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Women and Gender Issues in British Paganism, 1945–1990

Shai Feraro

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In recent decades, the study of new religious movements evolved to become an important aspect within the study of religion.[1] This is all the more true when we add gender to the mix. Indeed, as argued by Ursula King, "without the incisive, critical application of the category of gender it is no longer possible to accurately describe, analyze or explain any religion".[2] Building on this thought-provoking argument, this book sets out to explore how changes in views on gender and the place of women in society during the latter half of the twentieth century affected women's participation and position within British Paganism, c. 1945–c. 1990. More specifically, it examines how British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans reacted to the rise of 'second wave' feminism and the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) in the UK—with a special emphasis on the reception of feminist theory hailing from the United States—as well as to the development of feminist branches of Witchcraft and Goddess Spirituality during the 1970s–1980s. I will show that the influence of writings produced by prominent American promoters of feminist forms of Wicca during this period—especially Starhawk and Z Budapest—was felt in Britain almost immediately and provoked a range of reactions across the local Wiccan and Pagan milieus.

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Occultism During the Victorian Through Interwar Periods

In order to better understand these processes, we must first lay the groundwork by surveying early Wicca and its attitudes on the matter of women and gender issues set against the background of British Occultism during the Victorian, Edwardian, and interwar periods.[3] Indeed, one of the important transformations ushered by Victorian occultism occurred in relation to the attitude toward women and their place within occult organizations. The consideration of gender as an aspect of occult discourse and practice is gaining recognition in recent years as "an essential, if complex" part of the study of both Victorian and contemporary occultism, but as noted by Kennet Granholm, it is still insufficient.[4]

For the purposes of this volume, a good place to start would be 1888, which proved to be a momentous year in the history of British occultism in general, and for women-occultists in particular. It was during this year that Madam Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891) published the book which proved to be her magnum opus—*The Secret Doctrine*.[5] A truly international figure, the Russian-born Blavatsky encountered Spiritualism in Paris during 1858, and in 1875 she co-founded the Theosophical Society, an organization dedicated to a synthesis of knowledge on the supernatural and on the divine, with an emphasis on the esoteric teachings of Buddhism and Hinduism.[6] In contrast with Victorian Spiritualists, who never intended to radically challenge contemporary notions of womanhood and femininity[7] and were considered as mere vessels for the channeling of spirits, Blavatsky was viewed as an intellectual and spiritual leader in her own right.

Many women (as well as men) gravitated toward her Theosophical Society,[8] but not all members felt content with what they considered to be an over-emphasis on eastern esoteric traditions. One of these individuals was Anna Kingsford (1846–1888), a renowned occultist, women's rights campaigner and one of Britain's first female medical Doctors.[9] In 1884, Kingsford co-founded her own Hermetic Society, dedicated to promoting the comparative study of the philosophical and religious systems of the east and the west, with special reference to the Greek Mysteries, the Hermetic Gnosis, and the Cabala. In 1888, however, she died prematurely due to her poor health.

Just one week after Kingsford's untimely demise, a new magical order was created: The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn (GD). Two of the Order's founding trio, William Wynn Westcott (1848–1925), and Samuel Liddel MacGregor Mathers (1854–1918), were members of Kingsford's Hermetic Society.[10] Westcott, MacGregor, and the third founder of the GD, Dr. William Robert Woodman (1828–1891), were involved in Freemasonry and Rosicrucianism as well. Their Order has been described by researchers as "perhaps the single most influential of all British nineteenth-century occultism initiatory societies", one that "has done more than any other Order to influence the development of modern magic in Britain, Europe and the United States during the course of the twentieth century".[11]

The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn emerged at a time when late-Victorian society became enthralled by 'The Woman Question' and 'first-wave'[12] feminists' quest for suffrage. This was a period that gave rise to concepts such as 'The New Woman', and in which the theory of matriarchal prehistory was adopted with zeal by certain suffragists.[13] The GD was the first of its kind to open its ranks to women. Several of them—such as Mina Bergson (1865–1928), Florence Farr (1860–1917), and Annie Horniman (1860–1937)—rose to prominent positions within the organization and wrote some of its teaching papers, or so-called Flying Rolls.[14]

One of the Order's most famous—and, arguably, notorious—members was Aleister Crowley (1875–1947), who was initiated into its ranks on November 18, 1898 and would contribute to its prolonged process of dissolution during the first decade of the twentieth century.[15] In 1904, Crowley was in Cairo, practicing ceremonial magical invocations with his new wife, Rose Edith Kelly (1874–1932). According to Crowley, Rose entered a trance state and began to convey messages from an entity named 'Aiwass', whom Crowley believed to be a messenger of Egyptian god Horus. Crowley stated that this 'Aiwass' dictated to him a text titled *The Book of the Law*. According to this revelation, the past age or aeon of Osiris, manifested as patriarchal religion and society and itself preceded by a matriarchal age of Isis, "was to be replaced by the coming age of Horus, the divine child, an eidolon of individual freedom".[16] Crowley himself was to assume the role of prophet of the religion of this new age of Horus—Thelema. In order to further these aims Crowley founded a new magical order in 1907. Known as the A∴A∴, the order was structured as a teacher-student chain of authority and combined the ceremonial magic of the GD with Crowley's take on eastern practices such as tantra.[17]

Sometime between 1910 and 1912, Crowley met a German by the name of Theodor Reuss (1855–1923), who headed a newly founded occult society devoted to the practice of 'sexual magic' called the Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO).[18] Ruess initiated Crowley into the OTO and appointed him as head of the British section of the Order. Following Ruess' death in 1923, Crowley assumed his Office as Outer Head of the OTO and revised and expanded the Order's hierarchy of initiatory degrees. These centered on acts of sexual magic, in which the practitioner was to concentrate his will on a particular desired goal and to create and focus on the "mental images that would stimulate the ecstatic nature of the ritual", particularly at the moment of climax. At this very moment, the energy raised during the ritual would be directed to the chosen goal by the practitioner's magical will.[19] Crowley introduced *The Book of the Law* and the tenets of Thelema into the OTO lodges he supervised as British head, and after Reuss's death in 1923 other lodges followed suit (with the exception of a few in Germany who disaffiliated from the organization).[20]

In the aftermath of World War I, women over the age of 30 were granted the right of suffrage, and by 1928 The Representation of the People Act in Britain extended the voting franchise to all women over the age of 21. This period was also accompanied by a renewed interest in the European witch trials of the fifteen to seventeen centuries as a result of the publications of the Egyptologist and folklorist Margaret Murray (1863–1963). Building on the work of a number of earlier continental scholars such as Karl Ernst Jarcke (1801–1852) and Franz Joseph Mone (1796–1871), in *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921) Murray claimed to have uncovered evidence which proved that the trials represented an attempt to eradicate a surviving pre-Christian pagan religion.[21] This religion, added Murray, practiced fertility rituals and worshiped a god with dual male and female faces, "incarnate in a man, a woman, or an animal".[22] While noting that it was "very probable" that the cult centered around a Mother Goddess worshiped primarily by women in ancient prehistory, Murray concluded that the available historical records from the time of the witch trials suggest that by then "the worship of the male deity appears to have superseded that of the female, and it is only on rare occasions that the God appears in female form to receive the homage of the worshippers. As a general rule", added Murray, "the woman's position, when divine, is that of the familiar or substitute for the male god".[23] In *The God of the Witches* (1931), Murray similarly

wrote that "[e]arly priesthoods [in general and in the witch cult in particular] appear to have been largely composed of women; as the religion changed, men gradually took over the practice of the ritual".[24] She placed the representative of the Horned God as supreme chief of the coven, seconded by an Officer—who represented the Chief in his absence—and a Maiden. Women, according to Murray, could in theory hold the positions of Chief and Officer in addition to the obvious Maiden, though the former two were "usually filled by men".[25] Murray's theory dominated popular and academic discourses for decades and was finally discredited during the 1970s, as historians began to critically approach the period of the European witch trials.

During the interwar period, as Murray the academic was publishing her writings on the witch-cult and Crowley the magician was catapulted to notoriety by the British press as the 'Wickedest Man in the World', another person was beginning to make a name for herself as a leading figure in the world of early twentieth-century British occultism. This was Violet Firth (1890–1946), who is widely remembered today by her pen name of Dion Fortune. In 1919, she was initiated into one of the four successor bodies of the GD: The Alpha et Omega. In 1928, Fortune left the group in order to establish her own organization, which was devoted to Christian mysticism. During the latter half of the 1930s, however, she increasingly espoused a pagan approach to divinity in her writings—with the Goddess being accorded an ever-increasing status—before returning to a Christian set of symbolism following the outbreak of World War II and up to her death.[26]

During this period, as Aleister Crowley was nearing the end of his life as well, the activities of his OTO dwindled considerably, but following his death they were resumed by various successors, making the OTO "an important vehicle for the transmission of esoteric ideas and practices".[27] One of the many individuals who were influenced by Crowley was Gerald Gardner (1884–1964), a retired British civil servant. Gardner was a member of the Folklore Society and was experienced in various Western esoteric traditions (such as Freemasonry, Co-Masonry, Spiritualism, the Fellowship of Crotona, the Ancient Druid Order, and the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry). Gardner visited the aging Crowley at his nursing home several times during 1947 and was initiated by the latter into the OTO. Evidence suggests that Gardner was attempting to revive the OTO in England, but lost interest soon afterward.[28]

The Rise of Wicca and Contemporary Paganism(s)

During the late 1940s, Gardner had embarked upon a quest for reviving (if not conceiving) the ancient religion of Pagan Witchcraft as it was described by Margaret Murray, another member of the Folklore Society.[29] Gardner published two novels centered on the ancient religion of the Goddess,[30] and by late 1948 he had completed most of what is regarded as the earliest known version of the witch liturgy; a manuscript dubbed by him as *Ye Bok of ye Art Magical*.[31] Following the 1951 repeal of the so-called Witchcraft Act of 1735, Gardner felt it was now safe for him to come forth with his religion of witchcraft. During the 1950s, he authored two non-fiction books which publicized its existence.[32] Wicca—as the religion came to be known—began attracting both male and female followers throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In the meantime, several other Wiccan-oriented traditions of witchcraft begun to emerge in Britain, such as Alexandrian Witchcraft and the Traditional Witchcraft groups initiated and inspired by Robert Cochrane.[33]

As a relatively new religion, Wicca's most immediate forebears are nineteenth-and early-twentieth-century esoteric groups, particularly the Hermetic Order of the GD. A variety of much older and influential sources include the Hermetic tradition of the European Renaissance; the Romantic Movement of nineteenth-century Britain, and the work of writers such as Charles Godfrey Leland (1824–1903), Margaret Murray, Robert Graves (1895–1985), and Sir James Frazer (1854–1941).[34] The historical and social context of the development of Wicca in the UK, then, is the esoteric tradition, the occult world, and political right-wing conservatism.[35] Acting within loose structures, or 'covens', practitioners adhered to the Great Goddess and her consort, the Horned God, as prescribed by Gardner.

Since its inception, Wicca has evolved into the most widely known and influential of the denominations comprising 'contemporary Paganism', an umbrella term used for describing modern attempts in the West for reviving various ethnic and magical traditions, mainly those of the pre-Christian European world. Contemporary Paganism is built as a large network of small, completely autonomous groups who make almost no real effort in proselytizing or owning congregational buildings.[36] Most Pagans are not active in organized groups but work as solitaries, who may join with other Pagans only occasionally; particularly during Pagan summer festivals.[37]

Women and Gender Issues in British Paganism, c. 1945–c. 1990

This volume will explore how changes in views on gender and the place of women in society during the latter half of the twentieth century affected women's participation and position within British Paganism, c. 1945–c. 1990. While the women's suffrage movement and 'first-wave' feminism paved the way for women's involvement in magical societies during late-Victorianism and the first half of the twentieth-century, this monograph focuses on the *second* burst of feminist creativity in both action and literature (widely referred to as 'second-wave' feminism, or the 'Women's Liberation Movement'), that led to an ever-increasing involvement of women in the religious groups that would come to be labeled as 'contemporary Paganism'. I will also analyze the ways in which British Wiccans reacted to these significant changes, both in terms of Wiccan ideology and theology, and in terms of the gender relations practiced within covens and in the Wiccan community at large. As Eileen Barker maintain, scholars of religions often

> offer monomorphic accounts of religions; that is, their descriptions frequently suggest that the religions can be characterised by a single, stable set of beliefs and practices. But religions are constantly changing – change is the norm – and new religious movements are liable to change more rapidly and radically than older, more established religions, if only because new religions are prone to find themselves facing challenges that the older religions have already resolved.[38]

The development of contemporary Pagan traditions has been shaped by gender notions to a great extent, as these religious groups serve as a lightning rod for individuals who are "dissatisfied with the gender roles in society or their previous religions". Many Pagans are therefore actively and continuously engaged with "the implications of the gendering of magic and divinity".[39]

In order to better understand the influence of 'second-wave' feminism on British Wiccans, we must leave Britain behind for a while, and cross the Atlantic to the United States. By 1964, Wicca had 'immigrated' to America due to the work of Raymond Buckland (1934–2017), an initiate of Gardner, who brought knowledge of 'the Craft' with him to America.[40] It was during the 1960s–1970s—as America was evolving

into the new center for Pagan thought and activity[41]—that the religion of Wicca came under the influence of 'second-wave' radical and cultural feminism(s).[42]

Radical feminist thought developed in the United States during the late 1960s out of the dissatisfaction of some women who were working within the 'male-dominated' political left, and as a reaction to liberal feminism. Early radical feminists claimed that women, oppressed by the universal patriarchy, must break away from male institutions, culture, and language and form a new women's movement. Some researchers claim that by the mid-1970s a new tendency had developed within radical feminism, called cultural feminism.[43] While early radical feminists simply focused on the elimination of what they understood as a gender-based class system, cultural feminists emphasized biological differences between males and females in their quest to recreate what they understood to be female values and nature, long defaced by the rule of patriarchy. It is these brands of feminism that were to become a dominant transforming force within the American Pagan movement.[44] This is an important point, as up until the late 1960s it had been primarily men who did the talking (and writing) in regard to contemporary Paganism and the occult. As the 1970s drew to a close, that influence was already evident in the United States through the writings of Miriam 'Starhawk' Simos (b. 1951) and Zsuzsanna Emese Mokcsay (b. 1940), who developed feminist and Dianic Witchcraft respectively, becoming by far the most popular spokespersons for the American Pagan community.[45]

The rise of feminist and Dianic forms of Witchcraft highlight a trajectory of overall progression in women's involvement in magical and Pagan forms of spirituality; their acceptance within these religious groups; and the ways in which these groups formulated their theologies and ideologies in the face of developing gender notions. Indeed, while Madam Blavatsky differed from earlier Spiritualists (as mentioned above), she still found it necessary to state that her spiritual message was formulated through the guidance of male Tibetan sages to whom she referred as 'Mahatmas'. The women of the GD and its offshoots, while serving in prominent positions, still had to answer to male leaders such as MacGregor-Mathers and Aleister Crowley. Indeed, Joy Dixon has already claimed that "[t]he Theosophical Society and the esoteric tradition offered women very specific opportunities while foreclosing others".[46]

Early Wiccans took another step when they strived to create 'gender-balanced' covens, with an equal number of males and females. The covens were led jointly by a high priest and a high priestess, yet the relative primacy of the Goddess over her consort, the Horned God, was extended somewhat to include the position of the high priestess. Furthermore, as Gerald Gardner's high priestess, Doreen Valiente contributed greatly to the development of Wiccan liturgy.[47] That being said, we must remember that it was Gardner himself who was considered as Wicca's traditional leading figure up until his death in 1964.[48]

As already described above, though, by the late-1960s American radical feminists were beginning to appropriate Paganism and the symbol of the witch for themselves, bringing them into contact with 'established' Pagans who did not subscribe to the developing radical feminist agenda. While studies have shown that in the United States this feminist interpretation of Paganism became accepted (and then dominant), no similar studies were conducted in *Britain*. This is partly due to a relative shortage in academic treatments of British Paganism during the 1970s–1980s. Very few researchers had even briefly dealt with the subject, but there *is* a clear division between their views on the matter.[49] This present study aims to illuminate the crucial (yet largely overlooked) impact of feminist thought in ushering a new stage in women's involvement in British Paganism, in the development of its ideology and in the gender relations practiced by adherents during the scope of my research. This effort is achieved with the help of archival data[50] that has yet to be explored in an academic setting, as well as oral history interviews with veteran British Pagans.[51] The analysis provided in the following chapters will not be limited to the acceptance of radical feminist discourse and ideas by various British Pagan individuals or groups. Conscious rejection of these ideas, and the ways in which such opposition manifested itself in British Pagan ideology, practice, and gender relations will also be examined. The following pages aim to provide scholars with a deep and profound understanding of how members of a specific new religious movement reacted to changing gender notions and theories in different contexts (in this case different states/continents and the different embodiments of radical feminist thought within these localities).

Layout

Chapter 2 provides the context for our quest for making sense of the interplay between radical and cultural feminisms on Wiccan and Wiccan-oriented British Paganism by first analyzing Wiccan writings from the late-1940s up until the late 1960s, prior to the rise of the WLM. The next chapter briefly surveys American radical and cultural feminist thought, as well as the rise of the WLM in Britain between the late 1960s and early 1980s.[52] While radical feminism held sway in the United States, socialist feminism was much more noticeable in the British WLM. I focus mainly on radical feminists, because their socialist sisters had a far smaller tendency for either dabbling in spiritual feminism, or affecting British Pagans, who during the 1950s–1970s were mostly of conservative background.[53] The chapter then briefly surveys feminist and Dianic forms of Witchcraft promoted by Starhawk and Budapest in the United States. The distinction between feminist and Dianic forms of Witchcraft is important to discern when discussing the position of women within contemporary Paganism, for while Starhawk's feminist interpretation of Witchcraft included a strong feminist emphasis, the Reclaiming movement she helped to build was (in contrast to Budapest's Dianic Witchcraft) open to men as well as women. Furthermore, while the presence of the Horned God in the theology of the Reclaiming movement was relatively marginalized, it was not abandoned. Dianic Witches, on the contrast, did not recognize a male divinity. For them, the Goddess was seen as the sole creative force in the universe. These differences in both theology and gender relations are critical when considering the various influences of these American brands of Witchcraft on British Paganism and women's involvement in it. Chapter 3 then proceeds to analyze the proliferation of British Matriarchal study groups by local feminists who were dedicated to the research of ancient matriarchal societies and to the contemporary practice of Goddess Spirituality.[54] While these groups were imbedded within the wider British WLM, it were American feminists and proponents of matriarchy prehistory proponents to whom British matriarchalists turned for inspiration, influence, and support.

Chapter 4 introduces specific sites which served during the 1970s–1980s as arenas where ideas and views between British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans and Radical feminists, Dianics, and Goddess women were exchanged. These focal points help provide a better

understanding of the ways and means by which the concepts and ideas in question have traveled in British society. Four such arenas have been identified during this research: The Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp,[55] which operated outside the gate of RAF Greenham between the years 1981–2000 and was a hotbed for radical/cultural feminist activity, including a significant presence of feminist and Dianic Witches; The town of Glastonbury, described in academic research as a 'Mecca' for British New-agers, Pagans, Goddess feminists, etc.,[56] which furthermore had its own WLM group; Pagan and New-Age summer festivals; London's special status as a magnet for all sorts of thinkers and culture-makers was therefore a center for both Pagan and Feminist activities.

By analyzing magazines and ephemera that were produced in (or referred to) these focal points, particularly in Greenham Common, Glastonbury and London, and through utilizing sociological and anthropological studies which were conducted there during that period, a broader social context and activities were uncovered and supplemented my main textual research. The impact of British radical feminism on UK Pagans was considerably smaller than that exerted by American radical feminist theory, due to the relative primacy of socialist feminism within the British WLM. As made clear by Holger Nehring, the transatlantic links which influenced British social movements during the 1960s–1980s "still need to be addressed in more detail by contemporary historians". Indeed, "[m]uch more creative *historical* [sic] research, embracing political, social, cultural and international trends in comparative perspective, is needed to make sense" of them.[57] The relative shortage of homegrown radical feminist influences on British Pagans is therefore of interest not only for scholars of contemporary Paganism and has implications for the much larger field of research into social movements in that country.

Building on this data, Chapter 5 focuses on case studies of specific proponents of Goddess Spirituality and feminist/Dianic Witchcraft, who—by virtue of their extensive writings or actions—were put in a position to connect British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans with ideas produced by radical, cultural and spiritual feminisms. While British-based Goddess women displayed a highly critical and (on occasion) confrontational attitudes toward "male-oriented" esotericism in general and British Wicca in particular, it will be shown that it were these forms of British occultism that nonetheless influenced Goddess women such as Asphodel Long, Kathy Jones and Monica Sjöö in their early spiritual

development. For others, the point of entry was Budapest's Dianic Wicca, which used the Wiccan template, stripped of all male content. Goddess feminists and Dianics instilled the occultist Wiccan framework with a unique blend of feminism and eco-spirituality, and the cross-fertilization between them and British Wiccans contributed to the shaping of contemporary British Paganism.

As shown in Chapter 6, different individuals representing separate denominations within British Paganism were influenced by this discourse in varying degrees. The chapter utilizes mostly books and memoires (interspersed by letters and oral history interviews) by figures such as Janet and Stuart Farrar, Doreen Valiente, Patricia Crowther, Alex and Maxine Sanders, Vivianne Crowley, Lois Bourne, Marian Green and Rae Beth, whose writings provided the theological and ideological basis for Pagan practitioners.[58] Chapter 7 utilizes archival materials in order to explore the grassroots Paganism of the period's magazine scene. The data uncovered sheds light on the unremitting debates that raged over the pages of local publications[59] over the various implications of radical feminist ideology (as well as gay liberation, lesbianism and separatism) on their Pagan ideology, theology, and gender relations. Delving into the (often ephemeral) world of cheaply produced 'zines and newsletters can reveal a more diverse plethora of opinions and thus bring to light the views of many more Pagans who did not publish books. An additional advantage in providing equal room for both books and magazine articles is that books were written mainly for outward consumption, while magazines were produced primarily for internal discussions between British Pagans themselves.

These debates were also inspired by the rise of several Goddess-identified groups and writers in the UK, and British Pagans and Goddess feminists continuously debated during the 1980s and well into the 1990s on whether the Goddess Movement can be considered to be part of the Neopaganism or not. Indeed, Ronald Hutton notes that while "[o]n the whole, self-identified Pagans were inclined to regard it as such, … many of the [Goddess] movement's own adherents felt that they had too many differences with Paganism to assume any natural and unproblematic connection to it".[60]

The end point of this book's time frame is dictated by several reasons. First, the 1990s ushered the development of the so-called third-wave of feminist thinking, which rose to dominance by the mid-1990s. 'third-wave' feminists had their own set of questions and methods

(such as Queer Theory),[61] and recent studies have shown that this process did not skip over British Goddess Feminism and Paganism.[62] Secondly, it can also be argued that the late 1980s functioned as a watershed period in the growth and consolidation of Paganism in Britain, therefore concluding a *historically-distinct chapter* in its development. Ronald Hutton had already noted that the death of Alex Sanders, founder of the Alexandrian Wiccan Tradition, on April 30, 1988, "cleared the way for a true rapprochement between Alexandrians and Gardnerians" and to a reorganization of the Pagan Federation into a larger and more formal structure. Annual conferences and regional groups soon appeared, and membership in the organization rose rapidly from hundreds to thousands. Hutton adds that this process attracted representatives from other Pagan traditions (such as Druidry, Shamanism, or Heathenry), naturally bringing an end to Wiccan dominance over the Federation.[63]

Another reason for the termination of this research by the late 1980s is that British Goddess Feminism, which had been developing from the latter half of the 1970s, had by the early 1990s reached a new phase of creativity and visibility, and whose effects can still be seen in the contemporary 'scene' of British Feminist Spirituality, thus leaving it outside the scope of this research.[64] Furthermore, one should not neglect the immense impact made on Modern Paganism worldwide by the advent of the Internet during the mid-1990s. Indeed, "the creation of online Pagan communities…has stretched and challenged more traditional understandings of modern Paganism".[65]

As Laura L. Vance observed recently,

> Because religion is the institution most responsible for answering questions of ultimate meaning, notions of gender intersect with virtually every aspect of religion – including images and characteristics of the divine, access to the divine, accounts of creation, sacred texts and stories, moral norms, access to religious authority, roles in ritual, and religious history.[66]

New religions, continues Vance, provide scholars with a better means of monitoring the ways in which ideas about gender and the place of women within the faith develop and transform during the crucial first decades in the formation of religions.[67] Building on these insights, and taking into account the triple intersection that it produces by the categories of occultism, text, and gender,[68] the following chapters will analyze

the changes and developments in women's involvement in British Paganism during its formative years, and in the process will illuminate an important facet of twentieth-century religious, intellectual, cultural, and transatlantic history.

