph Biden did not hold his elected position, and that the American military was in control of the USA. This same military, according to Didulo, had given her the authority as the Queen and political leader of Canada (Netolitzky, 2022: 982).

Romana Didulo leads a movement that Donald Netolitzky (2022) has labelled a second-wave pseudolaw group, which applies the same components as US sovereign citizen movements. Four features separate movements such as Didulo's from earlier pseudolaw movements: the use of different theories and strategies; the presence of members who are significantly more diverse; the influence of non-Canadian sources; and pseudolaws, or in this

case Decrees, that are directed to different social stressors (Netolitzky, 2022: 973). These new pseudolaw movements, like the Queen's, are involved in vigilante activity, claiming to be valid authority figures who can discipline others with the use of fake court summons and proceedings, self-appointed 'peace officers' and citizen's arrests (Netolitzky, 2022: 973).

To interact with her followers, Didulo primarily uses the Telegram social media platform and videos on her websites and video platform channels. In these videos, Didulo creates a cosmological narrative for herself by stating that her grandmother told her that she would lead the world as a child, and the loss of her parents was the conduit to her coming to the Kingdom of Canada. She claims that the Ambassador from Canada to the Philippines said that he knew her, that they had met in the past at her immigration interview. When he stamped her passport, he prophesied that she would lead the world and save Canada. She believes the death of her parents was the steep price she has paid so that 'we the people' could have freedom (Didulo, 2022a).

Harkening back to the Church Universal and Triumphant and the I AM movement, Didulo has created a collection of short videos in which she is standing under a skylight and points up to the light, resembling the image of the beings of light icon. The Church Universal and Triumphant created a chart of the I AM Presence, which was an image of God hovering over every human as two figures: the Christ Self, which was an image of Jesus, and the I AM Presence, which was a 'faceless ball of light surrounded by stylized rays' (Prophet, 2008: 32). In this conceptualization, light was a spiritual energy akin to a halo, which was similar to monetary transactions as you could spend, waste or save it. The light could be invoked from the I AM Presence and then manipulated to be thrown or directed, or even take on a physical shape such as clouds, lightening or bombs. The light impacted both the visible and the invisible world (Prophet, 2008: 32).

Didulo's Decrees at times mention the power of light and the etheric (direct terms taken from the Church Universal and Triumphant), and how they can be used against negative forces. Harkening back to the I AM movement, her reference to the 'psychic and etheric fields' comes from the I AM movement's belief in the 'electronic substance in the ethers' (Saint Germain Foundation, n.d.c). Figure 2 is an extract from a Decree posted by Didulo where she references the *Akashic Records*. This is a book based within Blavatsky's theosophy that believers understand to be a record of all the events, words, ideas and emotions that have occurred in the past, occur in the present and will occur in the future. The *Akashic Records* are a compendium not simply of humanity but of all life forms within the universe.

Similar connections to these ideas from the earlier movements/religions can be seen in one of the posts by a follower of Didulo (Figures 3 and 4). Here, the follower makes reference to many of the themes from the I AM movement and Church Universal and Triumphant, including the violet flame of Saint Germain, the power of the Christ light, manifesting the promised riches of the Ascended Masters, and the notion of a new world. Both the Ballards and the Prophets preached that an Ascended Master would create a new world in which America would be the pre-eminent model for other nations to emulate. Here, we see the linking of Romana Didulo as an Ascended Master working closely with extraterrestrials, ruling over Canada to lead her followers into a 'Canada 2.0'. Didulo promotes this idea as well, often referring to herself as being 'heart aligned with your highest divine being' (Didulo, 2022b).