Notes

1. For an overview see Lewis and Tøllefsen, *The Oxford Handbook of New Religious Movements, Vol II*; Chryssides and Zeller, *The Bloomsbury Companion to New Religious Movements*.
2. King, "General Introduction: Gender-Critical Turns in the Study of Religion," 8.
3. For studies on Victorian occultism see Owen, *The Place of Enchantment*; Butler, *Victorian Occultism and the Making of Modern Magic*.
4. Johnston, "Gender and the Occult," 681. See also Johnston, "A Deliciously Troubling Duo: Gender and Esotericism," 410–425; Granholm, "Sociology and the Occult," 726.
5. Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine*.
6. For a biography of Blavatsky see Cranston, *HPB*.
7. On Victorian Spiritualism see Owen, *The Darkened Room*; Kontou and Willburn (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Nineteenth-Century Spiritualism and the Occult*.
8. See Dixon, *Divine Feminine*.
9. For a biography of Kingsford, see Pert, *Red Cactus*.
10. Owen, *The Place of Enchantment*, 40–41; Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, 52–56.
11. Bogdan, "Women and the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn," 254; Owen, *The Place of Enchantment*, 52. For general information about the order see Ibid.; Butler, *Victorian Occultism and the Making of Modern Magic*; Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*; Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*.
12. The division into different 'waves' of feminist activism and discourse, while emic, is generally adopted by researchers of gender and feminist issues as well. 'First-Wave' feminism refers roughly to the suffrage movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while 'second-wave'—which will be surveyed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this book—feminism dominated the scene during the 1960s–1980s. 'Third-wave' feminism, which emphasizes the importance of difference and identity politics, emerged during the early 1990s and is presently still an ongoing phenomenon even as certain feminist researchers and activists are beginning to identify a 'fourth-wave' feminism, beginning in 2008,

that is often associated with online social media and the repudiation of the earlier 'second wave' radical feminist exclusion of transsexual women.

13. Eller, *Gentlemen and Amazons*.
14. See Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*; Bogdan, "Women and the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn."
15. Owen, *The Place of Enchantment*, 192. For information on Crowley see Owen, *The Place of Enchantment*; Butler, *Victorian Occultism*; Kaczynski, *Perdurabo*; Sutin, *Do What Thou Wilt*.
16. Bogdan, "Aleister Crowley: A Prophet for the Modern Age," 295, 296; Drury, "The Thelemic Sex Magick of Aleister Crowley," 208.
17. Bogdan, "Aleister Crowley," 294, 295.
18. For information on the OTO see Pasi, "Ordo Templi Orientis," 898–906; Kaczynski, *Forgotten Templars*; Giudice, "Ordo Templi Orientis," 277–282.
19. Bogdan, "Aleister Crowley," 300; Drury, "The Thelemic Sex Magick of Aleister Crowley," 213.
20. Giudice, "Ordo Templi Orientis," 278–279.
21. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe*; Murray, *The God of the Witches*. For academic treatments of Murray's life and career, see Sheppard, *The Life of Margaret Alice Murray*; Whitehouse, "Margaret Murray (1863–1963)." For Murray's autobiography, see Murray, *My First Hundred Years*.
22. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe*, 12, 14.
23. Ibid., 13–14. In her 1963 biography, Murray supported the notion that prehistoric human society—ignorant of the part played by the male in procreation—revered women as giver of life and nurturer and that humanity's primal concept of deity was therefore female—a view which was a cornerstone of the myth of matriarchal prehistory. Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 198.
24. Murray, *The God of the Witches*, 61.
25. Ibid., 66.
26. *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Pagan Witchcraft*, New Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 187–194. For more information on Fortune, see Chapman, *The Quest for Dion Fortune*; Richardson, *Priestess*; Knight (ed.), *Dion Fortune's Rites of Isis and of Pan*; Johnston, "The Occult Novels of Dion Fortune," 47–56.
27. Pasi, "Ordo Templi Orientis," 898, 904–905.
28. Hutton, *Triumph*, 229–230. For a fuller account of the relationship between Gardner and Crowley see Ibid., 214–217, 219, 221–222, 224–230; Hutton, "Crowley and Wicca," 285–306; Bogdan, "*The Influence of Aleister Crowley on Gerald Gardner and the Early WitchcraftMovement*," 81–108.
29. Hutton, *Triumph*, 247.

30. See Gardner, *A Goddess Arrives*; Scire, *High Magic's Aid*.
31. Hutton, *Triumph*, 235–236.
32. Gardner, *Witchcraft Today*; Gardner, *The Meaning of Witchcraft*.
33. Hutton, *Triumph*, 324–352. For further academic treatments of British paganism which are relevant to our time period (or shortly after it), see Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*; Greenwood, *The Nature of Magic*; Greenwood, *Magic, Witchcraft and the Otherworld*; Pearson, Roberts and Samuel (eds.), *Nature Religion Today*; Harvey and Hardman (eds.), *Paganism Today*; Simes, *Contemporary Paganism in the East Midlands*; Jones, *Modern Paganism in the United Kingdom*; York, *The Emerging Network*; Raphael, *Introducing Thealogy*.
34. See Hutton, *Triumph*; Leland, *Aradia*; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*; Graves, *The White Goddess*.
35. While the editor of a recent companion to contemporary Britain commented on the extent to which World War II "radicalized a hitherto conservative society," it is important to note that the "first public representatives of Wicca and the magicians from whom they had drawn ideas" were all staunch conservatives. Addison, "The Impact of the Second World War," 4; Hutton, *Triumph*, 374.
36. Salomonsen, *Enchanted Feminism*, 8.
37. Clifton, *Her Hidden Children*, 11, 12, 164.
38. Barker, "Revision and Diversification in New Religious Movements," 1.
39. Hedenborg-White and Tøllefsen, "Introduction," 8.
40. Clifton, *Her Hidden Children*, 15, 24.
41. Eilberg-Schwartz, "Witches of the West," 77.
42. Berger, *A Community of Witches*, 13.
43. The term 'Cultural Feminism' was coined by a radical feminist called Brooke Williams, who defined it as "[a] belief that women will be freed through an alternative female culture." Researcher Alice Echols used and expanded this term significantly. See Echols, "The New Feminism of Yin and Yang," 439–459; Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*.
44. Helen A. Berger, *A Community of Witches*, 13, 46; Hutton, "Modern Pagan Witchcraft," 1–79; Raphael, *Introducing Thealogy*, 31, 119; Greenwood, *The Nature of Magic*, 185–186; Griffin, "The Embodied Goddess," 40.
45. Melton and Poggi, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Paganism in America*, 209; Starhawk, *The Spiral Dance*; Budapest, *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries*. It must be noted that although many feminists embraced Spiritual Feminism and Paganism enthusiastically, the vast majority of radical feminists steered clear of these movements, and criticized religiously-committed feminists for being 'soft feminists'. Indeed, Spiritual Feminists were often described by them as "emphasizing a path of inwardness to the exclusion of any political commitment." King, *Women and Spirituality*, 16.

46. Dixon, *Divine Feminine*, 7.
47. Hutton, *Triumph*, 254–255.
48. Ibid., 322.
49. In *The Triumph of the Moon*—which traces the early history of modern Pagan Witchcraft in Britain and its sources of influence—Ronald Hutton summarized the development of Paganism in the United States and proceeded to claim that American—and particularly feminist—ideas that reached Britain during the 1980s had a considerable influence on the development of British Paganism. This is while other researchers who had expressed their opinions on the matter maintained a contrary view, seeing that influence as negligible or non-existent. Ibid., 353–381; Gallagher, "Woven Apart and Weaving Together," 43–45; Pearson, *Wicca and the Christian Heritage*, 3; Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 52.
50. Archival research has been conducted in the following facilities: The Women's Library; The Feminist Library; The British Library; The Museum of Witchcraft's library; The Library of Avalon; The northern and southern branches of The Feminit Archive; The Keep—Brighton's and East Sussex's archival center; The Starhawk Collection; The Robert Graves Papers; The Peter Redgrove Papers.
51. Indeed, as noted by Amy Simes as early as 1995, "[u]nless such research is carried out soon, those who might provide vital information about this primarily oral 'tradition' will be beyond the reach of any researcher. Such an irretrievable loss would be a tragedy." Simes, *Contemporary Paganism in the East Midlands*, 523–524. During the course of this study, I interviewed fourteen individuals in person or via Skype, and six others were interviewed via email.
52. For recent studies on British WLM that are relevant to the time-frame of this book see Setch, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Britain*; Setch, "The Face of Metropolitan Feminism: The London Women's Liberation Workshop," 171–190; Rees, *All the Rage: Revolutionary Feminism in England*; Idem., "A Look Back in Anger," 337–356; Idem., "'Taking Your Politics Seriously'"; Rogers, *Feminist Consciousness-Raising in the 1970s and 1980s*; Browne, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Scotland*.
53. Hutton, *Triumph*, 374.
54. For an informative study on British Matriarchal study-groups see Komatsu, *An Empirical Study of Matriarchy Groups in Contemporary Britain and Their Relationship to New Religious Movements*.
55. See for example: Junor, *Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp*; Laware, "Circling the Missiles and Staining Them Red," 18–41; Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*; Welch, "The Spirituality of, and at, Greenham Common Peace Camp," 230–248.

56. See for example: Bowman, "Drawn to Glastonbury," 29–62; Hexham, *Some Aspects of the Contemporary Search for an Alternative Society [In Glastonbury, England, 1967–1971]*; Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*; Prince and Riches, *The New Age in Glastonbury*.
57. Nehring, "The Growth of Social Movements," 401.
58. Several researchers had already discerned that "It is a paradox that while they frequently claim that they have no 'sacred book' (like the bible) which sets out their doctrine and provides a guide for living,…witches probably read more on the subject of their spirituality than the members of any other religious group." Rountree, *Embracing the Witch and the Goddess*, 41. See for example: Beth, *Hedge Witch*; Crowley, *Wicca: The Old Religion in the New Age*; Crowther, *Lid Off the Cauldron*; Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches Way*; Farrar, *What Witches Do*; Gardner, *Witchcraft Today*; Gardner, *The Meaning of Witchcraft*; Green, *A Witch Alone*; Jones, *The Ancient British Goddess*; Shan, *Circlework*; Valiente, *An ABC of Witchcraft*; Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*; Valiente, *Where Witchcraft Lives*.
59. See for example: *Albion*, *Aquarian Arrow*, *Celt*, *Deosil Dance*, *Dragon's Brew*, *Green Circular*, *Meyn Mamvro*, *Moonshine*, *Pagan News*, *Pagan Voice*, *Pipes of Pan*, *Quest*, *The Cauldron*, *The New Equinox*, *The Wiccan*, *Wood and Water*.
60. Hutton, "Introduction," 6.
61. 'Third-wave' Feminism's development is thought to have begun in the United States by the early 1990s. The phrase itself was coined by Rebecca Walker in 1992. British 'third-wave' Feminist thought started developing about a decade later and has a somewhat different character than its American equivalent, according to Kristin Aune. Walker, "Becoming the Third Wave," 39–41; Aune, "Much Less Religious, a Little More Spiritual," 35–36.
62. Giselle Vincett claims in her UK study that "Goddess Feminists of different ages exists in different generational contexts which affect not only their feminisms, but also their Goddess Spirituality" and adds that "it is possible to identify recent changes in Goddess Feminism (and Paganism in general) which may reflect generational change." Vincett, "Generational Change in Goddess Feminism," 139, 142.
63. Hutton, *Triumph*, 385, 386, 387, 398. Amy Simes, an anthropologist who wrote her dissertation during the early-1990s, also noted an explosion both Pagan demography and in new Pagan organizations, groups and traditions. Simes, *Contemporary Paganism in the East Midlands*, 42, 53, 54, 58, 60, 441.
64. Most of the credit in that sense belongs to Kathy Jones. A feminist and resident of Glastonbury since the early 1980s, Jones published a string of books on Goddess Spirituality in Glastonbury since 1990. In 1991 she

co-opened a Pagan/Goddess shop in the town's high street, called 'The Goddess and the Green Man', and since 1996 she has also co-organized Glastonbury's annual Goddess Conference. This conference attracts many hundreds of women yearly, from Britain and abroad. She has also been involved in the founding of the Glastonbury Goddess Temple in 2002, and developed a 3-year learning program, enabling women to become 'priestesses of Avalon.' See Trulsson, *Cultivation the Sacred*.

65. Cowan, *Cyberhenge*, 24. Cowan adds that "there is no doubt that for modern Pagans with Internet access, the World Wide Web provides a potential for connection, interaction, and community that is unparalleled in history." Ibid., 199.
66. Vance, *Women in New Religions*, 6.
67. Ibid., 8.
68. Wallraven, *Women Writers and the Occult in Literature and Culture*, 2.

CHAPTER 2

The 1950s–1960s: Gerald Gardner and Alex Sanders

Gerald Brosseau Gardner (1884–1964) was born into a family of wealthy Liverpool-based timber merchants. Since the age of four, he was shipped out with his nanny to winter abroad in hotter climates due to his asthma, and as a consequence he never attended school. By late 1901, he began an apprenticeship in Sri Lanka's (then Ceylon) tea plantations, and in 1904 had moved on to manage the family's rubber plantation on the island. Gardner's father—William (1843–1935)—sold the property in 1911, and Gerald decided to venture east to Borneo, where he developed a long career in the island's rubber plantations and Civil Service. By early 1936, Gardner retired and traveled with his wife, Donna, to England, where he published a book on the *Keris and Other Malay Weapons*. Following his retirement, Gardner occupied himself in occasional archeological digs and joined the Folklore Society.[1]

In the spring of 1938, the Gardners settled in the New Forest area. Between mid-1938 and the summer of 1939, Gerald was working on his first novel—*A Goddess Arrives*—which was published in early December of that year.[2] According to Ronald Hutton,

> The whole plot is based upon the premise that the cult of Aphrodite owes its origin to the appearance of a human woman who deluded the Cypriots into taking her for a divinity. She is herself a witch, possessed of genuine powers of divination and versed in old and arcane knowledge, working her

S. Feraro, *Women and Gender Issues in British Paganism, 1945–1990*, Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-46695-4_2

> rituals nude and employing… the sacrifice of black cats, goats, sheep, and the occasional human to Hecate… [but] is not, however, the protagonist of the story… . [The latter,]… with whom Gardner clearly identifies, is a male member of a society of swordsmen with special signs and gestures like those of Freemasons. He derives his strength from Higher Powers who abominate sacrifice… and derides the 'Old Ones' venerated by the witch as creations of human minds, onto whom are projected powers which actually occur within human beings. There is no doubt allowed that he represents a finer sort of spirituality than hers and she comes to accept this.[3]

Gardner—who had been involved in Freemasonry in both Ceylon and Borneo—claimed to have joined a group of Rosicrucians at Christchurch in September of 1938.[4] The Rosicrucian Order Crotona Fellowship, as the group was called, was founded in Liverpool in 1920 by George Alexander Sullivan (1890–1942) before relocating to Christchurch in 1935. Its literature contained a mixture of Rosicrucian, Theosophical, and Masonic ideas.[5] According to Gardner's narrative, presented by his first biographer—and coven member—Jack Bracelin (d. 1983), he befriended a small group of people in the Fellowship who kept to themselves "and had a real interest in the occult".[6] Gardner claimed that these individuals "introduced him to a wealthy local lady called 'Old Dorothy'", who turned out to be the leader of "a surviving witch coven of the ancient religion"—to which Gardner was dully initiated in September 1939.[7] Gardner's story, however, has never been taken seriously by academic historians, and while the woman he referred to as 'Old Dorothy' would subsequently be identified as Dorothy Clutterbuck (1880–1951), research has shown that in all likelihood she was hardly interested in paganism or the occult.[8] Gardner did, however, collaborate with another member of the Rosicrucian Order Crotona Fellowship, who expressed a deep interest in occultism, and "can be securely identified as working witchcraft with… [him] before he announced the religion to the public".[9] Archival evidence shows that this woman, Edith Woodford-Grimes (1887–1975), cooperated with Gardner on several community ventures during the mid-1940s. By the opening of the next decade, the two were heading a coven which met in a reconstructed 'witch's cottage' situated on land adjacent to a naturist club in Bricket Wood, near the town of St. Albans.[10] By late 1952, however, fearing damage to her reputation and livelihood due to Gardner's publicity seeking, she terminated her involvement with the coven. As the decade

drew to a close, Woodford-Grimes "was living with a staunchly Christian niece, and very anxious that her past involvement in witchcraft should not become known".[11]

The Witchcraft Act of 1735 was still in force in Britain in the late 1940s, and Gardner—who wanted to publicize the existence of his witch religion—had to resort to fiction once more. In 1949, he published another novel, titled *High Magic's Aid*, which was set in medieval times and combined ceremonial magic with witchcraft. Ronald Hutton notes certain similarities between the structure of *High Magic's Aid* and *A Goddess Arrives*, one of which is that the male protagonist is more powerful than the female witch, who defers to him. However, he also observes some key shifts between these two works: "The single male protagonist of the first is now divided into three male characters, one representing wisdom, leadership, and proficiency in magic, one being the virile and martial figure… and one being boyish, innocent, and mercurial. The heroine has grown in dignity, so that although she follows the will of the first of the male trio…, she achieves a dominance over the younger two, and initiates them into her religion".[12] Following the publication of *High Magic's Aid* Gardner was approached by Barbara Vickers, who read the novel as part of her general interest in Spiritualism and the occult. Vickers either asked—or agreed to—initiation into 'the witch cult', which took place sometime between autumn 1949 and autumn 1950 at the latest.[13] The Witchcraft Act was eventually repealed with the enactment of the Fraudulent Mediums Act 1951, enabling Gardner to proclaim in various press interviews that he had made contact with a surviving coven of witches in contemporary Britain. By 1958, after a series of tabloid articles accused him in practicing black magic and devil worship, Gardner was given the opportunity to defend himself on Panorama—then the BBC's flagship current affairs program. Ronald Hutton said recently that "even in the face of some provocative questioning, …[Gardner] kept his dignity – just", but more importantly, "twelfth million people have just heard about Wicca for the first time".[14]

As noted above, Gardner's publicity seeking caused Woodford-Grimes, his high priestess, to withdraw her involvement in the coven early on. In late September 1952, a young woman named Doreen Valiente (1922–1999) read an article on 'Witchcraft in Britain' published by Gardner in the *Illustrated Weekly*. She began a correspondence with him, which led to a meeting and her eventual initiation into the Craft in July of 1953.[15] Later that year Valiente met the rest of Gardner's coven,

which then numbered at about eight or ten members.[16] Valiente recalled how at the end of their first meeting Gardner gave her a copy of *High Magic's Aid* and suggested she read it carefully if she wishes to learn about the ancient witch religion.[17] Indeed, Gardner regularly used the novel as a kind of introductory guide into Wicca, which he handed out to prospective students in order to hint at what witches believed and did, and test their reaction to its description of ritual nudity and flagellation.[18]

Before we proceed to survey the development of Wicca during the 1950s and 1960s, it will be prudent to discuss the ways in which some of the figures presented in the Introduction influenced Gardner as he drafted the early pieces of Wiccan liturgy. First, there is the matter of Dion Fortune. While she does not appear to have considered herself as 'Pagan', Fortune's writings—particularly novels such as *The Sea Priestess* and *Moon Magic*—"can be found on the bookshelves of many [British Pagans]… and are standard reading for most Wiccans".[19] Ronald Hutton makes it clear, however, that Fortune was in fact not one of the main figures behind the formation of Wicca and did not influence its early development in a "massive and consistent" way.[20] Gerald Gardner was active in London during the last nine years of Fortune's life and it would be natural to assume he was probably aware of her work. It is important to remember, however, that Gardner's interest in esoteric societies began to bloom as late as 1938–1939, following his relocation to Hampshire and his involvement with the Christchurch Rosicrucians. His visits to London during World War II were not numerous, and by 1946, as Gardner began to immerse himself in the capital's occult scene, Fortune was already dead.[21] Furthermore, while Cernunnos—Wicca's male divinity—is "clearly the same god-form as Pan", who 'starred' in Fortune's *The Goat Foot God*, Wiccan attitudes toward deity were uniquely different from her own: While Dion Fortune "certainly celebrated the same god and goddess", she did so "consecutively", beginning with the adoration of Pan as the divine masculine during the mid-1930s, before replacing him by the end of the decade with the Goddess—personified as Isis. In contrast to Wicca, which deals with a divine partnership of Goddess and God in which the goddess is preeminent, Fortune's writing did not posit the two deities "as a working partnership".[22]

A study of the early Wiccan liturgy produced by Gardner during the late 1940s and early 1950s would furthermore attest that none of these highly eclectic texts drew on Fortune's work, and there is similarly no

evidence "that any prominent Wiccans during the first decade of the movement's public life… had any close interest in it".[23] Fortune's novels were not as well known during the critical period of the formation of Wiccan liturgy as they would later become: Indeed, *The Sea Priestess* was hardly a bestseller for many years, while *Moon Magic* was left unfinished, and was only published the late 1950s.[24] It was only during the mid- to late 1960s that a direct link between Fortune and Wiccan liturgy can be found, in the form of "the Dryghtyn or Blessing Prayer, which many Wiccans, especially in America, regard as the main doctrinal statement of their religion". While its theological system was based on "Fortune's ordering of the divine universe"—namely that "all gods are one god and all goddesses are one goddess, and there is one original force behind both"—this piece of Wiccan liturgy was written by Doreen Valiente as late as the mid- to late 1960s.[25]

Margaret Murray, on the other hand, certainly influenced Gardner to no small extent. His first known contact with her dates from 1939: During this year he joined the Folklore Society and presented a paper which contained a footnote that named Margaret Murray as one of two scholars Gardner approached for the verification of his ideas.[26] Ronald Hutton notes that the witch religion portrayed by Gardner in *High Magic's Aid* was "that of Margaret Murray's *God of the Witches*, in virtually every detail, including its dedication to a single male deity of fertility, whose name is given… (again taken from Murray) as Janicot".[27] During her Presidency of the Folklore Society Murray even wrote the preface for Gardner's *Witchcraft Today*, which will be dealt with below.[28]

Gardner's chief source of inspiration in developing early Wiccan texts was Aleister Crowley, whose "own interest in pagan witchcraft was minimal – if indeed he ever knew of its existence".[29] According to Crowley's diary for May Day 1947, Gardner visited him at his Hastings boarding house accompanied by his friend, the stage magician Arnold Crowther (1909–1974). Gardner returned, alone, for three further visits on May 7, 14, and 27.[30] Gardner's biographer, Philip Heselton, suggests that he likely read "at least some of Crowley's works before they met, even though he probably had little knowledge of Crowley's life and his order, the O.T.O., beforehand".[31] According to surviving correspondence between the two, Crowley initiated Gardner during the course of these visits to the fourth degree of the OTO and empowered him to found an OTO 'encampment'.[32] Crowley's death seems to have left Gardner as the European head of the Order, but his initial enthusiasm at the

prospects of reviving its European operation soon faded. Hutton adds that while Gardner was undoubtedly interested in ceremonial magic, "he never exhibited much interest in Crowley's particular doctrines concerning it, including the Law of Thelema. …his chief concern lay in obtaining rituals rather than in understanding and articulating a theoretical structure to accompany them".[33] Gardner published his 1949 novel, *High Magic's Aid*, using the pseudonym 'Scire'—his OTO magical name—and listed his degree within the Order.[34] It seems likely that the manuscript for the book was already substantially completed by the time of Gardner's last recorded meeting with Crowley in late May of 1947, because the latter commented that the book should be cut down to two-thirds of its length in a letter he sent Gardner, dated 10 June 1947.[35] The contents of the book itself, however,

> had nothing to do with the OTO or any of Crowley's teachings. They dealt, instead, with a mixture of high ceremonial magic of the traditional kind, especially taken from Samuel Liddell Mathers' Victorian edition of the *Greater Key of Solomon*, and belief and rites of the new witch religion that he was soon to promote. From the moment that the book appeared, Gardner devoted himself wholly to Wicca, and he never behaved again as a member of Crowley's order, let alone as its European head.[36]

Yet while Gardner himself ceased to identify with Crowley's Order, the latter's published materials did indeed influence the development of early Wiccan liturgy during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Ronald Hutton divides this influence into three distinct phases which correspond to different periods in the development of said rituals: The first of these has to do with "Ye Bok of ye Art Magical", a manuscript composed by Gardner mostly between mid-1947 and late 1948, of which more will be said later in this chapter.[37] For the present purposes, it should be noted that "works written, edited, or directly influenced by Crowley represent the single largest body of matter on which the manuscript drew", and "feature on 139 of the 250 pages on which entries were eventually made".[38] While 60 of these refer to the *Goetia*—a work which was actually transcribed by Mathers and but published by Crowley in 1904—Crowley's *Magick in Theory and Practice* was an important source as well. A passage from *Book Four, Part Two*, co-authored by Crowley with Mary d'Esté Sturges, was included as well, and extracts from Crowley were further featured in a set speech for a high priestess and

some seasonal rituals found in "Ye Bok". Crowley-derived material was included within the first- and second-degree initiation rituals found in "Ye Bok" and was later removed from the versions of these rituals which appeared in *High Magic's Aid* and later Wiccan liturgy. The third-degree initiation presented in "Ye Bok"—which included key phrases taken from Crowley's sex magic teachings—remained a central part of the ritual ever since.[39] Henrik Bogdan doubts whether Gardner actually gained access to the secret sex magic materials of the OTO's ninth degree, and adds that his use of ritualized sex in the Wiccan third degree "had more to do with his attempt to re-create a fertility cult, rather than the performing of an act of sexual magic in Crowley's sense".[40] Ronald Hutton further notes that "[t]he vital importance of Crowley in the compilation of Gardner's grimoire must therefore be obvious, both in the provision of actual texts and in a more general influence: in breaking free from the Judeo-Christian framework still employed by the majority of British ritual magicians of the early twentieth century, in placing consecrated sexuality at the heart of ritual symbolism, and in providing the precedent of a rapturous goddess, represented by a human priestess".[41]

The second phase of Crowley's influence over early Wiccan liturgy consists of further quotations from his Gnostic Mass, *Book Four* and *The Equinox*, that appear in the "Book of Shadows" (also known as 'Text A')—the document which replaced "Ye Bok" as a working grimoire around 1948–1949.[42] Lisa Crandall has recently shown how one such quotation was derived from Crowley's 'Energized Enthusiasm', which appeared in *The Equinox* during March 1913. Gardner was obviously interested in Crowley's take on Genius and the secretion it fed upon, which was "analogous to semen" and found in "few men and fewer women, those women being invariably androgyne". He copied these lines into page 189 of his manuscript.[43]

The third and final phase occurred during the mid-1950s, as Gardner attempted "to diminish, and to deny, the extent of his association with, and debt to [Crowley]". Ronald Hutton has suggested that as the propagator of an independent and by then fully functioning tradition that claimed an unbroken continuity with the ancient past, Gardner needed to downplay his borrowing from twentieth-century sources. Crowley's posthumous notoriety, bolstered by John Symonds's biography of him, *The Great Beast*, which appeared in 1951, further discouraged Gardner and his High Priestess, Doreen Valiente, from continuing Wicca's reliance on the old magus. Following the publication of Gardner's *Witchcraft Today*

in 1954 and the arrival of many letters from individuals seeking initiation, Valiente's feelings on this matter hardened, and she finally managed to convince Gardner to give her free reign in rewriting the rituals and cutting away as much of the 'Crowleyanity' as possible.[44]

For the purposes of this volume, it is now necessary to discuss the available writings produced by Gardner on Wicca during the 1950s, and to extract from them the information relevant to its perceptions regarding the male and female aspects of deity and the relations between the sexes during this period. In November 1954, Gardner published *Witchcraft Today*—his first non-fiction book on Wicca—on which he had been working since August 1952.[45] In 1959, he published another book on the subject, titled *The Meaning of Witchcraft*. In her memoirs, Doreen Valiente noted that she collaborated with Gardner in researching and writing *The Meaning of Witchcraft* throughout 1956 and early 1957 before leaving the Bricket Wood coven for reasons which will be dealt with below.[46]

In *Witchcraft Today*, Gardner envisioned the Stone Age as "probably a matriarchal age, when man was the hunter and woman stayed at home making medicine and magic".[47] In *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, Gardner expanded his description of the matriarchal period more fully:

> As elephant herds are led by an evil-tempered female, so early tribes of hunters were led by a matriarch; that is, the strongest and strongest-minded woman ruled the tribe, and the men. The matriarch and her daughters sat at home and governed the tribe because it was her magic which made the tribe. She made the babies. …Then perhaps some vigorous hunter, who liked experimenting, discovered that the matriarch's story that she made the babies with the aid of a gooseberry bush, or her own magic, or whatever she told them, was not quite true. He saw that there were too many coincidences, and that these coincidences produced babies, and it struck him that he was the coincidence, and that the tribe could depend on him. …However, it was still a long time before the rule of the old matriarch gave way to patriarchy; that the understanding of the facts of procreation brought into prominence the male, phallic deity as 'Opener of the Door of Life'. The Great Mother acquired a partner; but he was not yet her lord. Between the idea of the young woman he loved and the old woman he feared, man found a goddess to worship, who loved him and protected him, and at times punished him.[48]

It is tempting to consider whether Gardner adapted this more cynical vision of the matriarchal period in comparison with the one he provided

in *Witchcraft Today* due to the part played by his High Priestess, Doreen Valiente, in the breakup of the Bricket Wood coven, on which more will be said in the following pages.

Gardner described the origins the witch cult in a somewhat inconsistent manner. In *Witchcraft Today*, he explained that during the matriarchal period "caves, trees, the moon and stars all seem to have been reverenced as female emblems". While "men had a hunter's god, who presided over the animals[, a]… myth of the Great Mother came into existence and woman was her priestess".[49] In *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, he developed this further and wrote that "the cult of the Goddess was superimposed on the original cult of the Old God of Hunting and Death".[50] According to this narrative, as Stone Age magic "was first used to obtain good hunting it became part of the religion attached to the hunting god. Later, when it was also used to obtain fertility, a fertility goddess came into the cult".[51] Gardner described this deity as "the Great Mother of all, the giver of fertility and the power of reproduction", and added that "[a]ll life comes from her".[52] In *Witchcraft Today*, Gardner attributed this Goddess with the charge of the mysteries of birth and reincarnation, while the hunters' god of "Death and what lies beyond" ruled over the world of the afterlife, in which individuals rested awaiting to be reborn.[53] In *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, Gardner added to the male deity of the witches phallic qualities of fertility and titled him as 'the Opener of the Door of Life'.[54]

It is also difficult to understand why a matriarchal society would produce a male god before it developed a goddess. This line of progression coexisted in Gardner's books with others, influenced by writers such as Graves[55] and Murray. In one such timeline, women were first to hold primacy in the Stone Age cult during a matriarchal period, that was followed by a period in which the male god became dominant. In this process, "the woman's cult, because of the magical secrets, continued as a distinct order" in which the chief priest of the male god would hold sway when he visited the meetings from time to time. In his absence, the chief priestess acted as a deputy.[56] In another narrative, Gardner envisioned a matriarchal society which included both goddess and god and in which "the god-representative, or high priest, was the choice, and often the husband, of the goddess-representative, or high priestesses".[57]

In attempting to explain the primacy of the Goddess in the contemporary witch cult he encountered (or, more likely, developed), Gardner added that woman's "beauty, sweetness and goodness" caused man—who "seems at one time to have taken the lead in the cult"—to place

her, "as the god placed the goddess, in the chief place, so that woman is dominant in the cult practice".[58] He reasserted this later in the same volume when he "explain[ed] why the wiser, older and more powerful god should give his power over magic to the goddess".[59]

Gardner would later try to utilize this version of Craft history to his advantage: In 1957, the Bricket Wood coven split due to concerns voiced by some of the older members regarding Gardner's publicity efforts. Valiente and some of the original coven's older members founded their own group, but the two covens still met occasionally. In the beginning of July, however, Valiente sent a letter to past and present coveners which contained a list of 'Proposed Rules for the Craft', which were drafted by fellow mutineer Ned Grove and were aimed at regulating the behavior of Wiccans, especially in matters of secrecy.[60] Gardner reacted by stating that a list of ancient rules of the Craft already existed, and produced a document known as 'The Old Laws'. These conveniently included an item which declared that the Goddess' "youth and beauty, her sweetness and kindness, her wisdom and Justice, her humility and generosity" prompted "the God himself… [to lay] his power at the feet of the Goddess. So he resigned his lordship to her". The document further stated that "the Priestess should ever mind that *all power comes from him* [my emphasis]. It is only lent when it is used wisely and justly. And the greatest virtue of a High Priestess is that she recognizes that youth is necessary to the representative of the Goddess, so that she will retire gracefully in favour [sic] of a younger woman, should the Coven so decide in Council".[61] In *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, he added that woman's privileged position as a representative of the Goddess was to be maintained "as long as she was worthy. That is, she had to be kind and charming and generous", as well as "young and lovely, loving and… motherly", all "qualities which can be summed up in the one word 'sweetness'".[62] Thus a high priestess in Gardner's eyes

> should be steadfast, trusty and easy; otherwise she is not fit to have the Goddess descent upon her. If she is cross and selfish and ungenerous, it is certain she will never receive that divine blessing. Our Lady of Witchcraft has a high ideal set before her; she must be fresh and kindly and always the same to you. …youth is among the requisites necessary for the representative of the Goddess, and… she must be ready to retire gracefully in favour of a younger woman in time.[63]

As has been observed by others recently, it is quite obvious that by requiring the coven's reigning high priestess to retire in favor of a younger priestess Gardner was attempting to maintain a measure of covert authority.[64] In Valiente's recollections of the event, published in 1989, she maintained that she "totally rejected" said items of Gardner's 'Old Laws': "what about the High Priest? There was no suggestion that he had to retire. …this was not witchcraft as I knew it;…it was very reminiscent of the practices of Aleister Crowley… [as well as a] very good way of getting rid of High Priestesses who refused to be 'mastered'".[65]

Gardner's take on sexual polarity strictly forbade "a man to be initiated by or work [magically] with a man, or a woman to be initiated by or work [magically] with a woman". He added that "the only exceptions being that a father may initiate his son and a mother her daughter".[66] According to Gardner's description of coven proceedings in *Witchcraft Today* and *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, the coven's high priestess had "the position of authority" and the right to appoint a high priest of her choosing. In ritual, "[t]he priestess usually presides", and although "there are certain rites where a man must be the leader,… if a man of requisite rank is not available, a chief priestess belts a sword on and is thought of as a man for the occasion". He added that a high priestess must be present in order for a coven to celebrate its rites, and added that while "a priestess may impersonate either the God or the Goddess, … a male priest may only impersonate the God".[67]

Gardner read Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1949) sometime between 1953—the year of the publication of the book's English translation—and 1959, for he quoted from the book in the context of the Church's depiction of woman as a despised, flesh-bound 'other' in his own volume, *The Meaning of Witchcraft*.[68] If he read the book prior to mid-1957, it certainly did not carry much weight with him, because in what he tried to pass as 'The Old Laws' during this period Gardner wrote that Wiccans should love the Gods by being mastered by them, just "[a]s a man loveth [sic] a woman, by mastering her".[69] Oral history interviews show us that "wartime experience gave some [mainly young, single] women a greater sense of independence and self-esteem".[70] It is therefore hardly surprising that Valiente—who was posted in Barry, Wales, as a secretary as part of the war effort during the early 1940s[71]—was not impressed (to say the least) by Gardner's 'Old Laws'.

During the early 1960s Gardner's Wicca was expanding rapidly. It was carried into Scotland during Gardner's lifetime by Charles Clark

(1930–2002), who corresponded with him and was initiated into the Craft sometime during the latter part of the 1950s. By 1960, he established a coven at Saltcoats, and a year later there seems to have been active covens set up in Glasgow and Perth. The latter one was founded by Monique Wilson (1923–1982) and her husband Campbell, who were initiated by Clark. Clark soon withdrew his involvement in Wicca following a row with Monique Wilson, and Gardner continued the training of the Scottish Witches by correspondence with the help of his high priestess at the time, Lois Pearson (also known as Lois Bourne).[72] Three years after Gardner's death, Pearson (1928–2017) stated in an interview that "Witchcraft…is a pantheistic mystical religion which embodies the worship of life, and life is personified by the Mother Goddess. She is the female principle of life, and the male God – the Horned God – is the male principle. And these two together represent life, which witches worship. … it's a matriarchal religion, and the women always take the chief part. …The women raise the power, and the men act as an earth for it".[73] The idea encapsulated in Pearson's last sentence was not included in Gardner's non-fiction books on Wicca, but it did serve as the premise for his *High Magic's Aid*, in which the ritual magician, Thur, is forced to find a witch whose body could generate the power needed for his magical undertaking.[74]

In June 1960, Gardner received Arnold Crowther and Patricia Dawson at his home on the Isle of Man. He initiated Dawson into Wicca, and she, in turn, initiated Crowther. On 9 November 1960, the two were married in Sheffield, following a handfasting ritual conducted by Gardner the night before. The Crowthers decided to form a coven in Sheffield and in December 1961 initiated the first member of a coven which still exists today.[75] Following Gardner's death in 1964, the two co-authored a book titled *The Witches Speak*, which—in keeping with Gardner's portrayal mentioned earlier—presented the Craft as the original faith of Western Europe, "dating back to prehistoric times…, [and] having two deities – a god of Hunting and Death, and a goddess of Fertility and Rebirth".[76] In this book, Patricia Crowther also stated that she personally believed that "originally there was only one primitive religion throughout the world – the worship of the Great Universal Mother", and that ignorance of the male part in conception meant that the female was recognized "as the giver of fertility in everything. … When men took over the chief parts in religious rites", added Crowther, "they also infiltrated into the craft of the Wica, and, although there

are as many men in it today, it is still the High Priestess who rules the coven".[77] This was of course in concurrence with one of Gardner's narratives, influenced by Graves, as described above. Crowther added "that the witch cult was originally a woman's cult and the deities were bi-sexual… . The High Priestess represented the Goddess during the Summer festivals, and when the God, or the male principle took over in the Winter, she girded on a sword and played the part of the God".[78] Patricia Crowther voiced similar Claims around the time *The Witches Speak* was published in a private discussion with Doreen Valiente, who documented it in her notebooks. According to Valiente, Crowther claimed to have been in contact with an "old lady, now hone [sic] to Spain", who supplied her with some rites (which she swore not to reveal) and an athame, or ritual knife, that had a wooden hilt carved into a phallus shape. Crowther then told Valiente that according to the old woman,

> the Craft originally was for women only, and was only later infiltrated by men. The woman carried the athame with the phallic hilt, as a symbol that she was 'adding power to herself.' A woman could impersonate either sex, because she could become bi-sexual by adding a phallus, whereas a man could only take away his sex, and so could not truly impersonate a bi-sexual being. Hence, the Priestess could: represent either the God or the Goddess, but the priest could only impersonate the God.[79]

Now, while it is immaterial for our present purposes to determine the credibility of Crowther's story regarding this 'old lady', it is certain that the idea in its core was privately voiced by Gardner himself as early as 1952—long before Crowther became involved in Wicca—in a letter to Cecil Williamson, which stated that "a High Priestess is usually given a sword, as a sign of rank, making her a man in fact".[80]

On 12 February 1964, Gerald Gardner suffered a fatal heart attack while aboard *The Scottish Prince*, on route from Beirut to England. At the time of Gardner's death Wiccan initiates numbered at "a few hundred at most".[81] In 1964, several months following Gardner's passing, a Witchcraft Research Association (WRA) was founded by a London-based public relations officer who used the name "John Math" as his pseudonym.[82] On 3 October 1964, some fifty people attended the inaugural dinner of the WRA and its organ—*Pentagram*.[83] Doreen Valiente, who headed the Association, delivered a speech at the dinner, which included the following quote: "I think people have a deep need to recognize and

worship the feminine side of Deity, which orthodox religion has failed to satisfy".[84] Two years earlier, she described that feminine divine, "[t]he Moon Goddess in her three forms… [as] perhaps the most ancient deity conceived by man. She is the seducing mistress of magic, the archetypal witch. She is also the moon mother, enabling all things to come to birth". This deity ruled together with "[t]he horned phallic god of fertility [who] is also the god of death and the world of spirits"[85] in much the same way Gardner had envisioned.

Alex and Maxine Sanders

At the start of the 1960s, two men began to make their foray into Witchcraft. One of them was Roy Bowers (1931–1966)—aka Robert Cochrane—who presented himself as a hereditary witch, hailing from a family tradition which predated Gardner's Wicca.[86] While space considerations prevent me from exploring Bowers' exploits further, I have analyzed elsewhere both his own views on gender and women and the further development of these issues in his 'Royal Winsor Coven' and one of its successor groups—the Regency.[87]

The other man was born Orrell Alexander Carter to a working-class family in Birkenhead on 6 June 1926, though he later adopted the name Alex Sanders. His interest in the occult seems to have centered first on Spiritualism, and he "became a medium and spiritual healer famed in the Manchester area".[88] On 9 November 1961, Sanders sent a letter to Patricia Crowther, in which he "stated that he had seen the Crowthers on a television programme, and had always wanted to be a witch but never till then encountered anybody who could help him in this".[89] According to Crowther, Sanders visited her in Sheffield on three occasions between January and June 1962, and "she took a steadily reinforced dislike to him".[90]

Two letters sent to Gerald Gardner in August and September 1963, one by Sanders himself and the other by a woman named Pat Kopanski, stated that by the 9th of March of that year Sanders had been initiated into first degree Wicca by a Derbyshire-based high priestess named 'Medea'. Kopanski was originally initiated into the first degree by the Crowthers, but had fallen out with them. She claimed to have joined Medea's coven during the winter of 1962–1963, where she was raised to second-degree Wicca. In her letter to Gardner, Kopanski noted that Medea initiated Sanders into the first degree on Kopanski's request a

day before elevating the latter to second-degree Wicca. According to the letter, Medea soon retired from Witchcraft following the death of her husband, and Kopanski took this opportunity to found her own coven, which included Sanders and another friend of hers called Sylvia. Her unexpected row with the Crowthers and the equally sudden termination of Medea's coven supposedly left Kopanski and her coveners without the full set of Wiccan rituals, and she and Sanders hoped to meet Gardner for further instruction.[91] It is not clear whether Gardner supplied Kopanski and Sanders with his Book of Shadows for them to copy, or whether Sanders obtained a Gardnerian BOS by other means, but a study of what would later be presented as the Alexandrian Book of Shadows has shown that it was clearly based on the Gardnerian one. The Kopanski coven seems to have disintegrated in the winter of 1963–1964, and Sanders himself "later expunged all reference to the coven, and to all his activities between 1962 and 1964, from the official story of his tradition".[92]

In 1964, Sanders met seventeen-year-old Maxine Morris through his friendship with her mother, who expressed an interest in esoteric religions. Between 1964 and 1965, he initiated her into the three degrees of Wicca, and by the summer of 1965 they had formed a working coven, and achieved publicity through a series of newspaper interviews. The couple announced their intent of marrying according to Wiccan rites in December of that year, and "the team of Alex and Maxine Sanders (or vice versa) was formed".[93] The Sanders' rituals included a higher emphasis on 'high' ritual magic than those of Gardnerian Wiccans.[94] Their network of initiates was growing rapidly in the years 1965–1967—much to the irritation of established Gardnerians such as Patricia Crowther, Eleanor 'Ray' Bone and Jack Bracelin—and in June 1967 the couple moved from Manchester into a basement apartment in London that became the center for most members of the city's counterculture who sported an interest in the occult.[95]

Unlike Gardnerian Wiccans—who had written their own published works—Sanders preferred to entrust the job to certain reporters he came to trust: In 1969, June Johns, a reporter for *Tit-Bits* magazine, wrote a biography of Sanders, entitled *King of the Witches*.[96] On 4 December 1969, Stewart Farrar—a writer for a popular London weekly called *Reveille*—was sent by his editor to a press preview for a film titled *Legend of the Witches*, which featured Alex and Maxine Sanders. A few days later, Farrar interviewed the couple for a two-part feature for his magazine and witnessed their coven's 'skyclad' rituals. Sanders was

impressed with Farrar's *Reveille* article and asked the latter to write a book about him and his coven.[97] The book—titled *What Witches Do*—"provided a range of ritual and magical practices inherited or developed by the Sanders, including paraphrases or quotations of… their Book of Shadows".[98] In writing the book, Farrar based himself mostly on a series of interviews he conducted with Sanders between 8 December 1969 and 2 June 1970. In an Appendix to the fourth edition to *What Witches Do* Janet Farrar states that "Alex would dictate material to Stewart, which he would then organize and put into context".[99] From this book, we can infer that Sanders saw the 'male principle' as the "active, fertilizing, energetic, [and] pursuing" one, whereas the 'female principle' was "passive, fertile, gestating, [and] nourishing"; that similarly to Gardner he stated—in a much more generalized and simplified way—that in the old witch cult, "[s]ometimes the God had predominated, [and] sometimes the Goddess, the emphasis has varied as society became matriarchal, [or] patriarchal"; and that like Gardner he maintained that while sexual polarity was of the outmost importance in initiation, "tradition says that in an emergency, a woman may initiate her daughter or a man his son".[100]

In 1969, Sanders copied some notes from his lectures, which were sent as letters to interested inquirers. These were eventually published in the United States by Herman Slater of the Magickal Childe shop as *The Alex Sanders Lectures*.[101] Though the lectures as they appear in the book were "edited and rewritten"[102] for publication by others, external evidence can corroborate one of the ideas they expressed, which is relevant for the purposes of this chapter. In his lecture on "The Wicca and the Horned God", Sanders stated that "Wicca is matriarchal in basis, and most prayers are directed to the Goddess", but added that it was the Horned God—"so enchanted by the youth and beauty of the Goddess"—who "gave all his powers to her. In the Coven", continued Sanders, "the High Priestess is the spiritual leader, although the High Priest often runs the external affairs of the Coven".[103] In this, he was influenced by Gardner's words in *The Meaning of Witchcraft* and 'The Old Laws', which were described earlier. In fact, he actually reproduced them (and added many of his own) in June Johns' *King of the Witches*.[104] Richard Deutch's portrait of Maxine Sanders in *The Ecstatic Mother* includes a description of her from the time Alex was still in London (before 1972–1973), which has her declaring to the coven that "[a]s High Priestess I am taught to have compassion and humility; and as the Power is only loaned to the priestess through the fertility of the man,

I always bow to his superiority in perfect love and perfect trust".[105] This can be seen to corroborate the quote from *The Alex Sanders Lectures* presented above and could tell us something of Alex's position as leader de facto vis-à-vis his Witch Queen and High Priestess, Maxine, who according to his teachings held the primary role de jure. It is important to note, however, that when I mentioned this issue to Maxine Sanders during an oral interview, her recollection of it suggested that the power interplay between the two was more complicated:

> It was a point of humor, and Alex would say 'now, you remember the power is only loaned', … and I always used to say to Alex 'yes, you might have loaned me the power, but… [just] try and get it back'. And I think that Gerald Gardner, you know, again it's an ego problem, isn't it? It's umm… you know, 'I'm going to be master of this circle, I'm going to be great teacher, I'm going to be the great high priest' – no. I… I think its misinterpreted… and used by the ignorant. …in essence it is about conception, it is about birth, and ever flowing, you know, one cannot manage without the other, so the person that comes along and says 'now this power is only loaned to you', well he wouldn't be allowed in one of my circles.[106]

There are other examples, however, which can illustrate Maxine's position vis-à-vis Alex during the early years of Alexandrian Wicca, such as a specific scene from the 1969 film *Legend of the Witches* that contained a ritual of divination by animal sacrifice, in which Sanders sacrificed a chicken for the purposes of the movie. Many years later, Maxine Sanders stated in an interview to a Pagan magazine that she expressed herself vehemently against this action, but it went ahead regardless of her protestations as high priestess.[107] Janet Farrar, who attended the Sanders' rituals during this period, recalls that "Alex dominated the coven" to the level that in ritual he would actually recite 'the Charge of the Goddess'—traditionally read by the high priestess—himself, substituting 'I' for 'she' in the relevant parts referring to the Goddess.[108]

This is not to suggest that Maxine was completely overshadowed by Alex, for "when she did [actively] join in [the ritual], she had a definite presence".[109] Indeed, descriptions of Maxine during the mid-1970s—following Alex's departure to Sussex—portrayed her as "iron-willed… an absolute monarch among her witches", and Ronald Hutton further wrote of her "shrewd wit, practicality, and charm".[110] Alex's dominance during

the 1960s and very early 1970s should not, however, be underestimated. In an interview with Stewart Farrar taken between December 1969 and June 1970, Sanders claimed—undoubtedly influenced by his continued denunciation as a fraud in the press by Gardnerian High Priestess Patricia Crowther and Eleanor 'Ray' Bone—that "more often than not, the Horned God is neglected, and this is an immoral thing; because it means that only women are ruling the Wicca, and the women I know that do this are not suited to being High Priestesses in the Craft. They're playing a game, and it's not the beautiful, young Goddess game; it's the mysterious hag game of the middle ages".[111]

The rise and early development of Wicca between the late 1940s and late 1960s can be characterized as a continuation of the Victorian, Edwardian and Interwar forms of occultism, as surveyed in this Introduction. As we have seen, Gerald Gardner was definitely influenced by figures such as Crowley which connected early Wicca with the British occultism of earlier decades. He was, furthermore, deeply imbedded within London's occult milieu. Gardner's construction of Wicca was therefore based on earlier models produced by this occult scene, imbued with his readings of the matriarchal prehistory myth and Margaret Murray's treatment of the European Witch Craze period. Valiente and Sanders were likewise profoundly influenced by all of the above. Gardnerian and Alexandrian Wicca represented in many ways a continuation of earlier forms of British occultism.