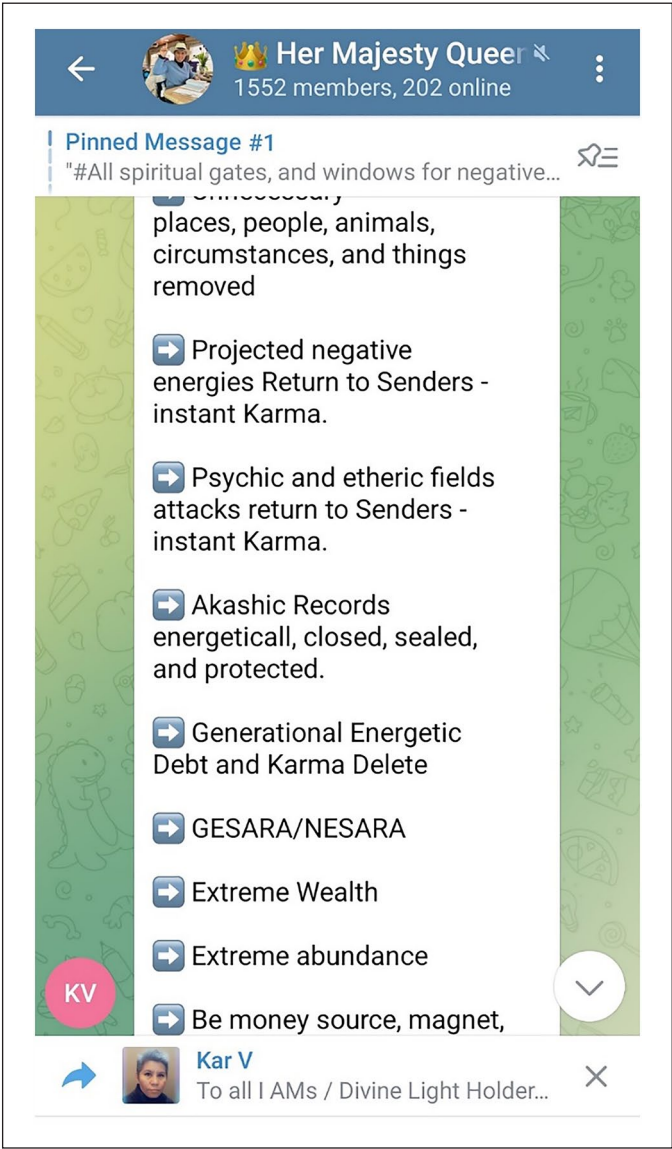


Figure 2. Telegram post from Romana Didulo.

Didulo’s daily Decrees include references to cutting the connection to the twin flames. Her followers have asked many times what this refers to, but neither Didulo nor her inner circle have responded. However, Guy and Edna Ballard were often referred to as ‘the twin flames’ and, with the Church Universal and Triumphant, this phrase became representative of humans with ‘two-fold flames’. These individuals were “robot creations” or

the DNA-X energy every night and for all of us to be on the highest optimal love and light timeline possible so we can transform this world from darkness into light. I also thank and pray for protection and success for the light forces who are liberating Earth, especially Queen Romana, her team, and our benevolent ET family 💜🙏💜 Here are pictures of my altar with my signed hat, flag, and two \$20 bills QR signed for my kids while defacing the evil now dead fake Queen Elizardbreath. 🤪 The top shelf has all of my purple, gold and silver crystals as well as clear quartz to help manifest our new world filled with the violet flame of transmutation, golden Christ Consciousness energy, silver/white light from Divine Creator, and manifesting our gold and silver backed currency. And so it is! 💜



4:02 PM

Figure 3. Telegram post from a Didulo follower.

Janet Nicholson

Agmuni Muni

Let's give credit to US who made N...

It's true Bill Clinton signed it in
at the UN 20? And President
s have been assassinated for
Nesara Gesera.

However the plan belongs to St
Germain which you can find on
pintrest

There is also a video on
Rumble, truth hidden in
obscurity. About St Germain.
Queen Romana is bringing in
Gesera by way of Royal decrees,
and even though some say
Trump signed it in Geneva on
Thanksgiving, he is an actor
following Queen Romana, I am
sure.

So to an extent we give US
credit



6:45 AM

Figure 4. A Didulo follower explicitly talking about Saint Germain.

reincarnated “laggard” from the planet Maldek’ (Szimhart, 2003: 84). Maldek is often referenced in Telegram groups promoting medbeds and QAnon conspiracies. The planet is considered an original planet that was inhabited by humans, who migrated to planet Earth. In Didulo’s Telegram groups, extraterrestrials are depicted in a similar manner as in the teachings of the Ballards and the Prophets. These alien beings are seen as those who want to harm or dominate humans, and those who aim to lead us towards a greater

purpose. The follower's post also reflects the words of Ballard as Saint Godfry Raye King, who said: 'I come as a patriot of light unto all nations, enshrining the flame of freedom in the hearts of patriots everywhere attuned to the fires of freedom' (Prophet, 1987: 73). At a meet-and-greet in Lethbridge, Alberta, Didulo explained to a small gathering that now is the 'first time in the world' that peace and prosperity will lead humanity, and now the 'interference of the dark energies' is ending and humanity will no longer require 'an intermediary to be able to have direct access to the creator' (Karlito's Channel, 2022).