And while early Wicca had its priestesses, and worshiped a female deity, it was by no means feminist, as power rested mostly with male figures such as Gerald Gardner and Alex Sanders. As a new decade was beginning to unfold, however, this was about to change. The following chapters will show how new, explicitly feminist interpretations of the Wiccan framework began to emerge in both the United States and Britain, and will analyze the varied ways in which British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans reacted to emerging radical and cultural feminist discourses during the 1970s–1980s.

Notes

1. See Heselton, *Witchfather: A Life of Gerald Gardner, Volume I.*
2. Ibid., 171, 181, 185.
3. Hutton, *Triumph*, 231.
4. Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume I*, 195–197; Hutton, *Triumph*, 220.

5. Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume I*, 197.
6. Bracelin, *Gerald Gardner*, 164–165.
7. Hutton, *Triumph*, 213–214.
8. Ibid., 214, 217–220.
9. Ibid., 220.
10. Ibid., 220–221.
11. Ibid., 221–220. See also Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume I*, 199–201, 204.
12. Hutton, *Triumph*, 232.
13. Heselton, *Witchfather: A Life of Gerald Gardner, Volume II*, 403–406. Philip Heselton notes that two surviving photos of Vickers taken by her husband, Gilbert, show her nude and "holding ritual objects in characteristic pose." Ibid., 406.
14. See the twenty-second and thirty-second minutes of *A Very British Witchcraft* (originally titled *Britain's Wicca Man*), a documentary on Gerald Gardner originally screened by Channel Four, and available on YouTube here https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHAqBjOvYOQ, accessed 12 September 2015.
15. Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume II*, 490–493.
16. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 47.
17. Ibid., 39.
18. Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume II*, 374, 492. Patricia Crowther, for instance, recalled that upon presenting her with a copy of the novel in 1960, Gardner said "Darling, take notice of Morven's words, they will teach you much." See page no. 1 of her Forward to *High Magic'sAid*'s 1993 Pentacle Enterprises edition, quoted in Ibid., 383.
19. Pearson, "The History and Development of Wicca," 29.
20. Ronald Hutton, "Dion Fortune and Wicca," 2009, available at http://www.companyofavalon.net/documents/RonaldHuttonaddress.DF.doc, accessed 10 January 2015, 3.
21. Ibid., 1, 7.
22. Ibid., 1–2, 4.
23. Ibid., 3.
24. Ibid., 7.
25. Ibid., 3.
26. Hutton, *Triumph*, 231.
27. Ibid., 233.
28. Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 208. By 1960, however, her attitude toward Gardner's Wicca was decisively antagonistic, and in her letter to British Surrealist painter and occultist Ithel Colquhoun (1906–1988), she called it "an obviously modern sect, which has nothing to do with the old cult, which was definitely as much a religion as Christianity." The letter is located in the Ithel Colquhoun Collection at the Tate Gallery

Archive, TGA 929/5/31/15. This is according to Ronald Hutton, who viewed photocopies of the original letters. See Caroline Tully, "A Follow-Up Interview with Professor Ronald Hutton," *Necropolis Now*, 15 February 2012, http://necropolisnow.blogspot.co.il/2012/02/follow-up-interview-with-professor.html.

29. Hutton, "Crowley and Wicca," 286.
30. MS 23, Gerald Yorke Collection, Warburg Institute, University of London. Quoted in Hutton, "Crowley and Wicca," 286.
31. Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume II*, 344.
32. MS D5, Crowley to Yorke, May 9, 1947, Gerald Yorke Collection; MS E21, Gardner to Crowley, June 14, 1947, Gerald Yorke Collection. Quoted in Hutton, "Crowley and Wicca," 286.
33. Hutton, "Crowley and Wicca," 286–287.
34. Ibid., 288.
35. Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume II*, 374.
36. Hutton, "Crowley and Wicca," 288.
37. Ibid., 291. For information on the manuscript see Hutton, *Triumph*, 235–245, 464–465.
38. Hutton, "Crowley and Wicca," 292.
39. Ibid., 292–296.
40. Bogdan, "The Influence of Aleister Crowley on Gerald Gardner," 99.
41. Hutton, "Crowley and Wicca," 296–297.
42. Ibid., 299–300.
43. Crandall, *Text A*, 326–327.
44. Hutton, "Crowley and Wicca," 300–302.
45. Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume II*, 487, 502. By April 1958, the book sold over 5500 copies. Ibid., 502.
46. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 68–69.
47. Gardner, *Witchcraft Today*, 31.
48. Gardner, *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, 42–43.
49. Gardner, *Witchcraft Today*, 32.
50. Gardner, *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, 128.
51. Ibid., 69.
52. Ibid., 132.
53. Gardner, *Witchcraft Today*, 32.
54. Gardner, *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, 22, 45.
55. See, for instance, his reference to "Robert Graves and others [, who] have postulated the evolution of a male priesthood which gradually usurped the privileges of the ancient matriarchy, and took over the exercise of its powers." Ibid., 78.
56. Gardner, *Witchcraft Today*, 43. In a similar description in this book, Gardner actually described this distinct order as comprised "of

priestesses and their husbands who looked after magic," so it is not clear whether he was simply being inconsistent or whether 'the magical secrets' which were supposed to have been protected by this order were general, witch lure, instead of 'women's mysteries' reserved only for females. Ibid., 32.

57. Gardner, *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, 46.
58. Gardner, *Witchcraft Today*, 32.
59. Ibid., 41.
60. Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume II*, 533, 536; Hutton, *Triumph*, 257; Kelly, *Crafting the Art of Magic*, 103.
61. Ibid., 103–105, 145–147.
62. Gardner, *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, 128, 140.
63. Ibid., 128.
64. Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume II*, 539.
65. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 70–71.
66. Gardner, *Witchcraft Today*, 75.
67. Gardner, *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, 19, 124, 140; Gardner, *Witchcraft Today*, 23, 43–44, 114.
68. Gardner, *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, 146.
69. Kelly, *Crafting the Art of Magic*, 145–146. In that Gardner of course wasn't displaying attitudes which were uncharacteristic of a man of his age and conservative background.
70. Addison, "The Impact of the Second World War," 10.
71. Heselton, *Doreen Valiente*, 40–50.
72. Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume II*, 568–570. Pearson was the High Priestess of the Bricket Wood coven between c.1959 and 1964. Doyle White, "Robert Cochrane and the Gardnerian Craft," 213.
73. Pearson, "A Witch in Suburbia," 81–82.
74. Scire, *High Magic's Aid*, 120.
75. Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume II*, 570–573.
76. Crowther and Crowther, *The Witches Speak*, 1.
77. Ibid., 123, 33. According to Ronald Hutton, it was Patricia who actually wrote the book. Ronald Hutton, Personal Email Correspondence with the Author, 24 March 2015.
78. Crowther and Crowther, *The Witches Speak*, 33.
79. Doreen Valiente, unpublished notebooks, 5/6/1965.
80. Quoted in Heselton, *Witchfather, Volume II*, 460.
81. Ibid., 645.
82. Howard, *Modern Wicca*, 192. Howard maintains that 'John Math' was actually the son of the Earl of Gainsborough, who "had trained as a young man for the Roman Catholic Priesthood, and served as a captain in the Royal Marine Commandos during World War II." Ibid., 192–193.

This would make him Gerard Eyre Wriothesley Noel (1926–2016), the son of the 4th Earl and younger brother to the 5th. According to Doreen Valiente, Noel was part of a Gardnerian coven headed by Eleanor Bone (1911–2001)—one of Gardner's high priestesses—but left it in 1964 in order to start the WRA. See Entry 6 July 1964 in her private notebooks. Quoted in John of Monmouth, *Genuine Witchcraft is Explained*, 84.

83. According to Ronald Hutton, following a series of negative and scornful articles on Grander and his followers in *Pentagram*, "contributions to it fell off to the point at which it folded in 1966; and the Witchcraft Research Association perished with it." Hutton, *Triumph*, 328.
84. Ibid., 323; "Fifty at 'Pentagram' Dinner," 6.
85. Valiente, *Where Witchcraft Lives*, 85.
86. There is some evidence that Bowers was actually initiated into a Gardnerian coven during the late 1950s or early 1960s. Other scenarios, however, place the time of his initiation into Gardnerian Wicca to the mid-1960s, after his own 'Royal Winsor Coven' was already up and running. It is also possible that Bowers' and Gardner's systems were similar in many ways because the utilized similar sources and ideas when they constructed their respective traditions. Doyle White, "Robert Cochrane and the Gardnerian Craft," 205–224.
87. Feraro, *The Priestess, the Witch, and the Women's Movement*, 134–143, 390–393. See also Jones, Cochrane, and Howard (eds.), *The Roebuck in the Thicket*; Cochrane, Jones, and Howard (eds.), *The Robert Cochrane Letters*; John of Monmouth, *Genuine Witchcraft Is Explained*.
88. Hutton, *Triumph*, 343, 344.
89. Ibid., 332. For decades, Crowther claimed ownership of this letter, and sections from it have been published twice in books, but in the early 2000s she sent a photocopy of the letter to Ronald Hutton, who corroborated its authenticity. Crowther, *One Witches World*, 63–64; Hutton, "A Dialogue with Patricia Crowther," 23.
90. Hutton, *Triumph*, 332.
91. Ibid., 333. While the narrative presented by Kopanski and Sanders has been called into question by Patricia Crowther, there is no question that this was how they presented themselves to Gardner. Ibid., 334–335.
92. Ibid., 335, 343, 352.
93. Ibid., 337, 338.
94. Ibid., 344.
95. Ibid., 338–339.
96. Ibid., 341; Jones, *King of the Witches*.
97. Guerra and Farrar, *Stewart Farrar*, 93, 94, 96.
98. Hutton, *Triumph*, 341.
99. In Farrar, *What Witches Do*, 191.

100. Ibid., 22, 58.
101. di Fiosa, *A Coin for the Ferryman*, 82–83.
102. Sanders, *The Alex Sanders Lectures*, iii.
103. Ibid., 9. In a talk he gave on 15 October 1970, which was recorded by Stewart Farrar, Sanders similarly noted that "[a]s the Craft is matriarchal, the role of the High Priestess is dominant," but the relationship between her and the high priest was described here according to a more egalitarian line: "the High Priest and the High Priestess share equally in the work of teaching, and that of maintaining contact with other covens." In Farrar, *What Witches Do*, 185.
104. Johns, *King of the Witches*, 153–166.
105. Deutch, *The Ecstatic Mother*, 100.
106. Personal interview with Maxine Sanders, conducted 29 January 2013.
107. Guerra and Farrar, *Stewart Farrar*, 93.
108. Ibid., 102; di Fiosa, *A Coin for the Ferryman*, 115.
109. Guerra and Farrar, *Stewart Farrar*, 102.
110. Hutton, *Triumph*, 343.
111. Farrar, *What Witches Do*, 217. It must be noted that this material was included as an appendix to the fourth edition of *What Witches Do* by Janet Farrar, who reduced the overall wordage of the interviews "considerably" and rewrote some of Sanders' statements—which reflected his "strong Manchester dialect"—so "to make them more understandable." Ibid., 191.

CHAPTER 3

The Women's Liberation Movement and the Rise of Matriarchy Study Groups in the UK During the 1970s–1980s

The previous pages have analyzed the effects of 'first-wave' feminism on the attitudes toward women (and wider gender issues) maintained by key elements in British occultism during the late Victorian, Edwardian and Interwar period, and especially in early Wicca during the 1950s and 1960s. But by the late 1960s and early 1970s, a so-called 'second wave' of feminism began to emerge across the Atlantic. Far from being a unified movement, it was made up of several different political and ideological strands. I will begin by surveying the development of the radical and cultural feminisms in the United States, as well as the rise of the British Women's Liberation Movement. Following a short introduction to the development of Dianic and feminist forms of Witchcraft in the 1970s–1980s American context, the stage will be set for a detailed exploration of the rise of the British strand of Goddess Spirituality Goddess Spirituality, embodied as it was by the Matriarchy Study Groups.

Radical and Cultural Feminisms in the United States

Most relevant for our purposes is radical feminism, which evolved in large part out of the disappointment of many women who were active in two main political strands during the mid-1960s: the New Left and liberal feminism.[1] Radical feminists did adopt some of the Marxist ideas regarding class struggle and materialism articulated by socialist feminists, but claimed that gender, not social class, formed the main divide

S. Feraro, *Women and Gender Issues in British Paganism, 1945–1990*, Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-46695-4_3

in human society, and that women—who form a gender class—should analyze their relationship with men in political terms.[2] And while liberal feminists objected to woman's confinement in domestic and maternal roles and sought equal opportunities within the male public sphere, radical feminists objected to seeking "reforms about the second-class citizenship of women… to settle for a 'piece of the pie', [or] equality in an unjust society".[3]

Early radical feminists believed that women's oppression derived from the way gender is constructed in modern society and so set out to eliminate gender as a meaningful social category.[4] They rejected the dichotomy between female and male values as a sexist notion.[5] One of radical feminism's basic positions, as defined by Anne Koedt, was that "Biology is not destiny, and that male and female roles are learned – indeed that they are male political constructs that ensure power and superior status for men".[6] A central concept in radical feminist ideology was 'Sisterhood', which centered upon the belief that in order to undermine male power women had to form a unified revolutionary group.[7] Through the development of the Women's Health Movement, radical feminists furthermore emphasized women's whole and complete control of their bodies as a necessary means to women's liberation.[8] A book titled *Our Bodies, Our Selves* was published during 1970 as part of this feminist activism and became highly influential for a generation of young and sexually active women.

Radical feminism flourished during the early 1970s, but according to Alice Echols by 1973 its hegemony was beginning to be challenged (and by 1975, overshadowed) by cultural feminism—a tendency which developed out of its radical predecessor.[9] Echols' analysis built on and expanded feminist Brooke Williams' definition of 'Cultural feminism' as "[t]he belief that women will be freed via an alternate women's culture".[10]

Although cultural feminism evolved out of radical feminism, it deviated from it in several critical aspects. In its core, radical feminism was a political movement dedicated to the elimination of the gender-based class system. Cultural feminism, on the other hand, formed a counterculture aimed at turning the cultural preference of male over female on its tip. And while radical feminists were anti-capitalists (if only subtly), cultural feminists dismissed the economic class struggle as a 'male construct' and ergo—irrelevant to women. They insisted that feminism and the New Left were essentially opposing forces, and that the Left was a

polluting and intrusive force which prevented women from leaving male domination behind them. Unlike their radical sisters, who saw the social construction of gender as the central cause for women's oppression and tried to abolish it as a significant social category, cultural feminists claimed that gender differences actually reflected deep truths regarding the differences between men and women.[11]

Despite the fact that radical feminists often emphasized the psychological dimensions of women's oppression, they assigned a supreme importance to analyzing and challenging the material basis for male domination. Cultural feminists, on the other hand, focused on nurturing an alternative women's culture and claimed that the fight against male supremacy will begin with women expelling the 'male' within them and maximizing the feminine.[12] Creating alternative female institutions represented "[c]oncrete moves toward self-determination and power"[13] for women. They were interested in who women *were*. Like radical feminists, their 'cultural' sisters were shocked by the thought of women 'buying into' men's values by assuming male traditional roles in the public sphere. However, *their* fear stemmed from their perception that women were distancing themselves from their true female self, as they considered femaleness to be better than maleness. As the carriers of loftier female values, women were thus called by cultural feminists to play a central role in the making of a better world.[14] According to Mary Daly (1928–2010), true feminism was "*not* [sic] reconciliation with the father". It begins by saying 'no' to the father and "saying 'yes' to our original birth, the original movement-surge towards life. This is both a remembering and a rediscovering".[15]

The actual enemy, according to cultural feminists, was not social and economic institutions, or a set of backward beliefs, but masculinity, and sometimes male biology itself. They claimed that women were being defined by men—a group holding on to a worldview and a set of interests opposed to those of women, while acting out of fear and hatred toward them. This resulted, said cultural feminists, in a distortion and devaluation of female attributes.[16] Male dominance was usually attributed by them to a supposed Rapaciousness or barrenness of the male's biology.[17] Some, like Mary Daly for example, purported that men are "mutants [who may like other mutations] manage to kill themselves off eventually".[18] As far as sexuality is concerned, men and women were considered by cultural feminists to be complete opposites: Male sexuality was described as "driven, irresponsible, genitally oriented, and potentially

lethal". Female sexuality was "muted, diffused, interpersonally- oriented and benign", and while men were motivated by their hunger for power and orgasms, women sought "reciprocity and intimacy".[19] As Ursula King has indeed noted, "[t]he place of biology in feminist theory is certainly one of the difficult philosophical issues facing feminism".[20] Cultural feminists revered female biology as a true source of power, the basis and foundation for 'female' qualities such as tenderness, intuition, and compassion. They claimed that female difference wasn't just worth keeping, but should be celebrated proudly. Some of them believed that women possess a unique way of thinking which transcends the logical and includes an intuition tapping into the subconscious, the mystic, and the natural world.[21] Adrienne Rich, for example, called on women to view their biology as an asset, instead of as a cursed destiny.[22]

The Women's Liberation Movement in 1970s–1980s Britain

In 1964, most of the feminist groups that were active in the UK were old suffrage societies, which remained active in order to promote further steps toward equality.[23] Indeed feminist protests during the 1950s and early 1960s, which were primarily concerned with abortion, "had been a continuation of earlier activities of the women's movement before 1945, most notably the suffragettes around the Pankhursts in the period between 1900 and 1914".[24] Liberal, 'equal rights' feminism in the UK was far less significant, however, during the 1970s than its equivalent in the United States.[25] The Women's Liberation Movement itself emerged in Britain during 1968–1970 from a "mixture of initiatives, including local industrial action by low-paid women workers supported by middle-class feminists, which embarrassed trade unionists and the Labour government".[26] Socialist women groups were formed in Nottingham and London and began to produce the *Socialist Woman* journal.[27] Another influential step in the development of the British Women's Liberation Movement during 1969 was the circulation of a paper written by an American radical feminist, Anne Koedt, titled "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm".[28] By the end of the year, there were some seventy women's liberation groups in London alone, and women were beginning to meet in cities like Leeds as well. WLM groups formed more slowly in Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland.[29] In the Scottish case,

groups "were often more inspired by American and European feminist thinking [during the early 1970s] than by the emergence of a women's group in a neighboring town or city".[30] During the 1970s and early 1980s WLM activity was concentrated in large urban areas, and especially in London, Bristol, Leeds, Nottingham, and Sheffield.[31] In the early 1980s, "a typical provincial city in England…[had] one or more active consciousness-raising groups; a women's center; a shelter for battered women; a rape crisis center; a branch of the National Abortion Campaign… a lesbian group or nightline; a health group; one or several arts or writing groups; one or more groups for socialist women; a revolutionary feminist group; a bookshop; one or more newsletters".[32] Many women's groups, campaigns, and activities originated at women's centers. These were usually set up in a house or a shop. The first women's center was operated by the London Women's Liberation Workshop, and by 1973 there were five centers in London and others in Bristol, Lancaster, Cardiff, and Edinburgh. More centers were opened by autumn 1974 in Cambridge, Brighton, Manchester, Newcastle, and Nottingham,[33] and by 1980 many cities had at least one center.[34]

British feminists formulated four demands, which were adopted by the movement during the 1971 national conference at Skegness.[35] These were: equal pay, equal opportunity, access to free contraception and abortion on demand and twenty-four-hour nurseries. These demands "reflected a socialist understanding of the significance of the family under capitalism".[36] The yearly national conferences grew in size during the 1970s, and 900 women attended the 1974 national WLM conference at Edinburgh,[37] which also adopted two more demands to the initial four: legal and financial independence for all women, and the right to a self-defined sexuality and an end to discrimination against lesbians. 3000 attended the national WLM conference in London during early April 1977.[38]

By the mid-1970s, a shift of emphasis toward radical feminist thought was discernible,[39] as well as an increase in the number of participants in the movement. In 1983, David Bouchier estimated there were about 300 feminist groups and 20,000 activists in the UK.[40] Joni Lovenduski and Vicky Randall, however, noted that by the late 1980s "very few groups without some form of public subsidy appeared to have survived… [and in England and Wales they] encountered a sense that numbers of activists were falling, local women's newsletters were folding, old networks were breaking down". Many women's centers had

to close down.[41] Indeed, the first scholarly treatments of the Women's Liberation Movement in Britain, which were written during the 1980s–1990s, "paint a picture of its meteoric rise from the late 1960s to an equally meteoric fall after the mid-1970s", which occurred due to the appropriation of the movement by "extremist, radical and separatist feminists, eventually leading to its downfall at the 1978 national conference".[42] Nearly all of these accounts represented only one strand of British WLM—socialist feminism.[43] In recent years, however, new 'histories' of the movement emerged to dispute this 'linear description', and claimed that "the movement was never united; it was from the outset characterized by divisions and diversity".[44] Socialist and radical strands in feminism were both distinct and overlapping, as both of these feminist currents adapted and reacted to themes developed by the 'rival' strand.[45] Furthermore, despite these divisions, some women in the WLM, especially in relatively peripheral areas, "remained more pragmatic about their political positioning".[46] Thus, while socialist feminist Lynne Segal did saw "a political theory which seems to write off half of humanity as a *biological* [sic] enemy as absurd", she did also state that "some of the issues revolutionary feminists have emphasized, those of rape, pornography and male violence against women… [were] central to feminism and need[ed] to be taken up by socialist feminists".[47] Furthermore, the two 'sides' in the acrimony—socialist and radical feminisms—"were never internally united" as well.[48] Eve Setch, for example, claims that the increasing number of sectarian conferences during the 1970s—both before and after the final National WLM conference of 1978—shows that the movement was actually becoming too big, and that women therefore "turned towards more specific areas of concern, *within* [sic] the movement".[49]

Now, the first specifically radical feminist group in the UK emerged in November 1971.[50] British radical feminism's first important proclamation was uttered in November 1972 in the form of a paper that was delivered during the National Women's Liberation Conference and "reference[d]… the founding principle of the [American] Redstockings"—separatism.[51] Indeed, most of the theory UK-based radical feminists identified with originated from America.[52] It was not until the late 1970s that radical feminists in the UK began to systematically publish their ideas.[53] Indeed, even as late as 1976, a proposed workshop for the London Area WLM Conference was 'Radical Feminism—has it survived or was it just 'youthful exuberance'?'.[54] The first specifically radical feminist conference took place in Edinburgh in 1977.[55] During

this same year, at the National WLM Conference in London, Sheila Jeffreys claimed that radical feminists were "not making themselves felt" and pointed out that it was "difficult to find any women who actually espouse and expound radical feminist theory".[56] Indeed, as late as 1979, radical feminists in the UK lamented the fact that original writings by British radical feminist were relatively few.[57] Emic accounts notwithstanding, it should be mentioned that it were radical feminists who dominated the editorial collective of one of the movement's most important mouthpieces—the *WIRES* newsletter—after 1978,[58] and in 1979, British radical feminists published their first anthology, *Feminist Practice: Notes from the Tenth Year*.[59]

During 1977–1983, a tendency called Revolutionary Feminism achieved prominence in the Women's Liberation Movement in Britain. Although many of its initial adherents were radical feminists, it is viewed today by scholars such as Jeska Rees as a separate and independent current.[60] Revolutionary feminists were highly militant and focused their theoretical effort on women's oppression as a 'sex class' under patriarchy. Their ultimate goal was to incite a street-based feminist revolution. They insisted that patriarchy operated through men's control of women's bodies. According to revolutionary feminists, this control manifested in two main areas: physical violence and heterosexuality.[61] Although the subject of male violence against women was not new for feminists when it was taken up by the revolutionaries, they did differ from other strands of feminism in the links they made between each and every act of male violence toward women. According to revolutionary feminists, this violence (and crucially, the constant threat of it) is carried in order to keep women in a state of instilled fear, thereby "limit[ing] their physical freedom, psychological strength, and solidarity with other women".[62] Furthermore, male heterosexuality was framed by the revolutionary feminists as a means of fragmenting women's loyalty to one another, bringing individual women under individual men's control. They therefore claimed that lesbianism and celibacy were the only viable options for women and labeled feminists who refused to give up sexual relations with men as traitors to the cause.[63] During the late 1970s and early 1980s, revolutionary feminists were involved in highly visible campaigns against male violence, the sexual abuse of children, and pornography.[64]

British Revolutionary Feminists considered themselves as wholly "distinct from radical feminist women they knew, a process that became more accentuated as the years went by".[65] The oral histories collected

by Jeska Rees suggest that the differences between revolutionary and radical feminists focused on the significance placed by revolutionaries on man-hating and on anger, "which were far less prevalent within woman-centered radical feminism".[66]

This is not to say that cultural feminism was unaccounted for in Britain during the latter half of the 1970s and onward. Yet the cultural feminist view filtered into British radical feminism from the United States, and while it was "widely read and discussed among British feminists… [it was] actually quite difficult to find examples of an equivalent point of view in British feminist literature". An exception for this was Dale Spender's influential *Man Made Language*,[67] which was heavily influenced by the writings of Mary Daly. Another expression of cultural feminism in Britain was an anthology titled *Reclaim the Earth: Women Speak Out for Life on Earth*, which was published in 1983. Susan Griffin wrote the preface for it and continued to advance her 'Women=Nature' argument.[68] The anthology's editors suggested their readers to read Griffin's *Woman and Nature* and *Pornography and Silence*, as well as Carolyn Merchant's *The Death of Nature*, Charlene Spretnak's influential American anthology on *The Politics of Women's Spirituality*, and Mary Daly's *Gyn/Ecology*.[69] Several of the contributors referred their readers to Daly's book in the anthology's bibliography section, and even thanked her for her 'gyn-ergetic inspiration'.[70] One contributor, whose references included Daly *Gyn/Ecology* and Griffin's *Pornography and Silence*, equated matriarchy, feminism, and 'womanism' with the hearth, nurturing, and cooperation. She was also clearly influenced by Carolyn Merchant when she criticized patriarchal "Newtonian… mechanistic" worldviews.[71]

The Rise of Dianic and Feminist Forms of Witchcraft in the United States

As we shall see below, the writings of radical and cultural feminists such as Kate Millett (1934–2017), Mary Daly, Adrienne Rich (1929–2012), Susan Griffin, Robin Morgan, and Susan Brownmiller—as well as studies by sympathetic authors such as Nancy Chodorow, Carol Gilligan, and Carolyn Merchant—provided the crucial bedrock for the development of the Feminist Spirituality Movement in the United States and greatly influenced American Pagans during the 1970s and 1980s.[72] This subject

is an important one, in my view, since up until the late 1960s it had been primarily men who did the talking (and writing) in regard to Modern Paganism and the occult. By 1973, Elizabeth Gould Davis (1910–1974), author of *The First Sex* (1971)—a feminist classic which championed the myth of matriarchal prehistory—was hailing Robert Graves as the "god" of the nascent Feminist Spirituality Movement and wrote to him that many small groups were being founded all across the United States.[73] As the 1970s drew to a close, that influence was already evident in North America mainly[74] through the writings of Zsuzsanna Emese Mokcsay (b. 1940), also known as 'Z' Budapest, and Miriam 'Starhawk' Simos (b. 1951), who developed Dianic and feminist Witchcraft, respectively, becoming by far the most popular spokespersons for the American Pagan community during the following decade.[75]

Dianic Wicca can be seen as part of the wider Neopagan network as well as an inseparable part of the Feminist Spirituality Movement. Contrary to Gardnerian and Alexandrian Wiccans—who worship both the Goddess and the God—Dianic witches acknowledge the Goddess alone as a creative and independent force that does not have to be 'triggered' by a male God. Men are excluded from these groups and are barred from their teachings. Unsurprisingly, the Dianic tradition had always boasted a significantly higher proportion of lesbian or bisexual women than in other forms of Modern Paganism.[76] Its founder, Zsuzsanna Emese Mokcsay, better known as Zsuzsanna Budapest or Z by her followers, was born in Hungary and immigrated to the United States in the wake of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.[77] Budapest's first Dianic Witchcraft coven—the Susan B. Anthony Coven no.1—was founded in December 1971 with the aid of six of her friends.[78] Budapest's Los Angeles shop—'The Feminist Wicca'—served as a magnet for a flourishing religious community, regularly hosting rituals, lectures, and lessons.[79] More groups were founded in New York, Chicago, Florida, and California,[80] and by 1976, Margot Adler, visiting the original coven, reported it consisted of 20–40 core members and about 300 women who participated in larger public rituals.[81] During that year, the group published its first pamphlet—*The Feminist Book of Light and Shadows.* It was vastly expanded during 1979–1980 as two parts of *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries*—united into one large volume since the 1986 edition—and has been republished many times since. The priestesses trained by Budapest during the 1980s went on to form new circles and ordain other priestesses themselves. Hundreds of Dianic groups were formed at

that time basing themselves on her books, which served as a 'Book of Shadows' for many women who worked as solitaries as well.[82]

While Budapest and her followers were developing Dianic Witchcraft, Miriam 'Starhawk' Simos formulated her own brand of non-separatist and highly popular feminist Witchcraft. Starhawk stated in an interview that her first exposure to Wicca occurred through the 1960s counter-culture movement rather than feminist awareness.[83] In the late 1960s, when Simos was a student at UCLA, a group of Wiccan Witches arrived at the converted fraternity house in which she and her friends were living communally and read them the 'Charge of the Goddess', written by Doreen Valiente. Starhawk recalled that the "concept of a religion that worshiped a Goddess was amazing and empowering". She began training with the Witches, but drifted away. In the early 1970s, she moved to Venice, California, where she became deeply involved with the Women's Liberation Movement. In the spring of 1973, she met Z Budapest and attended a Dianic ritual.[84]

By 1974, Starhawk relocated to San Francisco and started reading about women, feminism, and Goddess traditions. She began teaching classes on ritual and related skills at the Open University and local Pagan bookshops.[85] Susan Rennie and Kirsten Grimstad, who toured the United States during this period, indeed observed a surging interest in spirituality in feminist communities and documented the creation and celebration of "feminist rituals around birth, death, menstruation… studying pre-patriarchal forms of religion; reviving and exploring esoteric goddess-centered philosophies such as Wicce [sic]".[86] In 1975, Starhawk decided to move to Berkeley. At the time, Berkeley and the San Francisco Bay Area were home to a small networking community of non-feminist Witches and Pagans, which formed the basis for an umbrella organization called 'Covenant of the Goddess' (COG) a year later. Starhawk organized workshops in which she taught her own version of Wicca.[87] Carol Christ and Naomi Goldenberg participated in one of these events during the winter of 1975. Christ described a workshop which centered on the female body and its associated energy of birth, death, and renewal.[88] By 1976, Starhawk managed three covens—two of them were 'women-only' and one was mixed. During that same year, she sought and gained initiation to Victor Anderson's (1917–2001) Faery Witchcraft tradition and was elected to the position of first officer and public spokesperson for COG. In 1977, Starhawk relocated back to San Francisco and continued to teach her own version of feminist,

non-separatist, Witchcraft. Her courses were highly successful and sprouted new so-called Reclaiming-style covens.[89] Now, the ground was set for the publication of Starhawk's feminist Witchcraft manual—*The Spiral Dance*. She finished its first draft in the fall of 1977,[90] and in January 1978, she sent *New Moon Rising*—as the book was originally titled—to Harper & Row, a San Francisco publishing company.[91] She then revised the manuscript, which was eventually published during late October 1979.

In this volume, Starhawk presented a new version of Pagan Witchcraft to the world and "successfully resolved the natural tension between the concept of witchcraft as something inherent in women and released in them by consciousness-raising, and one of it as a closed, hierarchal and initiatory mystery religion, which balanced the genders in creative polarity".[92] Her teachings combined British-based Wicca with Dianic Witchcraft, and to this day serve as an important bridge between the two.[93] *The Spiral Dance* is considered to be the most significant reason for the spread of Pagan Witchcraft in modern-day North America.[94] Throughout the 1980s, thousands of women across the United States and Europe began to consider themselves as witches and founded covens simply due to reading it.[95] Starhawk published two more important works during the 1980s—*Dreaming the Dark* (1982) and *Truth or Dare* (1987)—which furthered the spread of her brand of feminist Witchcraft and supplied readers with a deeper understanding of Starhawk's theology.[96] Quoting from Starhawk's writing was common for American Pagans—whether by "consciously citing her work" or by taking "her words as their own" due to unconscious absorption of the materials they read or heard from others.[97]

Radical feminism and its cultural feminist outgrowth—both of which developed during the late 1960s and 1970s—supplied the budding Feminist Spirituality Movement in North America with much of its ideological background. In the case of the most prolific of these spiritual feminists, these influences can be discerned through an analysis of the books, pamphlets, and articles they produced. As I have showed elsewhere[98] in great detail, Zsuzsanna Budapest has been mainly influenced by Mary Daly, Adrienne Rich, Robin Morgan, Susan Griffin, and Susan Brownmiller. Starhawk's writings similarly reveal the extent of feminist Witches' reliance on the works of these thinkers, as well as on Carolyn Merchant, Nancy Chodorow, and Carol Gilligan but with varying emphasis.

Matriarchy Study Groups

In 1976, Virago—a British press committed to publishing women's writing and books on feminist topics—published *The Paradise Papers*. Written by an American feminist named Merlin Stone (1931–2011), the book was soon published in the United States as *When God Was a Woman* and became a bestseller. Similar to Elizabeth Gould Davis, Stone had built on earlier writings on matriarchal theory and drew inspiration from Robert Graves's (1895–1985) *The White Goddess* (1945). Stone lived in London during 1972–1974 as she was conducting research for the book at the British Museum's Library before relocating to Canada, and in late 1973, *Spare Rib* featured an article by her titled 'The Paradise Papers'.[99] It is not unlikely that her piece served as a source of inspiration during the mid-1970s for a subset of British feminists with a budding interest in matriarchal prehistory and Goddess Spirituality.

Indeed, Elizabeth Ettorre—who studied a London enclave of separatist lesbian feminists during the mid-1970s—noted a revival of "matriarchal religion… as well as a growing interest in the occult… from a woman's perspective", and added that "various types of groups have [been] formed".[100] The first Matriarchy Study Group was founded in London by seven to eight women in 1975, with the initial aim of examining the possibilities for ancient matriarchal cultures by using archeological studies and the interpretation of myths. Pauline 'Asphodel' Long (1921–2005), who was one of its founding members, recalled that a notice in the *London Women's Liberation newsletter* "stated that the group would question the assumption that God had always been perceived and addressed as a male…. It denied the current thinking that women had always been 'the subordinate sex' and linked this thinking to perception of the female in divinity".[101] Years later Long recalled that "the question of defining 'the Goddess' did not arise. The Goddess to our thinking then… was the perception that the divine could be female—and consequently women too could be part of or represent in some way the divine".[102] Similar sister groups were established within a few years. Some of these began to develop rituals in addition to the original element of research into ancient matriarchy, while others were being founded purely as ritual groups.[103]

As already mentioned above, although spiritual feminists were often ridiculed and opposed by significant parts of the women's movement, they were also an integral part of it. This is certainly true when

considering the women of the London Matriarchal Study: Mary Coghill, who was one of its key members, was among the women who set up the London-based Sisterwrite bookshop in 1978, and Pauline 'Asphodel' Long was part of the collective that operated 'A Woman's Place', an important women's center located on the Victoria Embankment.[104] An information sheet produced by the group during the autumn of 1978 provides us with details regarding the extent of its networking in the British and American feminist movements. They published their collective work in important local WLM magazines such as *Shrew* and *Spare Rib*, as well as in the American *Womanspirit*.[105] This is hardly surprising, as *Womanspirit*'s inaugural issue included a call for subscribers to take copies of the magazine wherever they went—"especially overseas, or [to] send it with a woman going overseas".[106] The London Matriarchal Study Group also corresponded with various women's liberation groups, bookshops, and magazines (such as the American *Chrysalis* and *Quest*) on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as with individual writers such as Merlin Stone. Furthermore, they presented workshops, talks, and slide-shows in various women's conferences throughout the UK.[107]

In 1977, the London Matriarchy Study Group produced a special issue of the British WLM *Shrew* magazine, which they titled *Goddess Shrew*. A small notice regarding its publication was printed in *The Guardian*, with Long's address, who received more than 500 letters from women over the following fortnight asking for copies of the issue. More than 5000 were eventually sold.[108] In their editorial, group members stated that "There was a time when society was organized on the basis of a woman-led culture. The Goddess was worshipped not only in terms of fertility and survival, but as a way of life in which the feminine and the female were considered preeminent…. We see the part that male-based religion has played in demeaning and exploiting women…. control of the spirit as well as of our bodies will extend the possibility of change in society".[109] News travelled fast on the feminist grapevine and quickly reached across the Atlantic. Asphodel's personal papers—now preserved at Bristol University—contain a few dozen letters from American feminists who enquired after the group's activities and writings. In specific cases during 1977–1978, letter correspondences ensued between Long—as a representative of the London Matriarchy Study Group—and individuals such as Merlin Stone, Charlene Spretnak (b. 1946), Batya Podos (on which more would be said in Chapter 7), and Starhawk (albeit prior to the publication of *The Spiral Dance*).[110]

In 1979, the group published a pamphlet titled *Politics of Matriarchy* which contained articles written by its members and affiliates. In "Towards a Matriarchal Manifesto", one member advocated a future matriarchal society that "has a place for men and women together", and emphasized that "[w]e do not envisage matriarchy as the mirror image of patriarchy" since "[t]here is no way that women can oppress men sexually and economically".[111] Another contributor to the pamphlet stated that "I don't think that either sex in power is by any means ideal, a perfect balance would be when both sexes truly loved and adored each other's essential natures… [b]ut this cannot be achieved until we rise again as real women".[112] Kayoko Komatsu studied the group and its later offshoots during 1984–1986 as part of her MA thesis, and noted that "[t]he word 'matriarchy' has not been defined clearly in any single statement in the Matriarchy Groups. This is because of the difficulty in differentiating fact from myth and wishful thinking". For Komatsu, this looseness also exemplified "the frailty of the group's organization and the weakness of their ideological basis".[113]

The London group irregularly published a newsletter titled *Matriarchy News*, as well as booklets and pamphlets. On 16 May 1981, they organized a 'Wise Woman' conference in London. Following this event, a national Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network (MRRN) was founded and later that year formed its own newsletter, *MRRN*. In 1983, it also began publishing a magazine titled *Arachne*.[114] Around 1981, several members of the Matriarchy Study Group separated from the wider MRRN, whose members preferred to focus mainly on rituals and spirituality. The Matriarchy Study Group women felt that "ritual or Goddess worship encouraged women to rely on a power outside themselves", and focused on research first and foremost.[115] In the meanwhile, various subgroups were formed by MRRN activists, such as an artwork group, a ritual group, a 'psychic group', and a 'moon group'. Members celebrated their own Goddess-centered festivals based on the eightfold Pagan Wheel of the Year, as well as the full and new moons.[116] During the mid-1980s, subscribers to the *MRRN* Newsletter numbered at around 250 in Britain, sixty of which were met by Komatsu throughout her research period. She noted about eighty percent of the members were in their late twenties or late thirties and had belonged to WLM groups in their college or university years. They discovered matriarchy mostly through feminist politics. Two of the women Komatsu encountered called themselves 'Witches' and held Witchcraft ceremonies.

Many others were sympathetic toward Witchcraft and showed a high level of interest in it. Very few, however, had undergone initiation, and "most preferred to remain in more loosely organized groups such as the Matriarchy Groups".[117] One example for a ritual carried out by MRRN women who identified as 'Witches' is the 1982 Halloween ceremony:

> The ritual was concerned with death and rebirth. After we had invited the shades to be present at the ceremony we lit black candles and said all things which we wished to remove from our lives to the fire. When we had finished, the candles were thrown into the fire and we watched them burn. We then all jumped over the fire and left all our problems behind. We exchanged new year greetings and shared a chalice of mead. We also stated the things we would like to reclaim and goals we would like to obtain in the New Year. we shared cake amongst ourselves and the Goddess while meditating on the embers of the fire. This was followed by dancing and singing.[118]

This ceremony looks like a (much) less-structured version of a Wiccan ritual. In another one, held by the Sheffield Matriarchy Group in 1985 as a celebration of Candlemas, the circle was cast and the four directions were invoked while substituting the appropriation of each of the cardinal points from that of the four nature elements (air, fire, water, and earth) to the fourfold aspects of the Goddess (Virgin, Maid, Mother, and Hag).[119]

Komatsu noted that many of the matriarchy women were influenced by American feminist groups and authors.[120] She found a version of Valerie Solanas' radical feminist *Scum Manifesto* which was edited by women from the Matriarchy Study Group in a Leeds bookshop. In their introduction, the women wrote that they believed "this book to be both a feminist and a spiritual piece of writing… [which] provides political strategies, actions and a vision of the future for women".[121] Thirty percent of the women involved in Matriarchal Study Group during the time of Komatsu's research held separatist view.[122] Separatism was a key issue during a Beltane ritual, in which the presence of boy children was contested by some of the participants, while other women supported their inclusion.[123] Some women—such as Judith Higginbottom (later Noble)[124]—were ambivalent to whether men were innately necrophilic or could one day 'be saved' from patriarchy themselves: "Men's spirituality is very badly mangled… Men don't have intuition or sensitivity,

I'm not sure if they need re-educating or if they are [just] different".[125] Others were more resolute and criticized spiritual feminists—"whether Christian, Matriarchal or Pagan"—who believed "that men can be and should be re-educated", as "this can only sap women's energy and take us away from each other once more".[126]

The pamphlets produced by the London Matriarchy Study Group supply us with a further glimpse into the influence of American radical feminists on Goddess feminists in the UK. One example is a 1977 pamphlet which dealt with subjects such as women's language and matriarchal symbols, and included a booklist featuring works by Robin Morgan and Kate Millet, as well as Adrianne Rich's then-new title, *Of Woman Born*.[127] As already mentioned above, that year the group also produced a special issue of the British WLM *Shrew* magazine, which they titled *Goddess Shrew*. One of the contributors was Monica Sjöö—about whom more will be said in Chapter 5. For now, it would suffice to say that Mary Daly's influence was clearly demonstrated in Sjöö's article. She criticized the mind/body dualism implied in the concept of "God the Father" and objected to the concept of "power over nature" as an anathema to matriarchy.[128] Komatsu noted that women in the Matriarchy Groups often used the expression 'death-oriented religion',[129] a term which resonated with Daly's analysis of patriarchal religions' 'necrophilic' nature. The writer of a 1979 strive "Toward a Matriarchal Manifesto", for instance, criticized the "industrial patriarchal time" perception, which she termed as 'continuous', 'sterile' and 'death-centered', and called for a return to a matriarchal "cyclical… life-centered" time.[130] She claimed that a future matriarchal society could only be achieved after women "re-establish their sense of collectivity" first.[131] An article written by two members of the London Matriarchal Study Group similarly stated that "it is hard to believe that men have spirits or souls at all given their love of death", and added that "[m]en cannot create on their own, they need women's creation in order to survive".[132] This again was derived from Daly's description of men's 'vampiric' drainage of biophilic energy. Daly's discourse on naming and the deconstruction of words in order to reveal hidden, subversive meanings lost within 'patriarchal language' affected British Matriarchy activists as well: "We do not possess the language to communicate our experience", wrote Jill Chadwick in the second issue of *Arachne*, and filled her article with word deconstructions such as "[t]he very basis of male control lies in preventing us from *real-ising* our own

experience" or "our procreative potential that men fear so *awe-fully*" [my emphasis].[133] Considering Daly's massive influence on British matriarchalists, it was hardly surprising that MRRN women chose to name their journal *Arachne* after the "spider Goddess, of spinning and weaving".[134] Matriarchal Study Group members also analyzed rape as "the continuous threat and presence of patriarchal power in society… a mean of controlling and policing all space" while referring readers to Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will*.[135] Susan Griffin's 'woman = nature' discourse was also represented in members' writings: Magenta Wise stated that "[t]he Earth is a female planet… she is mother nature… the Goddess in all her finery. She is the Macrocosm, we women the Microcosm".[136] Jill Chadwick wrote that "[d]iscovering our spirituality is about… finding our roots in the Earth, flowing in harmony with every current of water".[137]

Echoing Daly's criticism of asceticism in patriarchal religions, Mary Coghill and Sheila Redmond deemed the concept of the sacrificial corn king (adapted by Wiccans following Graves and Frazer) apparently necessary for men, for "it gives them a much needed symbol of sacrifice and service", unlike women who seek "the reaffirmation of… life and love".[138] Similar criticism of British Wiccans influenced by the above-mentioned Dalyan discourse can be found in an obscure small pamphlet titled *A Manual of Feminist Psychics*, written in 1981 by a woman who identified simply as Susan.[139] She was highly influenced by both Mary Daly's *Gyn/Ecology* and the booklets of the Matriarchy Study Group, which formed the backbone of the pamphlet's small book list (the other being science fiction works by female writers).[140] She blamed Wiccans (using the term 'modern witchcraft') for 'stealing' the concepts of 'witch' and 'coven' from the women healers of old, and stated that she had been asked to join a coven and refused. She saw contemporary covens as based on the oppression of women and stated that they depend on the 'psychic power' they drain from their of women members. Men, according to Susan, had no 'psychic power' of their own and therefore try to convince non-feminist women to use their 'womanpower' for them.[141]