In many of her Telegram posts, Didulo creates an us-versus-them separation of the citizens of Canada. Her followers are the true patriots, battling against those who are working to destroy the nation. Often, she refers to them as 'PAY-triots' – those putting money and power before the nation. This term 'PAY-triots' resembles the words of Saint Germain that the positions of power in the nation would be filled by those Ascended Masters who would be dedicated to the nation rather than their own personal ambitions and private fortunes (King, 2012: 44). Those PAY-triots currently governing the nation will be replaced by the Queen herself. These enemies reflect a conspiratorial convergence, where numerous conspiracies intertwine with the occult and religious beliefs to create a sociopolitical movement. In her Telegram messages and during her tour in a camper van across Canada, Didulo often touches on topics that her followers interpret as supporting various conspiracy theories. Her official Decrees echo these sentiments, addressing popular conspiracy themes and societal fears, and reinforcing a distrust of institutions. Ten of Didulo's 124 Decrees respond to moral panics, including banning critical race theory (Number 1); sex education for those only over the age of 24 (Number 2); anti-immigration Decrees banning refugees, asylum-seekers and returning permanent residents, foreign student and worker visas, and all foreign land ownership (Numbers 33, 52, 34 and 103); banning all transgender medical care and the removal of all 'pornography' in advertising and public locations (libraries, schools, festivals) that includes transgender individuals (Number 113; Didulo, n.d.b). Didulo consistently uses the terms 'baby girl, baby boy, woman, and man' when referring to the citizens of Canada, reinforcing a narrative of there being only two genders.

Within the Telegram data set, there are numerous conspiracy theories that are referenced by Didulo and her followers. This conspiratorial convergence provides a conduit to creating distrust and disenfranchisement from the institutions of society. These institutions, in many cases, are seen as being the providers of disinformation, lies and fearmongering in an attempt to create a New World Order. COVID-19 is foundational to this convergence, as Didulo has, from the beginning of the pandemic, decried the virus as a hoax, declaring vaccines as a poison leading to genocide, and those who supported the vaccines as perpetrators of crimes against humanity. Both politicians and world leaders are simultaneously the puppets of the World Economic Forum, evil aliens, Satan, and holograms or paid impostors. Here, we see a convergence of different understandings of the world from her followers, which are not contradicted but simply accepted. In Figure 5, we see a follower stating that television is 'TEL lie vision', and that the prime minister, Justin Trudeau, was 'gone' in 2021, replaced by a clone, an actor or a computer-generated image. In similar posts, Didulo's followers make claims that prior to her death, Queen Elizabeth II too was a clone or computer-generated image, while another follower claims to have seen a clip of Trudeau at Guantanamo Bay detention camp, 'standing on a trap door with a noose around his neck' (Figure 6). The trope that world leaders have



Figure 5. Telegram post from a Didulo follower arguing that none of the world leaders we see today are real.

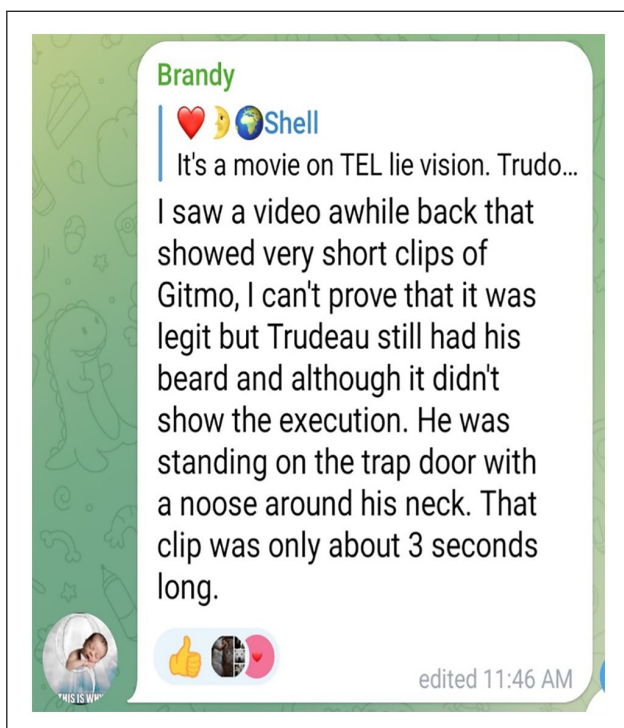


Figure 6. Telegram post from a Didulo follower showing 'proof' that Prime Minister Trudeau is long dead.