That being said, women in the Matriarchy Groups were hardly unanimous in their attitudes toward Wiccans and non-initiate male Pagans. One of the network's key members, Pat Whiting, wrote that groups of MRRN women performed rituals at the new and full moon and during seasonal festivals since about 1977, and added "[s]ometimes, as on

Halloween, our rituals are more complicated, more based on Wiccan tradition".[142] The London Matriarchy Study Group did not neglect the local Pagan scene as early as 1978 and corresponded with British Pagan magazines such as *The Cauldron*.[143] Women from the Matriarchy Study Groups attended several solstice gatherings at the Laurieston Hall ecological commune in southern Scotland during the late 1970s and early 1980s, which included feminist-inclined men from the Alternative Socialism[144] Network. On at least one occasion—during one of the solstice nights of 1981—the men and the women met together, "after the two groups… had celebrated separately… and… celebrated together".[145] In 1982, the *MRRN Newsletter* publicized the *Quest Witchcraft Anthology* edited by occultist Marian Green, as well as the Quest Festival of Magic that was held in London on 7–8 May 1982.[146] In an article written in July 1983 for an internal publication, a Matriarchy Network activist also noted reading Doreen Valiente's *Witchcraft for Tomorrow*.[147] Furthermore, while the Matriarchy Study Groups were open only to women, some of them—especially women like Pauline 'Asphodel' Long—cooperated with British Pagans who were feminist-inclined, such as Daniel Cohen (b. 1934), the co-editor of *Wood and Water*. Others followed feminist-inclined Pagan magazines such as *Pipes of Pan*.[148]

During the early and mid-1980s, subscribers to *Matriarchy News* and the *MRRN Newsletter* were able to order sample copies of Goddess-oriented publications from the United States.[149] Their connection with American feminist Witches and Goddess women was already becoming firm. In 1981, they sent their pamphlets to Z Budapest's LA shop, the Feminist Wicca (as they later found out, Budapest was already in San Francisco by then).[150] In early 1982, *MRRN* readers were notified that Budapest expressed interest in coming to Britain to talk on Dianic Witchcraft later that year, but lacked funding for the trip.[151] Newsletter subscribers were also notified in June that Starhawk and "a group of Wicca and Spiritual feminists from California" planned to visit the UK after their tour of Ireland, which took place on 4–19 September 1982.[152] Titled 'From Megalith to Metaphor', the tour's itinerary included—among others—visits to megalithic sites, to the Hill of Tara, and to the headquarters of the Fellowship of Isis at Clonegal Castle, various rituals, as well as a dinner with Janet and Stuart Farrar.[153] While Starhawk's planned excursion to the UK in the aftermath of her Irish tour never materialized, Deborah Ann Light, an American who took part in this tour, noted that some of the women who participated

in it were English.[154] Starhawk eventually visited Britain during late August through early September of 1984, following a series of lectures in Germany. She toured Cornwall, visiting Tintagel and Boskednan stone circle, with Jo O'Cleirigh (of whom more will be said in Chapter 7) and then drove to Glastonbury, where arrangements have been made for her to participate in a ritual on the Tor, attended by a large contingent of members of the region's alternative community, such as Monica Sjöö. From there, Starhawk proceeded to Greenham Common with the help of Daniel Cohen (who also features in the seventh chapter of this book).[155]

Starhawk's second visit to the UK occurred during May 1985, and was well covered by the *MRRN Newsletter*. She took part in a five-day walk to Stonehenge across the Salisbury Plain, on which more will be said below, gave two evening talks to women in London, and facilitated a weekend-long workshop for women in Leeds. One of her London evening talks focused on Nicaragua, and the other, which was held at "A Woman's Place" on May 6, was dedicated to "Politics, Magic, Witchcraft, The Women's Movement…etc.".[156] Her Leeds weekend workshop dealt with "a feminist view of power, based on an awareness to all things as alive, inherently valuable, sacred and interrelated", and the local organizers made sure that the copies of her books were available at the Leeds Public Library and at the Corner bookshop.[157]

In an unidentified internal publication dated July of 1983, a Matriarchy Network member named Sheila Rose[158] utilized lengthy quotes from both Starhawk and Budapest's writings on the summer solstice, and a 1984 article by two members of the London Matriarchy Study Group likewise included *The Spiral Dance* and *Dreaming the Dark* in its bibliography.[159] In 1989, 'Nozma'—a key activist in the *Arachne* publishing collective since its inception in 1983—wrote a positive review of Starhawk's *Truth or Dare* which focused on the latter's analysis of the three types of power (the patriarchal 'power-over', the self-creative 'power-from-within', and the 'power-with' used in group activity), and produced lengthy quotes from Starhawk's discussion of immanence and interconnectedness.[160] These issues were also covered in an interview with Starhawk that was carried out in the summer of 1988 during her third visit to Britain and was included in the journal's tenth issue.[161]

While imbedded within the wider Women's Liberation Movement in Britain, it were American radical and cultural feminists—as well as

matriarchy proponents such as Merlin Stone and Feminist Spirituality publications such as *Womanspirit*—to whom British matriarchalists turned for inspiration, influence, and support. The first Matriarchy Study Group in Britain formed originally around a very vague perception of Goddess and relied on a feminist rediscovery of earlier nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century proponents of the myth of matriarchal prehistory more than on British occultism and early Wicca. It was only later, toward the early 1980s, that subgroups specifically dedicated to ritual were formed within the emerging British Matriarchal network. These groups adopted the Wiccan Wheel of the Year concept, and their rituals seem to have utilized a Wiccan framework—such as circle casting, invoking the elements, sharing cakes, and dance at aftermath of the ceremony—albeit in a highly improvised and less-structured way. Whether they were influenced directly by the few Wiccan books available at the time, or strictly by rituals developed by writers such as Z Budapest and Starhawk is unclear, but as the latter authors themselves built their rituals and based on the British Wiccan template, the question is rather moot. British matriarchalists were certainly critical of Wicca and usually viewed British Wiccans as distinct patriarchally oriented 'others', but some of them also read Wiccan texts and magazines, and kept in contact with certain British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans. The remaining chapters of this book will chronicle and analyze the ways in which these brands of feminist thought served as a crucial (but largely overlooked) factor in ushering a new stage in women's involvement in British Paganism, in the development of British Paganism's ideology and in the gender relations which existed between its adherents during the scope of my research.

Notes

1. Raphael, *Introducing Thealogy*, 117.
2. Willis, "Radical Feminism and Feminist Radicalism," 94–95.
3. Morgan, *Sisterhood Is Powerful*, xxii; Morgan, *Going Too Far*, 9.
4. Echols, "The Taming of the Id," 50.
5. Willis, "Radical Feminism and Feminist Radicalism," 91.
6. Koedt, "Lesbianism and Feminism," 248.
7. Rowland and Klein, "Radical Feminism," 18.
8. According to sources within the movement, by 1973 more than 1000 of these women's health-related projects existed throughout the country. Morgen, "'It Was the Best of Times, It Was the Worst of Times,'" 236.

9. Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, 4–5, 243. Indeed, by 1984, the veteran radical feminist Ellen Willis lamented that "Radical feminism in its original sense barely exists today." Willis, "Radical Feminism and Feminist Radicalism," 91.
10. Echols, "The New Feminism of Yin and Yang," 439–459; Echols, "The Taming of the Id," 50–72; Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*. It should be noted that many women whose work was defined by researchers as 'cultural' feminist object to the term and see themselves as radical feminists. Rowland and Klein, "Radical Feminism," 32; Lineret, "On Who Is Calling Radical Feminists 'Cultural Feminist' and Other Historical Sleights of Hand," 156; Willis, "Radical Feminism and Feminist Radicalism," 91. See Lineret's, "On Who Is Calling" for a criticism of Echols's cultural feminism thesis.
11. Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, 6–7; Echols, "The Taming of the Id," 50, 53–54.
12. Ibid., 53.
13. Morgan, "Rights of Passage," 77.
14. Eller, *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory*, 16.
15. Daly, "The Qualitative Leap Beyond Patriarchal Religion," 26.
16. Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism Versus Post-Structuralism," 406–407, 408.
17. Echols, "The Taming of the Id," 52.
18. Daly, *Gyn/Ecology*, 360.
19. Echols, "The Taming of the Id," 59–60.
20. King, *Women and Spirituality*, 79.
21. Kimball, "Women's Culture," 4.
22. Rich, *Of Woman Born*, 39.
23. Meehan, "British Feminism from the 1960s to the 1980s," 192.
24. Nehring, "The Growth of Social Movements," 391.
25. Lovenduski and Randall, *Contemporary Feminist Politics*, 3.
26. Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain*, 317.
27. Rowbotham, "The Beginning of Women's Liberation in Britain," 34.
28. Coote and Campbell, *Sweet Freedom*, 18.
29. Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain*, 340; Rowbotham, "The Beginning of Women's Liberation in Britain," 40.
30. Browne, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Scotland*, 64.
31. Boucheir, *The Feminist Challenge*, 178.
32. Ibid., 179.
33. *Shrew* (Autumn 1974): 14.
34. Rowbotham, Segal and Wainwright, *Beyond the Fragments*, 171; Lovenduski and Randall, *Contemporary Feminist Politics*, 95–96; Boucheir, *The Feminist Challenge*, 95.
35. Arledge Ross and Bearse, *A Chronology of the Women's Movement in Britain*, 7, 9.
36. Rees, "A Look Back in Anger," 337–356.

37. Rowbotham, *The Past Is Before Us*, 158.
38. News Round-Up, "Women's Liberation 1977," 581.
39. Boucheir, *The Feminist Challenge*, 111, 142.
40. Ibid., 177–178.
41. Lovenduski and Randall, *Contemporary Feminist Politics*, 95, 96.
42. Setch, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Britain, 1969–79*, 8.
43. Rees, "A Look Back in Anger," 338.
44. Ibid. See also Rees, *All the Rage*; Browne, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Scotland*; Rogers, *Feminist Consciousness-Raising in the 1970s and 1980s.*
45. Boucheir, *The Feminist Challenge*, 74.
46. Browne, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Scotland*, 90.
47. Rowbotham, Segal and Wainwright, *Beyond the Fragments*, 190.
48. Setch, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Britain, 1969–79*, 11.
49. Ibid., 94.
50. Lee, "Radical Feminism, Revolutionary Feminism and the Left," 24.
51. Coote and Campbell, *Sweet Freedom*, 29. For a study of the various attitudes toward separatism and 'the problem of men' that were maintained by 1970s British feminists, see Owen, "Men and the 1970s British Women's Liberation Movement."
52. Sebestyen, "Tendencies in the Movement: Then and Now," 23; Jeska Rees, "Interview with Lynn Alderson," 3. Conducted 28 May 2014. Located at the Feminist Archive North, Special Collections, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, 1.
53. Rees, "A Look Back in Anger," 341, 353 n. 20.
54. *Women's Information and Newsletter Service*, 19 May 1976.
55. Jackson, "A Press of One's Own," 48.
56. Sheila Jeffreys, "The Need for Revolutionary Feminism," paper presented at the National Women's Liberation Conference, London, 1977. Quoted in Rees, *All the Rage*, 80.
57. York et al., "We Are the Feminists That Women Have Warned Us About," 309. Originally appeared in *Feminist Practice: Notes from the Tenth Year* (London: In Theory Press, 1979), 1–3.
58. Collins, *Modern Love*, 188.
59. Although it was presented as notes from the movement as a whole, Sebestyen later confirmed that it was "strictly radical feminist." Transcript of Interview with Amanda Jane Sebestyen, Sisterhood and After: The Women's Liberation Oral History Project, The British Library, C1420/52, 62.
60. Rees, *All the Rage*, 72.
61. Ibid., 1–2.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., 2.
65. Ibid., 113.
66. Ibid., 97.
67. Lovenduski and Randall, *Contemporary Feminist Politics*, 279.
68. Griffin, "Preface," 1–4.
69. Caldecott and Leland (eds.), *Reclaim the Earth*, 238–239.
70. Ibid., 229, 233, 237.
71. Simonon, "Personal, Political and Planetary Play," 198–199, 236–237.
72. Berger, *A Community of Witches*, 13, 46; Hutton, *Triumph*, 353–381; Raphael, *Introducing Thealogy*, 31, 119; Greenwood, *The Nature of Magic*, 185–186; Griffin, "The Embodied Goddess," 40.
73. See a letter from Elizabeth Gould Davis to Robert Graves, dated 1 February 1973, in the Robert Graves Papers, which are located at St. John's College Library Oxford. The reference number is GB 473 RG/J/DavisE.
74. For a more extensive description of the various authors who took part in the formation on the American Feminist Spirituality Movement during the 1970s–1980s, see Feraro, *The Politics of the Goddess*. In this MA thesis (written in Hebrew), I surveyed the writings of Z Budapest, Starhawk, Jade River, Diane Stein, Shekhinah Mountainwater (1939–2007), Vicki Noble, Hallie Iglehart, Jean Shinoda Bolen, and Patricia Reis.
75. Melton and Poggi, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Paganism in America*, 209.
76. In recent years, however, the ratio has changed from about 60:40 lesbian/heterosexual in the 1970s–1980s to about 30:70 lesbian/heterosexual in 2002. Coleman, *Re-Riting Woman*, 220 n.30.
77. Budapest's recent autobiography covers the period preceding her conversion to radical lesbian feminist politics and spirituality. Budapest, *My Dark Sordid Past as a Heterosexual*.
78. Berger, Leach and Shaffer, *Voices from the Pagan Census*, 13.
79. Budapest, *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries, Part 1*, 136.
80. Eller, *Living in the Lap of the Goddess*, 56.
81. Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon*, 190.
82. Davy, *Introduction to Pagan Studies*, 134; Orion, *Never Again the Burning Times*, 74, 75.
83. Starhawk, "Starhawk," 336.
84. Starhawk, *The Spiral Dance: 10th Anniversary Edition*, 2, 3.
85. Ibid., 4–5; Salomonsen, *Enchanted Feminism*, 37.
86. Grimstad and Rennie, "Spiritual Exploration Cross Country," 49.
87. Salomonsen, *Enchanted Feminism*, 38.
88. Christ, "Carol Christ," 102.
89. Salomonsen, *Enchanted Feminism*, 37–39.
90. Starhawk, *The Spiral Dance: 10th Anniversary Edition*, 5.

91. See a letter sent by Starhawk to Ms. Marie Cantlon, 6 January 1978. Starhawk Collection/GTU 2002-4-01/Box 5/5.
92. Hutton, "Modern Pagan Witchcraft," 62; Neitz, "In Goddess We Trust," 369.
93. Berger, Leach and Shaffer, *Voices from the Pagan Census*, 14.
94. Orion, *Never Again the Burning Times*, 8; Salomonsen, *Enchanted Feminism*, 9; Carson, *Goddesses & Wise Women*, 149.
95. Hutton, "Modern Pagan Witchcraft," 62; Greenwood, *Magic, Witchcraft and the Otherworld*, 137.
96. Pike, *New Age and Neopagan Religions in America*, 16; Griffin, "Goddess Spirituality and Wicca," 264.
97. Berger, "Witchcraft and Neopaganism," 37.
98. Feraro, "'The Goddess Is Alive. Magic Is Afoot'"; Feraro, "The Politics of the Goddess."
99. Axelrod, Thomas and Schneir, *Merlin Stone Remembered*, 24–25; Stone, "'The Paradise Papers,'" 6–8.
100. Ettorre, *The Sociology of Lesbianism*, 213.
101. Asphodel, "A Pinhole in the Darkness," 212; Long, "The Goddess Movement in Britain Today," 11–39.
102. Ibid., 14.
103. Komatsu, *An Empirical Study of Matriarchy Groups*, 1, 63. While the activities of the Matriarchy Study Group have attracted little scholarly attention over the years, several other groups that existed during this period—such as Lux Madrianna, the Cult of the Lady Artemis, and the Order of Diana—proved to be even more elusive to researchers. Space limitations prevent me from discussing them here, but information on these groups is available in Feraro, "Followers of the Great Cosmic Mother or Irrelevant Naval Gazers?" *Journal of Contemporary Religion* (forthcoming).
104. Brackx,"Sisterwrite," 34; See Daniel Cohen's website at http://www.decohen.com, accessed 12 October 2014. Sisterwrite was founded in 1978 by Coghill and Lynn Alderson and quickly became a center for varied WLM activities. It contained "three floors with nine rooms in all… [with a] printing and darkroom on top… [as well as a] first floor [that] could be a reading/writing/relaxing area." Brackx,"Sisterwrite," 34; Rees, "Interview with Lynn Alderson," 3.
105. *London Matriarchy Study Group Information Sheet*, 1978, 1–3. Bristol Feminist Archive/Religion/World Views. *Womanspirit* operated between 1974 and 1984 and "helped [to] shape the nascent Goddess Movement in the U.S. and elsewhere." At its height, the magazine had a print run of 3000 per issue, though its editor estimated that each copy was probably read by a dozen women, thus increasing its exposure manifold. Griffin, "The Land Within," 14, 19. *Womanspirit* issues—as well as Vicky Noble's

Motherpeace Tarot Pack—were available for sale at the Sisterwrite bookshop, managed by Mary Coghill of the London Matriarchy Study Group. O'Cleirigh, "Native Peoples, Womanspirit and Neopaganism," 13; Henning, "The Motherpeace Tarot Pack," 16.

106. *Womanspirit* 1:1 (1974): 10. The vast majority of contributions to *Womanspirit* by British matriarchalists were made by Monica Sjöö, who published almost thirty articles and letters in it between 1977 and 1984. See Mountaingrove and Menefee, *Womanspirit Index*, 64.
107. *London Matriarchy Study Group Information Sheet*, 1–3.
108. Asphodel, "A Pinhole in the Darkness," 211; Long, *In a Chariot Drawn by Lions*, 180; Griffin, "Goddess Spirituality and Wicca," 271.
109. "Beyond Patriarchy," 2.
110. See Asphodel Long Archive/DM2767/Box 5/part 1/black folder with formal written correspondences.
111. Perenna, "Towards a Matriarchal Manifesto," 10, 14.
112. Wise, "Politics of Beauty," 49.
113. Komatsu, *An Empirical Study of Matriarchy Groups*, 63, 72.
114. Ibid., 64–66.
115. Ibid., 84. See, for instance, Mary Coghil and Sheila Redmond's critique of "matriarchal women… [who are] very ill informed as to the history, mythology, philosophy and the development of the ideas they follow. … The Matriarchy Network has recently stated that they believe intuitively that men are not the central force for creation. Our knowledge is stronger than any intuition." Coghill and Redmond, "Feminism and Spirituality," 109.
116. Komatsu, *An Empirical Study of Matriarchy Groups*, 65–66.
117. Ibid., 76–78.
118. Ibid., 90–91.
119. Ibid., 92.
120. Ibid., 62.
121. Ibid., 70. Mary Coghill and Sheila Redmond, who were active in the London Matriarchy Study Group, referred the readers of their 1984 article to the group's edition of Solanas' *Manifesto*, which was published during the previous year. Coghill and Redmond, "Feminism and Spirituality," 208, 209.
122. Komatsu, *An Empirical Study of Matriarchy Groups*, 107.
123. Ibid., 98–99. See also Marion Codd, "Boy Children," *MRRN* (Summer Solstice 1982).
124. Noble became involved in WLM in Manchester at the age of about seventeen during 1973–1974 and recalled *The Dialectics of Sex* by the American Shulamith Firestone as the first feminist book she ever read. Noble soon went to study at Nottingham's Trent Polytechnic and founded a WLM society there. She then studied for a Master's degree at the University of Reading and continued her involvement in WLM

groups there and during the following years up until the mid-1980s. Around 1978, while at Reading, she discovered the Matriarchy Study Group after reading *Spare Rib* and decided to combine her feminist interests with her existing interest in magic and witchcraft. She traveled to London and met Mary Coghill at the Sisterwrite Bookshop. Coghill became her contact to the group and occasionally visited her in Reading and in Devonshire, to which Noble moved in 1982. Interview with Judith Noble, 5 May 2014.

125. Judith Higginbottom, quoted in Coghill and Redmond, "Feminism and Spirituality," 96.
126. Coghill and Redmond, "Feminism and Spirituality," 109.
127. Coghill and Scott, *If Women Want to Speak, What Language Do They Use?* (London: Beyond Patriarchy Publications, 1977). Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/83/1. Rich's *Of Woman Born* was also among the books relied on by Coghill elsewhere when she described the Eleusinian Mysteries. Coghill, "Eleusis—Politics of Mysteries," 35.
128. Sjöö, "Women's Spirituality," 5–6. Daly's *Beyond God the Father* was also quoted from in another *Goddess Shrew* article and was included in the pamphlet's bibliography. "The New Testament: The Goddess and the Sacred King," 15; *Goddess Shrew* (Spring 1977): 23.
129. Komatsu, *An Empirical Study of Matriarchy Groups*, 79.
130. Perenna, "Towards a Matriarchal Manifesto," 11.
131. Ibid., 10.
132. Coghill and Redmond, "Feminism and Spirituality," 92.
133. Chadwick, "Turning the Tide," 31, 32.
134. Arachne Collective, "Arachne Reborn," 1. See also the advertisements page in Arachne's inaugural issue, which included an ad for 7-week 'Spinning and weaving' courses in 'women's Psychics'. *Arachne* 1 (May Eve 1983).
135. Perenna, "Towards a Matriarchal Manifesto," 15.
136. Wise, "Politics of Beauty," 49.
137. Chadwick, "Turning the Tide," 31.
138. Coghill and Redmond, "Feminism and Spirituality," 96.
139. Susan, *A Manuel of Feminist Psychics*, 1981. Feminist Archive North/University of Leeds/Spirituality Collection/P8/03. It is possible that this is the same women who identified as 'Susan Marionchild' in *Arachne*'s first issue, which printed an ad for her 7-week 'Spinning' (for beginners) and 'weaving' (for advanced) 'women's Psychics' courses. *Arachne* 1 (May Eve 1983).
140. Susan, *A Manuel of Feminist Psychics.*
141. Ibid.

142. Whiting, "The Goddess and Female Sexuality. Part Two," 25. It is worth noting that Whiting's article—loaded with cultural feminist discourse influenced by Daly, Griffin, and Rich, as surveyed above in the case of other British matriarchy women—went the extra mile (perhaps with a touch of Revolutionary Feminism) when she wrote that "we can only confront male power with female alternatives, new models reclaiming our sexual and spiritual powers *over* [my emphasis] men." Ibid., 20.
143. Ibid.
144. Alternative Socialism was a group that was active for a time in the late 1970s and included about 50 individuals at its peak. Asphodel Long, Monica Sjöö, and most members of the London Matriarchy Study Group were active members, as well as *Wood & Water*'s co-editor Daniel Cohen, who recalled that its guiding principle was a commitment to an anarcho-socialist and feminist vision. See Daniel Cohen's website at: http://www.decohen.com/articles/chauvinism.htm, accessed 12 October 2014; Interview with Daniel Cohen; Email Correspondence with Daniel Cohen, 22 October 2011.
145. Asphodel, "Letter"; Email Correspondence with Daniel Cohen, 22 October 2014.
146. "Festivals."
147. Sheila Rose, "Celebrating the Summer Solstice," 4. Courtesy of Kayoko Komatsu.
148. See reference to "the antics of Roberts, Coon and Co, in 'Pipes of Pan'" in Cath Is-Foel, "Diverging from Patriarchy," 31.
149. *Matriarchy News* 1 (1980?), 8; "Sample Copies."
150. *Matriarchy News* 3 (May 1981).
151. *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network* 4 (Candlemas1982); *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network* 5 (March 1982); *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network* 9 (Halloween 1982). Some of those active within the London Matriarchy Study were also critical of Budapest, however. In 1984, Mary Coghill and Sheila Redmond noted the "strong influence from the west coast of America in… [Britain]," and criticized an anonymous west coast writer who "cast[ed] spells to increase money by anointing your purse with money drawing oil" as "irresponsible in the extreme." Coghill and Redmond, "Feminism and Spirituality," 102–103. While they did not actually name Budapest, her 1979 book was cited in their bibliography and included a 'money spell' that incorporated the use of 'money-drawing' oil, herbs, and incense (though not used to anoint ones purse). Budapest, *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries Part I*, 68–69.
152. "Visit by American Women." The news item also advertised her then newly released *Dreaming the Dark*. Ibid. The tour was co-led by Starhawk and sponsored by Reclaiming and an educational travel organization by the name of 'Return to the Earth'. See flyer titled 'Ireland with Reclaiming' in Starhawk Collection/GTU 2002-4-01/Box 1/10.

153. See itinerary in Starhawk Collection/GTU 2002-4-01/Box 2/1C. Though the Starhawk Collection contained two separate versions of the itinerary—only one of them stating the dinner with the Farrars—Daniel Cohen, who attended the trip, confirmed for me that the event indeed took place. Email Correspondence with Daniel Cohen, 18 October 2014.
154. Quoted in Hopman and Bond, *People of the Earth*, 317. Daniel Cohen and Lauren Liebling confirmed for me that the 1982 UK visit did not take place. See Daniel Cohen, email correspondence, 15 May 2015.
155. See Jo O'Cleirigh's recollections in White, *The Re-Enchanted Landscape*, 136–138. I have stated in previous publications that Starhawk's first visit to the UK was conducted during May 1985, and am now happy to amend that statement.
156. "Starhawk—Uniting the Spiritual and Political, Reclaiming Our Power"; Sjöö, "Excerpts from Women's Dream Journeying Across Salisbury Plain Reclaiming Earth, Our Mother from the Military." Goodman, "Uniting the Spiritual and Political—Starhawk's Visit to England"; Sjöö, "Journey into Darkness," 75–84. Shan Jayran, who attended the meeting, recalled that the room "was so packed [with women] … there was standing room only. We were just standing jammed together." Interview with Shan, conducted on 11 February 2011.
157. See brochure in Starhawk Collection/GTU 2002-4-01/Box 3/23.
158. This is probably Sheila Rose Bright, who was initiated into Dianic Wicca in 1983 and many years later co-founded *Goddess Alive!* Magazine, active since 2001/2. In another article published in the *MRRN Newsletter* around August 1984, a woman by the name of Sheila (probably Sheila Rose), who presented herself as a newly initiated Dianic witch, stated that Starhawk's book (in all likelihood *The Spiral Dance*) became the basic text for her coven. Rose was also a reader of the American *Womanspirit* magazine and published a 'Self Blessing Ritual' there. Sheila, "Witchcraft and Ritual," 11; Rose, "A Self Blessing Ritual," 9.
159. Rose, "Celebrating the Summer Solstice," 5, 6; Coghill and Redmond, "Feminism and Spirituality," 209. By mid-1984, the MRRN suggested book list included the above-mentioned books by Starhawk, Budapest, Daly, and Rich, as well as further American Goddess volumes by Anne Kent Rush (*Moon, Moon*, 1976), Ann Forfreedom (*The Book of the Goddess*, 1980), Hallie Iglehart (*Womanspirit*, 1981), and Vicki Noble (*Motherpeace*, 1983). *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network Newsletter* 22 (Summer Solstice to Lammas 1984).
160. Nozma, "Truth or Dare," 23–25. She also mentioned *Dreaming the Dark*'s importance in her "coming to politics and magic" during the early 1980s. Ibid., 23.
161. Taylor, "Interview with Starhawk," 1–7.

CHAPTER 4

The Arenas: Glastonbury, Greenham Common, Summer Festivals, and London

Sheila Broun, who presently heads the Goddess Study Center in Bath, began to gravitate toward Goddess Spirituality during the latter half of the 1980s and studied "the ways in which women are male-defined…, how patriarchy has appropriated female symbols and then suppressed women's knowledge of… [their] own power".[1] In 1987, she began teaching a 'Women & Goddesses' segment as part of the Leeds Polytechnic 'Women & Arts' course.[2] On 1–10 July 1988, Broun coordinated the Wakefield Women's Festival, which included four 'Women & Goddesses' workshops facilitated by herself. Other events which took place during the festival featured several Goddess women who will feature heavily throughout the following chapters of this volume: Monica Sjöö delivered a 'Goddesses and Matriarchies' slide lecture and took part in a joint discussion on 'The Goddess as we see Her' with Jean Freer and Felicity Wombwell. In addition to these activities, the festival included "a celebration in the Goddess/Women garden" which was built and planted especially for the event. Some of the events were mixed, while others were designated 'women only'.[3] In an article written during this period for *Arachne*, a magazine produced in Britain by women interested in matriarchy and Goddess worship, Broun's thought was clearly influenced by both Mary Daly and British-based Monica Sjöö.[4] Shortly afterward, Broun began an effort to set up (jointly with Lynn Morgan) a women's spirituality network associated with PaganLink—a British Pagan networking organization set up during the

S. Feraro, *Women and Gender Issues in British Paganism, 1945–1990*, Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-46695-4_4

latter half of the 1980s.[5] In doing so, they were "inspired by Mary Daly's definitions in *Websters' First New Intergalactic Wickedary*: NETWORK… [,which in its] Gyn/Ecological context [means a] tapestry of connections woven and re-woven by Spinsters and Websters… EARTHQUAKE PHENOMENON…,[which is the] Ordeal experienced by Crones engaged on the Otherworld Journey beyond Patriarchy… [and] NEW SPACE… in which women Realise Power of Presence".[6] A survey of the historical development of the Women's Spirituality Movement produced by Broun in 1992 further illustrates the influence of American radical and cultural feminisms on British Goddess women: Broun quoted from Robin Morgan's *Sisterhood Is Powerful* when describing the activities of WITCH, utilized Margot Adler's *Drawing Down the Moon* in order to recount the proceedings of the 1976 Boston 'Through the Looking Glass: A Gynergenetic Experience' conference, and noted the 1982 *Heresies* Goddess issue.[7]

While Chapter 3 of this volume surveyed the influence of American radical and cultural feminisms on the development of feminist forms of Witchcraft and Goddess Spirituality in the UK during the 1970s and 1980s, the following chapter will be dedicated to an analysis of the town of Glastonbury, the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, the summer festivals scene, and London as arenas for the exchange of views on radical, cultural, and spiritual feminism between British Wiccans, Dianic/feminist Witches, and Goddess women.

Glastonbury

Glastonbury is a small market town in Somerset, situated in the southwest of England. Dominated by the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey and by the hill known as the Glastonbury Tor, the town has long served as a pilgrimage center for numerous and varied spiritual seekers.[8] Scholars and practitioners alike have long been arguing that "Glastonbury is like a meeting place, a gathering of people to discuss ideas".[9] For those who identify with a myriad of New Age currents—from Paganism and Goddess worship to Arthurian legends and Earth Mysteries—"being in town is an end in itself. The town is not merely a convenient place to live out a preferred lifestyle: Glastonbury, the place, evokes a vital mystical aura" in the mind of New Agers.[10] For decades now, the local alternative community "includes intellectuals, artists,

unconventional scholars, spiritual devotees, and business people, the vast majority of whom… moved to Glastonbury from elsewhere".[11]

This section will focus on Glastonbury's alternative community as it developed during the 1970s and 1980s, and will highlight its role as an arena for encounters and exchanges of views and information between feminists/Goddess women and Wiccans/Pagans. The decision to focus on the 1970s–1980s period is dictated both by this volume's time span—the reasons for which already noted above—and by local considerations. The memoirs of key activists in Glastonbury's alternative community describe an "interesting shift" during the late 1980s and around 1990, as the town's alternative community experienced substantial growth and the number of alternative shops and establishments along its High Street began to grow.[12] Ruth Prince observed that the number of shops selling New Age or alternative products had doubled between the summer of 1987 and 1990, and noted statuettes of earth goddesses and ritual swords among the various merchandise of display.[13] Today, 39 percent of the businesses with High Street frontages could be described as 'alternative', and when considering only the main part of the street—below St. John's Church—the figure rises to 62 percent.[14] Marion Bowman, a longtime researcher of Glastonbury's alternative community noted recently that "having a shopfront in Glastonbury can be and has been seen as a way of staking a claim there".[15] In the case of local Goddess Spirituality, the claim was indeed staked in 1991 when resident Goddess woman Tyna Redpath founded 'The Goddess and the Green Man' shop on no. 17. Five years later, she cooperated with longtime Glastonbury-based Goddess feminist Kathy Jones in the establishment of the yearly international 'Goddess Conference'. This led to the founding of a Glastonbury Goddess Temple by Jones (registered as a Place of Worship in 2003), who also developed the 'Priestess of Avalon' 3-year training course, making Glastonbury a worldwide center for Goddess Spirituality. These events, which lay outside of this book's timeframe, were, however, the culmination of a long process which began during the late 1970s and which will be dealt with below.

Now, as already mentioned in the Introduction, Dion Fortune established a small circle of esoteric, New Age adherents in Glastonbury, which she equated with the mystical 'Avalon'. After her death in 1946, the Avalonian vision "lay fallow" for some twenty years, until proponents of Arthurian legends—such as Geoffrey Ashe—and hippies gravitated to the town after the mid- to late 1960s.[16] Druid groups were also

active in Glastonbury during the mid-twentieth century and continued to hold meetings and rituals there during the 1970s.[17] By the late 1960s, New Age 'Hippy' travelers began to gravitate toward the town, and their activities were surveyed by Irving Hexham in his pioneering MA thesis, which has been described by a later Glastonbury researcher as "an insightful look into the spiritual beliefs of what was to become the alternative community at an embryonic point in its development".[18] These individuals described themselves as 'freaks', and local townspeople were divided in their attitudes toward them. Hexham divided the 'freaks' into roughly two groups: visitors—who would spend a few days to a few weeks in town, often sleeping atop of Glastonbury Tor—and settlers—who lived in or around town most of the year, with occasional periods (particularly during winter) spent in other regions of the country.

Hexham wrote that most visitors were male (sometimes accompanied by younger women), while the male-female division among the 18 or so settlers found in town at any one time during the very early 1970s was relatively balanced (though men still outnumbered women). The spiritual beliefs of these New Age travelers were gathered mostly from publications of the underground press and the London alternative scene, with works by Blavatsky, Besant, Fortune, and Jung providing a large source of influence.[19] They set up information centers in the Glastonbury Abbey Café and the Dove Center (located in the adjacent hamlet of Butleigh), and published a magazine, *Torc*, of which 15 issues appeared during the first half of the 1970s.[20] The magazine articles "covered all manner of subjects, but broadly speaking fell into the parallel categories of esoteric Christianity and revived… paganism".[21] *Torc*'s fourth issue reported Witchcraft as one of the subjects for a series of talks which took place over Easter 1972 in the back of the Abbey Grill café during the six-day operation of the fledgling community's 'experimental info/help service'.[22] The magazine's next issue included an article on "Witchcraft—The Craft of the Wise", by one Rollo Maughfling, a Wiccan high priest who in later years became chief of the Glastonbury Order of Druids.[23]

By the mid-1980s, the alternative community in Glastonbury "developed an increased self-consciousness and confidence about its own identity as a more permanent fixture within the town".[24] On 1 December 1984, the First Glastonbury Community Weekend was held. Fifty individuals participated, and the gathering led to the founding of *the Glastonbury Communicator*, a "more-or-less quarterly journal, published…

[until] 1989… [w]ith a rotating editorship".[25] The next scholarly description of Glastonbury's New Age scene was published by Ruth Prince and was carried out during the summer of 1987 and between October 1989 and November 1990 as part of an MA thesis completed at the University of St. Andrews.[26] Prince began to help produce a local alternative newspaper called the *Glastonbury Times*, which put her in the "centre of the [town's] information nexus". She also joined a local women's group and attended various New Age events workshops.[27] Prince estimated the size of the town's alternative community at around 500 individuals (extended to 700 when including out-lying communities and nearby villages) out of an overall population of 7635, with many more visiting during the spring and the summer—especially during the summer solstice and the Glastonbury Festival.[28] According to Prince, the community was divided into several differing subgroups which were "in a continual state of flux as new allegiances are struck. Many people associate with others in the same or similar spiritual practice… and as these change, so do affiliations".[29]

As in the times of Dion Fortune and her followers, the main focal points in which people gathered for ritual activities throughout the year—especially during the winter and summer solstices—were the Tor and Chalice Well.[30] Another important center for the town's New Age community was the Glastonbury Assembly Rooms, where "community gatherings at the Solstices and Equinoxes, and Earth Mysteries Gatherings at the cross-quarter Fire Festival" took place.[31] Erected in 1864, the building became dilapidated after World War II. In 1977, an Assembly Rooms Trust was founded, which thereafter transformed the building into an arts and community center which housed many performances, festivals, and gatherings.[32] As such, it was also the focus of fights over its use, which created "much factionalism and division between [the town's various New Age] sub-groups".[33] During the mid-1980s, when "the more grassroots wing of the alternative community was involved in reviving" the building, "a more explicitly spiritual wing broke away to pursue their vision of creating a learning and craft center"—now known as the Glastonbury Experience.[34] Opened in 1984 at the foot of the town's High Street, the center included a courtyard and a café, surrounded by a whole food shop, natural health clinic, a bookstore, etc.[35]

By 1979, a local women's group was established, which produced two issues of its own journal—*The Glastonbury Thorn*. Its core consisted of about ten to twelve members, and several other women were associated with it on a less regular basis, bringing the overall number of

activists to about twenty.[36] According to local New Age writer Anthony Roberts, its founding members were in contact with the Matriarchy Study Group.[37] Indeed, Kathy Jones—a core member of the group—recalled years later that members of the local group read *Goddess Shrew*, *The Politics of Matriarchy*, and *Menstrual Taboos*—all pamphlets issued by members of the Matriarchy Study Group.[38] The activities and writings of several of the group members and affiliates—these being Kathy Jones, Jean Freer, and Janet McCrickard—will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters. This Glastonbury 'Wimmin's Group' met once a fortnight in its members' homes.[39] On 29 June 1979, Jones organized the Glastonbury Community Arts Festival, which included a presentation by Monica Sjöö. Sjöö also took part in a full moon walk of the maze of the Glastonbury Tor, which was organized by Jones and other members of the Glastonbury women's group and attracted both local supporters such as Geoffrey Ashe and sympathizers from the region.[40]

The women's group attracted hostility from local conservatives, but despite this opposition "ecofeminism and Green activism, antinuclear protests, natural childbirth, breast cancer, and ancient matriarchy had all, by the early 1980s, made their way onto the Glastonbury alternative community's agenda".[41] While the local women's group disbanded during late 1980 to early 1981,[42] by 1985 it was clear that women's spirituality was an inseparable part of the 'Avalonian' scene, as the following will attest: Weekly women's meetings were happening, and a 'Women's Space' was set apart at the Dove Center[43]; the Assembly Rooms played host to an exhibition of Goddess statuettes by Anne Monger and Phillipa Bowers[44]; a women's moon dance ritual of four phases was performed in the community's Beltane Camp; and a first 'Glastonbury Women's Camp' took place during the last week of June, while an ad for a 'Women's Circle Dance Day'—scheduled for 6 October 1985—also appeared in the local *Glastonbury Communicator*.[45] The community's May 1985 Earth Mysteries gathering likewise included a women's meeting, and the communal Dance Camp—held during August 10–18—offered a 'women's mysteries' workshop, among others.[46] The visibility and perceived influence of Goddess feminists in Glastonbury's New Age scene were also evident in a 1985 ad[47] for Gothic Image bookshop[48] which mentioned "Wimmin's Literature" among its wares.

During the mid-1980s, Goddess feminists in Glastonbury "ran into conflicts with more androcentric New Agers, Arthurians, and others with whom they otherwise share the 'alternative' end of the Glastonbury

spectrum".[49] Some of these conflicts survived in the form of pamphlets, as well as articles and editorials of the *Glastonbury Communicator* and other magazines: Robert Coon expressed clear views against the presence of Goddess Spirituality in Glastonbury. Writing of "those who have been duped into believing they serve the Goddess, when their real master is death" and urging locals to "Beware the so-called Aquarian midwives [sic] of death", Coon continued by imprecisely quoting a Pagan chant originally written and composed by Z Budapest, and claimed that "the mindless drivel of 'we all come from the Goddess—to the Goddess we shall return like a drop of rain in the ocean' is a deathist [sic], reactionary, and historically brief aberation [sic] that shall rapidly fade away as a bad dream in the morning light of Everlasting Life".[50] Coon might have been referring to a women's Beltane ritual which—as reported by Pauline 'Asphodel' Long—took place that year at the Chalice Well and in which the 24 celebrators chanted "We All Come from the Goddess".[51] It was in common usage by British Goddess women for some time before, as lines from it also appeared in page 4 of the 1985 *January News of Green and Common Womyn's Peace Camp*.[52] Druid activist (as well as Wiccan high priest) Rollo Maughfling likewise expressed his condemnation of "militant" feminist politics, "the emergence of the Female Chauvanist [sic] Pig" and of Greenham women who "managed to confuse the peace issue with sex war". He emphasized the Wiccan gender polarity balance, personified by the priest and priestess, and denounced Goddess women and feminist Witches who do not seek initiation to Wicca and therefore "do things and make statements that are… alien to the spirit of the goddess [sic]".[53]

One of the most vehement of these critiques was directed by Anthony Roberts and was published in a booklet during the 1984 summer solstice. Meant to be the first pamphlet in a series of 'Anti-Feminist Papers', the booklet was titled *Sacred Glastonbury: A Defense of Myth Defiled*, with a secondary title which read *Being a refutation of vicious calumnies and infamies upon the sanctity of holy Glastonbury's geomancy by divers mad matriarchs and deranged feminists.* Roberts was apparently outraged by a small article titled "Female Glastonbury" which was published by a local, Cara Trimarco, in the August 1983 issue of *The Ley Hunter* Earth Mysteries magazine, in which she equated various elements of the Glastonbury landscape with 'the body of the Goddess'. He stated that "[t]he feminist movement has gone too far in its matriarchal frenzy. It is time for a redressing of the balance and an engendering of a shared holistic vision

between men and women".[54] Perhaps in response to these attacks, the sixth issue of the *Glastonbury Communicator* was edited by a feminist-inclined editorial collective, which included Kathy Jones, Nick Mann and Ann Morgan, who was a member of Glastonbury's Women's Group during the early 1980s.[55] By the late 1980s and early 1990s, Ruth Prince observed that "as a social group, the alternative community are largely very aware of feminist issues… however, gender issues are largely played down, and feminism is often criticized as being 'divisive'".[56] A representative quotation from one of the male informant in Glastonbury in Prince's research illustrates this: "We now have a person rather than male or female. Feminism was a necessary first stage, but I don't believe there is much difference beyond the physical, just cultural beliefs, values and processes. The witch used to be the leader of the village, and there was a strong female witchcraft movement. Men killed off herbalists as a sort of professional colonialism".[57] Women, however, were already running "a number of businesses in town, and thus [had]… a substantial degree of power in the public domain".[58]

The Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp

Greenham Common in Berkshire, southern England, was used during World War II as a military airbase by British and American forces. In 1951, it was made available to the United States Air Force and in the late 1970s a decision has been made to place 96 American nuclear cruise missiles within it as deterrence against the Soviet Union.[59] In September 1981, a group of 39 women and children (and a few men) arrived at the entrance to the airbase after a nine-day walk from Cardiff, sponsored by Women for Life on Earth. The walk received advance publicity in WLM and alternative media, as well as in *The Sunday Times* and *The Guardian*. Originally, the walkers had no plans for establishing a permanent peace camp, or even staying the night, but the lack of media attention during the finals days of the walk encouraged some of the women to chain themselves to the airbase's main gate, and the rest of the participants decided to camp nearby in support of them.[60] Following the establishment of the camp, some Greenham women initiated a march from Greenham to London, arriving in time for the 500,000 strong CND demonstrations at Hide Park. Ann Pettitt, one of the women who participated in the original march from Cardiff to Greenham, then delivered a speech about the camp to the audience gathered there.[61]

This of course aided the exposure of the Greenham issue to a much wider public than the women's movement. Special demonstrations and events such as the December 1982 'Embrace the Base' action brought large-scale publicity as well, in Britain and worldwide.[62] Indeed, a study titled 'Index to International Public Opinion 1982–1983' showed that during the peak of the protest 94 percent of the British public stated they had heard about the camp.[63]

The peace camp consisted of several sites, known as gates, with Yellow Gate—originally called Main Gate—being the central one, and which was also the last to be evacuated on 5 September 2000, ten years after the last cruise missiles have been removed.[64] In February 1982, the men of the camp were asked to leave, and the site became a 'women-only' space.[65] This created "a shift in the dominant politics of the camp from the maternalism of the walk and the early days [of the camp] to the much stronger feminist politics of anarchist, lesbian, radical, socialist and eco-hues which began to take hold" in the aftermath of the decision.[66] In practice, however, only one of the camps—Green Gate—was an entirely 'women-only' space, and the other camps all admitted male visitors during the hours of daylight.[67] Men were also present in supporting roles during large-scale demonstrations: They ran a crèche during the 'Embrace the Base' demonstration of December 1982, and a special 'men's area' was set up in Orange Gate for that purpose.[68]

The camp depended heavily upon a nationwide network of support groups, which varied in size from about a handful in Northampton shortly after the camp was established to over several hundred in Manchester during 1983. Many cities and smaller towns throughout the UK sustained groups of between 30 and 50 active members during 1983–1984, and most London boroughs had their own groups as well.[69] These groups were embedded in wider networks of feminist, peace, and green activists in their localities and focused mainly on fund-raising for the camp, arranging visits, and publicizing Greenham in their vicinity.[70] The camp had strong connections with the town of Glastonbury and its alternative community. Greenham activists attended the 'Wimmin's International Summer Event (WISE)'—which took place at Worthy Farm near Glastonbury during 5–8 August 1982[71]—and asked women to come and support the Women's Peace Camp.[72] Stephanie Leland—an American expatriate and a founding member and national coordinator of Women for Life on Earth—edited its journal from Glastonbury for a while.[73] She was also a member of the editorial collective of the single-issue *Full Circle:*

A Glastonbury Magazine, which largely reflected the aims of Woman for Life on Earth and chronicled its May 24th women's 'peace walk' up the Glastonbury Tor as part of the 1982 European 'Women's Day for Disarmament'.[74] Leland was also the one who proposed the idea for the massive 'Embrace the Base' demonstration—in which women joined hands and encircled the base.[75] This event was the first mass demonstration to take place at Greenham, attracting approximately 30,000 women, as well as the first large-scale media attention to the camp, thus providing "the entry-point for hundreds of women who later went to live at the camp and for the thousands who became regular stayers or visitors".[76] Liz Seymour, a member of the Glastonbury Women's Group, recalled that it sent two coach-loads of women to Greenham for the demonstration.[77] The *MRRN Newsletter* likewise published a call for women to attend the event, as well as the Greenham Common celebration for Halloween.[78] Indeed, many members of the Matriarchy Study Groups visited Greenham in support of the campers and joined women's spirituality rituals held there.[79]

Though many of the women who gravitated toward Greenham identified as feminists (of various tendencies) prior to their arrival at the camp, many others did not. Almost all of them, however, were drawn to Greenham via pre-existing connections to the countercultural milieu.[80] Rebecca Johnson, a resident of the camp between 1982 and 1987, recalled that "[m]any who got involved with Greenham spoke of having felt daunted by 'Women's Lib', and Greenham seemed to provide a less threatening way in".[81] Sasha Roseneil, who lived at the camp for several years, joined the CND as a teenager during the early 1980s. News about the impending 'Embrace the Base' action of December 1982 reached her during a period of reading "early feminist articles and pamphlets which connected militarism with male domination".[82]