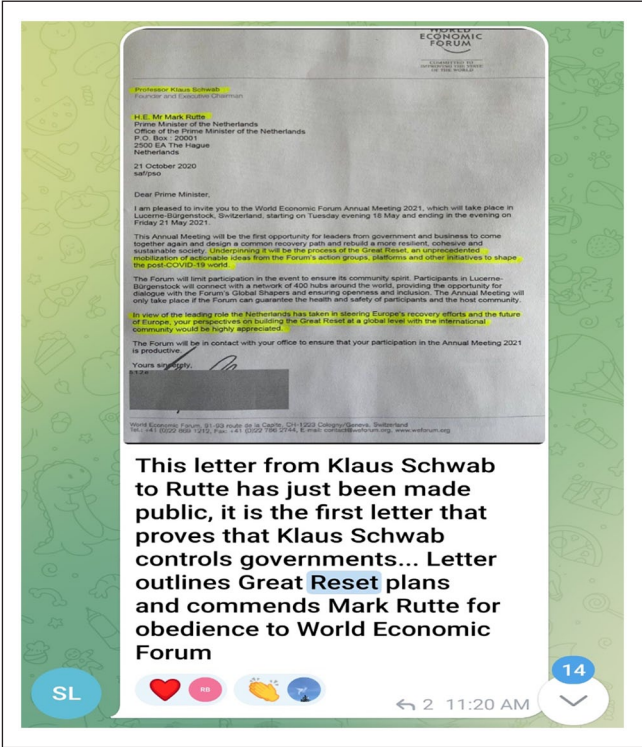


Figure 7. Great Reset letter posted by a Didulo follower on Telegram.

been dead for many years is connected to many QAnon-based conspiracies as well as Great Reset conspiracies (see Figure 7).

By sowing distrust in social institutions, conspiracy theorists create a divisive us-versus-them narrative. In this framework, believers see themselves as victims of these institutions' sinister agendas, yet also as enlightened heroes possessing the knowledge to save the world. Social heroes believe that they will be castigated, mocked and segregated for their 'truth', yet they will eventually become the saviours of society through their actions and battles against the evil cabal. As the New World Order itself is global, so too are the bad actors. Numerous posts link Democrat politicians, Canadian liberals and those who have powerful positions to human trafficking narratives. The reasoning behind these beliefs is that leaders are harvesting adrenochrome and using it for profit. In many posts, these ideas are linked to the Pizzagate conspiracy theory, which stated that high-ranking members of the Democratic Party, particularly those associated with Hillary Clinton's campaign, were involved in a child sex trafficking ring (Amarasingam and Argentino, 2020). Also found throughout the data set is the idea that the war in Ukraine is Vladimir Putin's attempt to destroy child trafficking routes and Nazis, which is linked to Putin's relationship with former President Trump, who is understood to be the real president of the USA. In other words, a whole host of conspiracy theories converge in many of these contemporary movements.

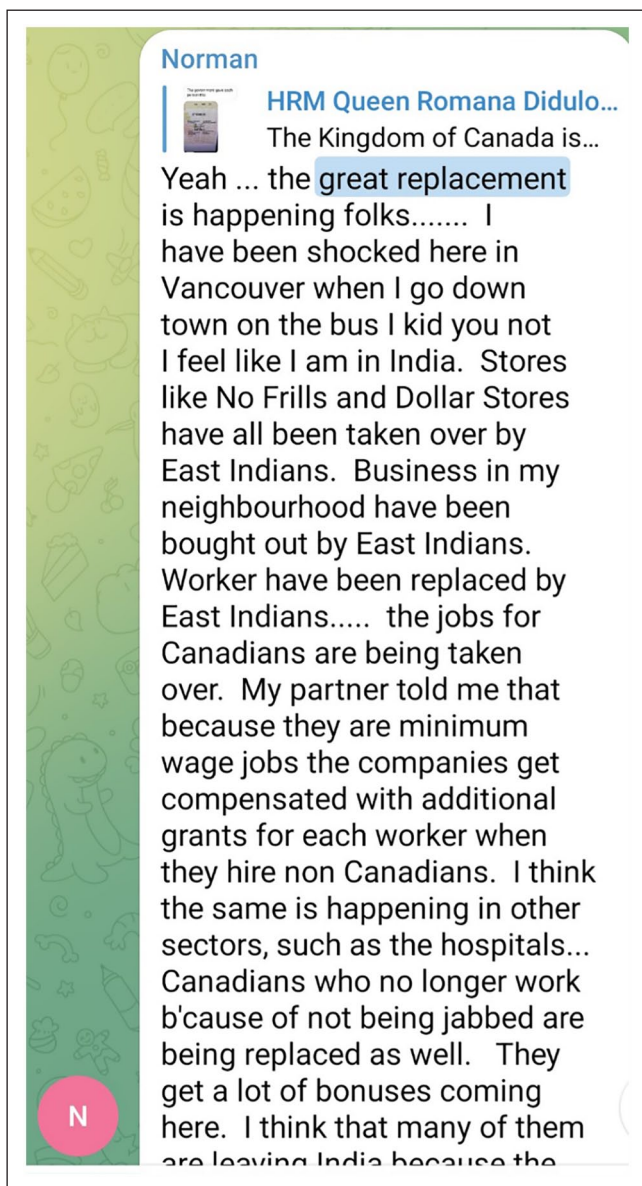


Figure 8. Telegram post from a Didulo follower talking about the Great Replacement Theory.

Other conspiracies linked to and promoted by Didulo and her followers include the Great Replacement Theory, where immigrants to Canada are accepted by the Liberal government so that white people and traditional Canadians will be replaced (Figure 8). This conspiracy is popular with white nationalists and often introduced via anti-immigration discussions or memes – topics that have been brought up by Didulo’s followers and

Tony

Project Bluebeam is a Deep State Cabal program designed to totally control the population by using highly realistic technology including holograms combined with HAARP Weather Control, to stage a fake Alien invasion of Earth.

The fake Aliens, controlled by the Cabal, would then eradicate all religions, install a fake God and control all financial matters through imploding the Global Financial System and installing through the Deep State's "Great Reset," their digital fiat currency.

The Cabal would then have complete control over people's lives through their bank accounts, allowing only those who followed their agenda to buy food and other essential items.

Figure 9. Telegram post from a Didulo follower talking about Project Blue Beam.

reflected in her official Decrees. Another popular conspiracy often referenced in the Telegram channels is Project Blue Beam (Figure 9), which is a conspiracy hailing from a Canadian journalist, Serge Monast, in the 1990s, who said that he had been in contact

with secret individuals who knew that world leaders would create a pandemic in the future, limiting the movement of citizens worldwide and then ensuring that Satan would take the throne of the New World Order; holographs of all gods and deities would be projected in the skies telling everyone that the ‘leader’ of the New World Order was the one true God (Monast, 1995).

As the Queen, Didulo has linked many of her theories to the QAnon conspiracy theory, including the notion that Canada, like the USA, has been a corporation, and not a republic, for many years. To emphasize this, she has declared that Canada’s red-and-white flag is a corporation flag – a corporation that is based in Switzerland owns both the flag and the corporation of the nation. With her ‘We the People’ purple flag, she has dissolved the corporation and returned the Kingdom of Canada to a nation under her monarchy and rule. Her official Decrees reflect QAnon and other conspiracies as well, in an attempt to thwart the evil cabals that are attempting to control the world. Decrees have been written to convict those who fake famines and produce adrenochrome (a chemical released through babies’ blood that demons drink; Number 43), and there is a call for funding to cure those who are addicted to drugs, including adrenochrome, pornography and social media (Number 112). Converging conspiracies under her reign, Didulo also has Decrees addressing the GESARA/NESARA conspiracy theory, where all citizens will have no debt and will be wealthy. This idea also links back to the I AM and Church Universal and Triumphant movements where the Ascended Masters would provide untold wealth to humanity once it learned not to be greedy or seek only power for individuals. Decree Number 38 provides debt forgiveness for all Canadians, which is followed by the cancellation of government taxes (Number 39) and the banning of digital identification and the social credit system (Number 71). As the Ascended Masters revealed to the Ballards and Prophets, they held ancient advanced technologies that would cure all humans from health issues. Didulo has built on this and has proclaimed that medbeds are a technology hidden from the general public. These medbeds will cure any individual who lies in them and, according to her Decree Number 110, all suppressed ancient and advanced technology, including medbeds and celestial replicators, will be released (Didulo, n.d.b).

In Didulo’s understanding, she wants every Canadian to be wealthy and to achieve what the Ascended Masters require of them. Under her ‘reign’ as Queen, she has changed Canada to a kingdom because, in her understanding of a kingdom, everyone is a family member, not an individual (Didulo, 2022b). At a public-speaking event in Lethbridge, Alberta, Didulo (2022b) admitted that she was ‘an acturarian’ and was ‘being watched by the celestial beings’. With their guidance, she has psychic abilities that allow her to be prepared for the plans and actions of the evil cabal. In many of her interactions with believers and in public speeches, Didulo states that there are ‘guidelines in my spiritual contract to do for humanity’; this contract is ‘a spiritual’ or ‘divine contract, with the divine beings’ (Karlito’s Channel, 2022). Her position, first and foremost, much like Elizabeth Clare Prophet’s, is as the mother figure and, in this case, Didulo is the mother of all Canadians, often claiming that she has ‘38.3 million children, in varying age’ (Karlito’s Channel, 2022). In her telling of the monetary situation of Canada, she refers to Q, from QAnon, who posted that Canadians have significant monetary reserves but that they are being guarded by celestial beings (Didulo, 2022b). Again, this leans on Guy Ballard’s journey with Saint Germain, who took him deep into the centre of Mount

Shasta, where the Ascended Masters protected untold wealth in currency, gold and jewels until the time when humans were no longer money-hungry or thieves. In her speech in Alberta, Didulo (2022b) stated that celestial beings and the military are protecting the wealth of Canada because they are aware that there are thieves who will steal it.

In her speech in Lethbridge, Didulo created a narrative of herself as an actuary and celestial being, going so far as to use an undisclosed vlogger who can channel a higher being, who specifically names Didulo. This higher being, in her version, states that she is on a great mission and, with her light and energy, can do great things. Building on this, she continues that this is not her first time on the planet, and the celestial beings asked her to accept the mission 'to be the one to bring the light, to make sure that humans, humanity, human species is neither eradicated and that we ascend as higher beings as well' (Karlito's Channel, 2022). These celestial beings and actuaries are monitoring her Telegram account and watching the progress of her mission. Her powers are vast and include time travel, which she does 'when others are sleeping' and is her time 'to commune with the celestial brothers and sisters' (Didulo, 2022b), much like Guy Ballard and his journeys with Saint Germain. Just as the Prophets and Ballards claimed, Didulo too can use her powers of light and vibration to transmute the negative energies of her enemies (see Figure 5; Didulo, 2022b).

Didulo's Decrees and reliance on conspiracy theories establish her as a trusted figure among her followers, seemingly solving their worldly problems and inspiring them to resist the cabals that aim to control the world. She fosters fear and distrust in societal institutions, such as legacy media, the government and health care, and in doing so sows doubt and suspicion while placing herself as the hero who can relieve these feelings. By projecting an image of fearlessness, she positions herself as a protector, offering a safety net for her supporters. Although we cannot confirm that Didulo has studied the I AM movement, or the Church Universal and Triumphant, the parallels between her movement and those from the past are hard to conceive of as simply coincidental. By positioning herself as an Ascended Master, working at the behest of the Divine Beings above, Didulo's influence transcends from that of a worldly self-proclaimed monarchy to that of an eternal hero, who supporters can believe and follow through their faith. In the ultimate battle between good and evil, Didulo has positioned herself as a leader both of this world and of the other-worldly, using the power of 'government,' policy and faith to save Canada and the world.

Didulo's followers express their admiration for her leadership through posts that celebrate the positive impact she has on Canada and the world, promoting love, peace and security. They reach out to her for assistance in resolving personal issues and confronting international conspiracies, seeking her intervention in their lives. Didulo capitalizes on conspiracy theories to amplify concerns about drug use, crime rates, immigration, vaccines and issues related to transgender and LGBTQ2SA (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, two-spirited, asexual) communities.

By presenting herself as the saviour who can shield her followers, Canada and the world from a multitude of perceived threats, Didulo further fuels their fears. Her posts blend various conspiracy theories with the theosophical beliefs she advocates, presenting them as evidence of her ability to combat the New World Order and create a world that is free from fear and harm. She also discusses activating DNA-X in her followers,

granting them immunity against the plans of the evil cabal, aligning with their God Power and connecting with Ascended Beings. Overall, her followers perceive her as their protector against malevolent forces, and this convergence of conspiracy theories and theosophy reinforces their belief in her power and role as a safeguard in a world that is fraught with chaos and danger.

Conclusion

This article has explored connections between the religious movements and ideas of Queen Romana Didulo and Elizabeth Clare Prophet, as well as Didulo's embrace of anti-government sentiment, COVID-19 conspiracy theories and related ideologies. Situated within the broader framework of conspiratorial convergence, it becomes evident that Didulo's religious beliefs and conspiracy narratives intertwine to shape her world view and influence her political actions – something that has received relatively less attention in public and scholarly discourse. By aligning herself with Prophet's teachings and conspiracy theories, Didulo creates a narrative that bolsters her position as a leader and galvanizes an albeit small segment of society. However, it is crucial to critically examine the potential implications of such convergence for democratic processes, social cohesion and the dissemination of misinformation.

One significant aspect of Queen Romana Didulo's adoption of conspiratorial beliefs and the continuation of Elizabeth Clare Prophet's religious movement is the formation of a distinct narrative that resonates with her followers. By merging elements of spiritual teachings with conspiracy theories, Didulo creates a cohesive world view that offers her supporters a sense of belonging and purpose. This convergence of religious and conspiratorial ideas reinforces her leadership and solidifies the allegiance of those who share her beliefs. Moreover, it serves as a powerful tool for attracting individuals who are disenchanted with established systems and searching for alternative explanations and solutions to societal challenges. It is no surprise, for instance, that her follower base grew during the pandemic.

Her movement is not without harm, however. The spread of unverified claims and conspiracy narratives may contribute to social divisions, hinder evidence-based decision-making, and erode the foundations of public health efforts. There has been much reporting recently that some of Didulo's followers stopped paying their utility bills because Romana told them it was no longer necessary. The utility companies did not see it that way. As one supporter wrote on Telegram: 'Dear Queen Romana, when will the service companies stop shutting off our services for nonpayment? I just had my water supply shut off today in Stratford, Ontario' (Lamoureux, 2022). Another wrote: 'Queen Romana please what do I say to the City of Red Deer trying to shut off my water on Monday?' (Lamoureux, 2022). In other words, many of her supporters are facing real-life consequences for following her online declarations. These consequences were also felt by a small group of her members who were arrested in Peterborough, in their attempt to put police officers under citizen's arrest.

Didulo's influence as the leader of 'We the people' is similar to the mother role that Elizabeth Clare Prophet held with her followers, guiding and 'protecting' them while leading them far from the norms of society. Didulo has woven political, religious and

conspiracy theories into a personal narrative that elevates her status among her followers. The influence she holds has tangible effects in the real world. As observed with the Church Universal and Triumphant, such influence can result in followers becoming isolated from reality, leading them to lose their possessions, families and sense of what is real. To understand Queen Romana Didulo, we must look first to the past and delve deeper into the religious underpinnings of her movement. This religious bedrock is important for better grasping the conspiratorial and pseudolaw aspects of her cause and the potential harms – individual and societal – that it may produce in the future.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship and/or publication of this article.

ORCID iD

Amarnath Amarasingam  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8125-1068>

References

- Amarasingam A and Argentino M-A (2020) The QAnon conspiracy theory: A security threat in the making? *CTC Sentinel* 13(7). Available at: <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/the-qanon-conspiracy-theory-a-security-threat-in-the-making/>
- Amarasingam A, Maher S and Winter C (2021) How Telegram disruption impacts jihadist platform migration. *CREST Report*, 8 January. Available at: <https://crestresearch.ac.uk/resources/how-telegram-disruption-impacts-jihadist-platform-migration/>
- Barkun M (2013) *A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bryan GB, Paolini K and Paolini T (1940) *Psychic Dictatorship in America*. Los Angeles: Truth Research.
- Buckland R (2005) *The Spirit Book: The Encyclopedia of Clairvoyance, Channeling, and Spirit Communication*. Michigan: Visible Ink Press.
- Didulo R (n.d.a) HRH Queen Romana Didulo. Available at: <https://queenromanadidulo.ca> (accessed 19 November 2022).
- Didulo R (n.d.b) HRM Queen Romana's Royal Decrees index. Available at: <https://www.thekingdomofcanada.ca/royal-decrees> (accessed 25 May 2023).
- Didulo R (n.d.c) Our leader: Canada1st Party. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCv4rqL6TK9VTt2-DTRiRHXg/videos> (accessed 12 November 2022).
- Didulo R (2021) Queen Romana Didulo of Canada the Republic. Rumble, September. Available at: <https://rumble.com/vn6hu7-9.2021-queen-romana-didulo-of-canada-the-republic.html> (accessed 12 May 2023).
- Didulo R (2022a) QR LIVE - 18 septembre 2022 de nuit – ALBERTA. Rumble, 18 September. Available at: <https://rumble.com/v1kq749-qr-live-18-septembre-2022-de-nuit-alberta.html> (accessed 19 November 2022).

- Didulo R (2022b) Queen Romana Didulo (Lethbridge AB – April 11, 2022). Rumble, 11 April. Available at: <https://rumble.com/v10zexh-queen-romana-didulo-lethbridge-ab-april-11-2022.html> (accessed 12 December 2022).
- Fraser D (2022) QAnon-inspired protest in Peterborough, Ont., prompts investigation. CBC News, 18 August. Available at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/protest-peterborough-arrest-special-investigation-1.6552575> (accessed 17 September 2022).
- Karlito's Channel (2022) Queen Romana Lethbridge AB meet & greet. BitChute, 6 April. Available at: <https://www.bitchute.com/video/ozLbridVVTse/> (accessed 6 May 2023).
- King GR (2012) *Unveiled Mysteries: Ancient Secrets Are Revealed*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Lamoureux M (2022) The QAnon queen told followers they didn't need to pay bills. It didn't end well. Vice News, 10 May. Available at: <https://www.vice.com/en/article/z3na53/qanon-queen-bills-electricity-canada> (accessed 25 May 2023).
- Monast S (1995) *The Toronto Protocols 6.6.6.: Quebec Year Zero*. Washington, DC: International Free Press Agency.
- Netolitzky D (2022) New hosts for an old disease: History of the organized pseudolegal commercial argument phenomenon in Canada – Part III. *Alberta Law Review* 60(4): 971–1015.
- Prophet E (2008) *Prophet's Daughter: My Life with Elizabeth Clare Prophet inside the Church Universal and Triumphant*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Prophet EC (1987) *The Great White Brotherhood in the Culture, History and Religion of America: Teachings of the Ascended Masters Given to Elizabeth Clare Prophet*, Livingston, Mont. Gardiner, MT: Summit University Press.
- Robertson D and Amarasingam A (2022) How conspiracy theorists argue: Epistemic capital in the QAnon social media sphere. *Popular Communication* 20(3): 193–207.
- Saint Germain Foundation (n.d.a) The Ascended Masters: Masters of love, light, and wisdom. Available at: <https://www.saintgermainfoundation.org/ascended-masters> (accessed 15 January 2023).
- Saint Germain Foundation (n.d.b) Our activities – 'I AM' group meetings. Available at: <https://www.saintgermainfoundation.org/our-activities> (accessed 15 January 2023).
- Saint Germain Foundation (n.d.c) Power of 'I AM'. Available at: <https://www.saintgermainfoundation.org/i-am> (accessed 15 January 2023).
- Saint Germain Foundation (n.d.d) The Violet Consuming Flame: God's purifying flame of divine love. Available at: <https://www.saintgermainfoundation.org/the-violet-consuming-flame> (accessed 15 January 2023).
- Sarteschi C (2023) The social phenomenon of Romana Didulo: 'Queen of Canada'. *International Journal of Coercion, Abuse, and Manipulation* 6. Available at: <https://www.ijcam.org/articles/the-social-phenomenon-of-romana-didulo>
- Szimhart JP (2003) Denouement of the Prophets' cult: The Church Universal and Triumphant in decline. *Cultic Studies Review* 2(1): 76–100.
- Toy EV (1989) Silver shirts in the Northwest: Politics, prophecies, and personalities in the 1930s. *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 80(4): 139–146.
- Tuters M and Willaert T (2022) Deep state phobia: Narrative convergence in coronavirus conspiracy on Instagram. *Convergence* 28(4): 1214–1238.
- Whitsel BC (2003) *The Church Universal and Triumphant: Elizabeth Clare Prophet's Apocalyptic Movement*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.