Books by Mary Daly, Susan Griffin, and Susan Brownmiller were widely read at the camp, coupled with battered copies of Adrianne Rich's pamphlet 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence'.[83] Indeed, American radical and cultural feminisms were very much a part of Greenham's ideology, as is made clear through the following statement by Jayne Burton, a Greenham woman, around 1984: "Patriarchy literally means father rule – and once you spot it, it never goes away; … God the Father, supposed creator of all life – the life force itself given the masculine gender. I think it is very important – the language that we have… [it] permeate[s] our thinking".[84] This quotation smacks of

Daly's discourse on male religion and the politics of naming in *Beyond God the Father*, while Katrina Howse's reference to the "personal draining of women's life energy"[85] resembles Daly's later cultural feminist writing in *Gyn/Ecology* as well. This is hardly surprising considering that the Greenham women who compiled the 1984 volume of the camp's history included *Gyn/Ecology* (as well as Susan Griffin's *Woman and Nature*) as useful resources.[86] The camp's newsletter—produced by women who lived at Greenham—included direct quotes and references to Daly as well: An anonymous writer of an article titled 'Loyalty to Women' quoted at length from Daly's *Pure Lust* on "the second coming of the witchcraze", which, in Daly's view, would include women 'traitors' trained and tokenized in 'patriarchal professions'.[87] As noted by Christina Welch, "many aspects of the camp can be read through… [Daly's] brand of feminist meta-ethics. For example her writings on the mythological connections between women and weaving can be seen in the 4.5 mile long serpent that was sewn by over 2000 women in June 1983, and threaded around much of the perimeter fence".[88]

The camp's ecofeminism, echoing Carolyn Merchant's discourse on 'mechanistic thinking', has been made apparent in one specific newsletter image presented by Welch, who researched the camp's archives: It was the *Chant Down Greenham* songbook, whose front cover was perceived by Welch to "plainly show the links between men, the mechanistic and division, and between women, the natural and unification".[89] Sasha Roseneil, who lived at the camp during this period and later made it the focus of her PhD dissertation, commented that ecofeminism was brought to the camp "by individual women (particularly American women who had been involved in the women's pentagon action)".[90] This was probably a reference to Stephanie Leland, and it is worth noting that the latter commented elsewhere that her idea for the December 1982 'Embrace the Base' action sprung out of her awareness of similar demonstrations in the United States which were led by American feminists active in 'Women and life on Earth', who encircled the Pentagon during November 1980 and 1981.[91] Margaretta Jolly, who camped at Greenham, recalled later that the Women's Pentagon Action was the immediate reference to Greenham women's use of the symbols of the web and weaving, as well as "the Spinsters, a women's affinity group from Vermont, who has woven shut the gates of a nuclear power plant with wool, string, and rags".[92] The use of these symbols by Greenham women in demonstrations and in newsletter and pamphlet

covers represented in their eyes "the discovery of interconnectedness",[93] while some participants even interpreted it as a sign that "We are all interdependent… [t]he ancient spider goddess weaving tirelessly the web of life".[94]

Studies and insider accounts of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp tend to focus on sociopolitical matters, and with the exception of one academic article, little has been written about the issue of spirituality at the camp.[95] According to Rebecca Johnson, who visited the camp on two occasions during 1982, "Goddess Spirituality [and] wicker [probably a reference to Wicca]" was certainly present in Greenham.[96] On 12 December 1981, some three months after the establishment of the camp, Greenham women and their supporters marched to the nearby town of Newbury in a procession carrying "a large puppet of a Goddess in rainbow robes".[97] A few days earlier, a circle ritual was held by some women in a tipi, and in New Year's Eve 1982 five women decided to walk the nine miles of the perimeter of the base 'widdershins' (anti-clockwise), apparently motivated by "love for life and a celebration at the turning of the seasons and the returning of a new year". The women "called in celebration to the trees and the earth" as they circled the base.[98] On 21 March 1982, the Women's Peace Camp held an 'Equinox Festival of Life' (in which men were still involved) that was attended by many thousands and was followed by a blockade of the base.[99] Such rituals, remembered Cynthia Cockburn, were "fairly light-hearted" and were not characterized by the heavy symbolism of Wiccan rituals.[100] This probably aided the participation of most Greenham women, who did not identify with Witchcraft on a religious level.

On 20 January 1983, a second camp was established at 'Green Gate', and the women there proceeded to "cast healing spells over the mistreated common".[101] The camp reportedly became "seriously Lesbian"[102] and was also perceived as "New Age and/or mystical", complete with women who identified as Witches, and rather "'cosmic', where women interested in spirituality and women from overseas clustered".[103] Sasha Roseneil—a sociologist who lived at Green Gate for an extensive period of time following late 1983[104]—commented that "it was a certain type of women who moved to Green Gate in its early days, and this set a precedent for how Green Gate was to develop. Green Gate tended in the future to attract women who shared some of the preference… to be in a completely women-only space, [as well as for]… lesbian

feminist politics".[105] It is also important to remember, however, that not all women at Green Gate were interested in spirituality; that Yellow gate, for instance, included some Witches as well; and that even Orange Gate had its own altar to the Goddess during a large demonstration which took place there during September 1984.[106] Greenham was indeed a complex arena, as one participant in the camp's March 1982 'Equinox Festival of Life' reminds us: "[t]he blockade had caught the imagination of most of us, but the festival [itself] was seen by some as peripheral and irrelevant. The theory behind it was to bring together… the Women's, the Green and New Age Movements, religion, art and music".[107] Indeed, when emphasizing the spiritual side of Greenham, one should also bear in mind that "the camp meant different things to different women; there was no singular Greenham Common experience".[108]

That being said, there is no doubt that Greenham attracted women who were committed to Goddess Spirituality and matriarchy issues almost from its inception. Sarah Green, a Greenham activist who was tried on 28 May 1982 for resisting eviction from the Common, refused to take the oath in the accepted form and stated "I'll swear on the goddess but not on the god".[109] Goddess figures were in fact regularly brought into the courthouse by Greenham women in support of those arrested during protests.[110] Rebecca Johnson—who stayed at the camp during 1982—mentions a Welsh woman who took Iah as her name and organized a ritual for women who were about to infiltrate into the base. The women held hands in a circle and the ritual included elements of joint sound work and the use of herbs.[111] Johnson recalled that Iah definitely identified as a witch, as did "a couple of others" in the camp, who carried out many rituals and discussed ancient Goddess religions and matriarchy with women there.[112] Katrina Howse, a key activist at Greenham who self-identified as a 'Witch' on many separate occasions during her time at the camp,[113] was videotaped by British police while trying to invoke the goddess Hecate during a break into the base.[114] The 'Dragon Festival'—held at Greenham during 25 June 1983 with 2000 women participants—included a play performed by women living in the camp "which was full of matriarchy and witches… [t]his sort of earth religion bit".[115] On 29 October 1983, women staged a protested action at the camp dressed as witches and removed part of the base's perimeter fence.[116] One of the many badges designed, made, and worn by the women at Greenham, specifically produced for a Halloween action at the camp, depicted a black witch stirring a cauldron, complete with the writing 'Witches against

the bomb'.[117] The term 'Witch' was in fact "common currency" at Greenham according to Welch, "appearing frequently in newsletter articles and used visually on… covers". As exemplified by Welch, the newsletters included several protest songs that referred to witches, such as *Witch* and *We are the Witches*. These included lines such as "weave the power with the wind, we will change and we will spin", which harkened back to Daly's discourse of weaving and spinning.[118] According to Sasha Roseneil, many of the women "who first learnt about the witch-hunts [and feminist interpretations of them] while at Greenham felt a deep connection across time with them".[119] She has also postulated—in a manner which fits perfectly with the purposes of this chapter—that "'[t]he truth' about… the identities of the witches or the motivations behind the witch-hunts… are far less important than the fact that women at Greenham saw a link between [them]… and themselves".[120]

Women from the camp also visited archeological sites such as Silbury Hill, Avebury, and the West Kennet Long Barrow on several occasions, usually during Beltane or Lammas, when "women like Iah or sometimes …[k]atrina or [others]… would do chanting", following which the participants would sleep on the site under a blanket of stars.[121] According to Rebecca Johnson, Iah and Katrina Howse contacted Starhawk and invited her to participate in a five-day walk from Avebury to Stonehenge across Salisbury Plain, which took place during 30 April–4 May 1985.[122] The walk was organized by women in the Matriarchy Groups,[123] together with 100–150 Greenham women, who sang a chant originally composed by American Goddess Feminist Shekhinah Mountainwater as they marched through the Plain.[124] Starhawk arrived as the women were discussing the layout of the Beltane ritual, which they celebrated on Silbury Hill, and gave advice on its structure.[125] She later recalled that after reaching Stonehenge, the women set up camp in the adjacent car park, and some then "held a long discussion about matriarchy and patriarchy and about what to do in the stones. Someone suggested using menstrual blood and that seemed very powerful… we talked about the power of the Crone and about birth and women's mysteries".[126] Starhawk visited Greenham Common again in the summer of 1988. She participated in a protest action at the camp, after which she facilitated a mixed workshop on healing and Goddess imagery in London, as well as a 'women-only' women's mysteries workshop over the weekend, which drew to it 150–200 at its peak.[127]

Festivals, Conferences, and London

Pagan festivals open to all, regardless of denomination or initiation, developed in Britain rather late in comparison with the American Pagan scene.[128] In the United States, such festivals were inspired by summer camps, "a phenomenon with which Americans of the time were often familiarized in youth but which had no real equivalent in British culture".[129] In 1982, the lack of open and specifically Pagan summer festivals in Britain was noted as yet "another manifestation of the Craft which is not seen in England" by James Bennett—an English Gardnerian who moved to California shortly before then.[130] This situation began to change as the 1980s progressed, and by 1986, Doreen Valiente saw fit to mention the marked difference between the mid-1980s and early 1970s in terms of the numbers of Witchcraft-related newsletters and magazines, specialist shops, and mail order businesses, as well as fairs and exhibitions which were "now regularly held throughout Britain".[131]

Spiritual feminists and Wiccans had the potential to meet at alternative festivals of a more general bent as early as the beginning of the 1970s, though. Small and deliberately free festivals appeared in the British scene around 1970.[132] The Glastonbury Festival—first held in 1969 as the Glastonbury Fayre—is known today as the largest and most prestigious rock festival in Britain. Celebrated around the time of the summer solstice, the 1978 and 1979 festivals included a 'Woman's Day'.[133] Since 1981, the festival has been held as a benefit for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (and more recently Greenpeace).[134] That year, a six-day Ecology Party Summer Gathering followed in July at the nearby Worthy Farm (a year earlier, a similar gathering was held there instead of the main festival, which suffered financial loss in 1979), which attracted some 1500 visitors. At its aftermath, the gathering's activists decided that future events will be called Green Gatherings. The first Green Gathering (more of which will be said in following chapters) took place between 27 July and 1 August 1982, and attracted 5000 participants, "including feminist peace group Women For Life on Earth with a dedicated Women-only Marquee".[135] Stephanie Leland, editor of the group's magazine and a resident of Glastonbury, attended the gathering and later recalled that it included a meeting of about 100 people who discussed the continuation of support of Greenham women—the largest attendance of a single discussion during the entire gathering. Heated debates ensued on the matter of keeping Greenham 'women-only'.[136] Four days

after the 1982 Green Gathering at Worthy Farm, the property hosted a 'Wimmin's International Summer Event (WISE)'.[137]

Another important venue was the Stonehenge Free Festival, which took place near the stones in June (culminating on the summer solstice) from 1974 to 1984. One of the key organizers of festival was a man named Bev Richardson. Born in 1947 on the Isle of Man, Richardson met Gerald Gardner—who lived on the island near his 'Museum of Magic and Witchcraft'—at the age of thirteen. He visited the museum frequently for the next four years and would occasionally run small errands for Gardner.[138] Following the latter's death in 1964, Richardson "maintained contact with other Wiccans throughout the rest of the 1960s", such as Monique Wilson. Richardson developed his own individualistic interpretation of Wicca, which provided "invaluable inspiration to the embryonic pagan leanings of the [Stonehenge] festival-goers".[139] By 1978, there were 5000 celebrators on site, and in June 1981, the Stonehenge Free Festival attracted some 35,000 participants.[140]

Indeed, by the summer of 1980, the free festival scene in Britain "began to grow significantly, providing a choice of 47 alternative fairs and festivals all across the country".[141] During the late 1970s, festival-goers were beginning to visualize these events as "a summer-long nomadic culture", and as early as 1978 "a convoy left Stonehenge after the solstice, heading for Glastonbury".[142] During the early 1980s, New Age travelers and peace campers began to intermix in places such as Glastonbury and the Stonehenge Festivals. Indeed, it were travelers who taught Greenham women how to build benders (which became crucial to their day-to-day stay in the camp), and an ex-camper at the Molesworth Peace Camp—which had close contacts with Greenham—recalled that "there was just so much interchange and mingling of ideas and ideologies… Spirituality meets politics meets new age travelers".[143] In June of 1982, thousands of New Age travelers who attended the Stonehenge Free Festival actually left the festival grounds en masse and headed toward the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp in order to hold a "Cosmic Counter-Cruise Carnival".[144]

Following the 1985 'Battle of the Beanfield', in which police forces prevented travelers from setting up the yearly festival, a Stonehenge Free Festival veteran who adopted the name Tim Sebastian founded the Secular Order of Druids and organized a 'Stonehenge Forum' in Salisbury during 1986 in order to discuss ways of gaining free access to

the stones. This gathering attracted representatives from "all the major spiritual bodies", apparently, and coupled with a Beltane ritual organized by Sebastian in the nearby woods of Wilton that brought together a concoction of New Age adherents as well as "witches" and "feminists".[145] According to Ronald Hutton, Sebastian's personal allegiance by the 1980s "was to The Goddess, in her full-blown counter-cultural form as immanent spirit of the natural world and of the planet, the numinous rallying-point of all enemies of patriarchy".[146]

In addition to open-air summer festivals held in rural areas, Wiccans and Pagans had the opportunity to intermingle in indoor festivals and occult conferences, mostly in London. Indeed, as Michael Howard's insider recollection suggests, when attending "any neo-pagan, magical, druidic or Wiccan social event, conference or public ritual [during the 1960s and 1970s] you were likely to meet the same people who belonged to all kinds of different groups and traditions".[147] It was not until 1987, though, that a first completely Pagan indoor national festival took place. Organized by Shan Jayran in a central London location, the Halloween Festival attracted 1400 attendants.[148] Prior to the Halloween Festival, other, New Age festivals provided a popular meeting place. The Aquarian Festival was organized since 1977 and during the 1980s by Joan Andrews. In 1981, 5000 visited the festival which was held in a South London venue.[149] Michael Howard reported that "Paganism was ably represented… [at the] Festival by a stall organized jointly by Elfane…, the Pagans Against Nukes group and 'Wood & Water' magazine".[150] The editors of *Wood and Water* later reported selling some current and back issues of the magazine at the venue.[151] Tanya Luhrmann, who was among the 3000 who attended the 1983 Festival, noted that it was "a very magic-oriented New Age festival", as more than half of its 58 stalls were dedicated to Western Occultism, from Witchcraft to Earth Mysteries and ritual magic.[152] Leonora James, who headed the Pagan Federation and edited *The Wiccan* at the time, seems to have attended the festival.[153] One of the presentations held in the festival's lecture hall was titled 'Witchcraft, the Old Religion', though the speaker—Stuart Thonneson—failed to make it to the event due to a railroad strike. Marion Green was persuaded to the floor in his stead and presented the subject to the audience.[154] It is likely that Goddess feminists and Dianic Witches attended that year's festival as well, as an ad for it was published in the *MRRN Newsletter*.[155] By 1984, *Prediction*—an occult monthly sold by major newsagents with a 32,000 circulation—took over the yearly event, renamed as the Prediction

Festival.[156] Michael Howard reported in *The Cauldron* that several Pagan groups (as well as Howard himself) planned to make an appearance at the 1984 festival.[157] Perhaps even more important was the Mind-Body-Spirit Festival—still running since its inception in 1977. It featured a cornucopia of New Age activities, including "Psychic, Esoteric and religious subjects".[158] Goddess feminist Monica Sjöö attended the festival in 1978 and presented her recently completed 'The Goddess at Avebury' painting, as well as literature from the Matriarchy Study Group. While appalled by what she perceived as commercialism and a lack of criticism of patriarchy, noting in a private letter that "the only inspired speech given was by Geoffrey Ashe", it also produced one significant outcome relevant to our discussion—in its aftermath Sjöö met with Ashe to discuss his experience of the festival and of 'The Great Goddess Re-emerging' Conference, which took place at the University of California in March of that year and included Carol Christ's noted keynote address (later published as an essay) "Why Women Need the Goddess".[159] The 1979 festival, which attracted some 88,000 participants, included a stall called 'The Wiccan', which had no connection with *The Wiccan* magazine, though.[160] According to Wiccan initiate Catherine Summers, Nigel Bourne and Seldiy Bate—two initiates of Alex and Maxine Sanders who headed a coven in North London—held many talks on Witchcraft and Wicca at the large psychic fairs of the period as well.[161]

Up until the appearance of broader, New Age festivals such as the Aquarian and Mind-Body-Spirit in the late 1970s, the Quest Conference served as "virtually the only event" at which Wiccans and other occultists from around the country could come together to meet their fellows and attend relevant talks and presentations.[162] The first Quest Conferences—organized by Marian Green—were held in 1968 and 1969, and continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s. These conferences brought together British occultists and Witches since their inception. Indeed, the 1968 Quest Conference, which took place in February of that year, included an address on the Regency by Ron White.[163] Jean 'Ellen' Williams (1928–2016) and Zachary Cox (1930–2019), who headed the Bricket Wood coven and published an occult magazine titled *The Aquarian Arrow*, participated in at least two of these, in 1976 and 1983.[164] Following the 1976 conference, they decided to organize an autumn conference titled Bridges and Boundaries in October of that year. Two more conferences followed during October 1977 and July 1979. The conferences attracted between sixty to eighty people

and aimed at exploring "the interaction between the various pagan and occult sub-groups and their interface with the wider society. Talks were short and introductory, leading to chaired discussions, small groups and workshops".[165] In addition to these activities, Luhrmann's ethnographic research—carried during 1983–1984—describes Cox and Williams as facilitators of a Pagan workshop, members of the London Group (a Western Mysteries occult group termed by Luhrmann as the Hornsey group), and coordinators of another (described in Luhrmann's study as the Muswell Hill group), which was dedicated to ritual drama and was reforming after a long hiatus just as Luhrmann terminated her research in London.[166] This latter group was actually named the Companionship of the Rainbow Bridge, which was formed by Cox and Williams—together with several of their close friends—in 1977 as a group "devoted to developing the virtues of the Aquarian Age within its members". The group was active during the years 1977–1979 and 1984–1995 and developed over forty rituals, twenty-three of which have recently been made available. Its core rituals were developed largely by Cox grounded in an "Apollonian rather than Dionysian" approach, with its temple layout described as "a unique combination of some elements of a standard Western Mystery temple with features based on the Kabbalistic Tree of Life".[167] Cox maintains, though, that "[t]here was very little Judeo-Christian input into the Rainbow Bridge" and that while it centered largely on Thelemic ideas, its members hailed from a variety of traditions and interests, such as Wicca, Western Mysteries, and Humanistic Psychology.[168]

As capital of the nation, London has long been referred to as "an Alloy of the people of Britain".[169] In addition to large numbers of residents who emigrated into it from all corners of the land, "a limitless flow of people in and out of London whose lives in the capital might touch for many years or just briefly, grist for a time to its perpetual mill". The idea of London, indeed, "was an irresistible force in the national consciousness. Its allure… planted in the imagination of every child brought up as British".[170] The capital had a "hammerlock on cultural innovation" and "a way of sucking… talent into it" from the provinces.[171] It therefore served as a hotbed for various interlinking intellectual networks, living side by side—the feminist, magical, and Wiccan/Pagan ones are more pertinent to this volume. For the time being, the mingling of the feminist network—with its women's centers and bookshops, groups, newsletters, and even 'lesbian ghettos'—with the magical and Wiccan/Pagan networks

can be best commented on by utilizing Tanya Luhrmann's anthropological research into London's occult scene, which was conducted between July 1983 and mid-1985.[172] Emic reports by Kenneth Rees and Michael Howard (1948–2015), both veterans of London's 1960s–1970s occult/Pagan scene, note that "London [at the time] was essentially the focus of most public Wiccan/neo-pagan activities. Eventually this changed as more localised [sic] and regional activities, conferences, moots etc. developed… [during] the 1980s under the auspices of organizations like the Pagan Federation".[173] According to Luhrmann, a person who wished to get involved in the city's magical and Pagan underground during the 1980s needed to frequent an occult bookshop such as Atlantis on Museum Street "and look at the notice and index cards pinned to the shelves".[174] The proprietors of the bookshop often wrote the person's contact details and passed on the information to various covens which were taking on new initiates at the time. In this sense, the Atlantic bookshop "was very much the center of a wheel".[175] Information regarding upcoming rituals could also travel up the local Pagan grapevine using telephone trees. Luhrmann participated in at least three small ritual meetings organized in London by local PAN representatives during 1984, which attracted between ten and forty individuals. According to Luhrmann, "two or three people associated with PAN would inform a diffuse network that there would be a gathering in a London Park, usually around one of the traditional festivals".[176]

Another ritual described by Luhrmann in *Persuasions of the Witches Craft* was held on top of a prehistoric burial chamber in Kent (known as the Coldrum Stones) on Halloween 1983. It was carried out by 15 members of a London-based feminist coven, and according to Luhrmann, the woman who had been delegated by the other members to "draw up a rough outline of the ritual… announced that she had 'cobbled together something from Starhawk and Z Budapest'… [and later] read an invocation to Hecate more or less taken from Starhawk". The women then chanted, using a chant "also taken from Starhawk", and utilized a ritual sequence involving a pomegranate, also "found in both Starhawk and Z Budapest".[177] An interesting chart drawn by Luhrmann—which describes the relations between some of the many occult and Pagan groups she researched as they existed during May 1984—shows how members of feminist Witchcraft covens in London took part in various other Pagan and magical groups, workshops, and gatherings and intermingled with local members of the Pagan and/or

magical scene—sometimes even with initiated Wiccan 'elders': During this period, a women whom Luhrmann named 'Emily' was a member of a 'Women's Mysteries' feminist group while attending the Golders Green and Turnpike Lane magical groups, the former created by Marian Green of the 'Green Circle' and the latter by one of her students. Together with another member of her feminist group (named 'Angel' by Luhrmann in her study), Emily also participated in a Green Circle subgroup known as the Herb Study Group and took part in an ad hoc ritual magic group named 'Glittering Sword' by Luhrmann—a group frequented by two Gardnerian initiates from the famous Bricket Wood coven—as well as a Pagans Against Nukes May Day Gathering. 'Emily' also participated in a Pagan workshop for non-initiates which was run by Jean 'Ellen' Williams and Zachary Cox, who headed the Bricket Wood coven and published an occult magazine titled *The Aquarian Arrow*.[178] This was most likely the 'Pagan Pathfinders' workshop, founded in 1975, which included weekly meetings in North London for a period of six to eight weeks.[179]

The data presented in this chapter show that encounters between British matriarchalists, Dianic and feminist Witches on the one hand, and British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans on the other occurred in increased frequency and density in key focal points, or arenas, such as Glastonbury, Greenham Common, London, and the festival scene. As we shall see in the remaining chapters, these contacts in turn forced British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans to react—as well as occasionally to change and adapt—to the feminist challenge.

Notes

1. Broun, "View Point."
2. See the Center's website, available at http://www.goddessstudycentre.co.uk, accessed 24 May 2015. Broun, "View Point."
3. Ibid.; Sjöö, "Letter to MRRN Newsletter"; "Miscellany"; "What's On!."
4. Broun relied on Sjöö in order to support her claim that "[t]he power of the creative has always been seen as feminine, … and the male who wishes to be creative must embrace the feminine." The quote from Sjöö, taken from an interview with the latter carried out by Moira Vincentelli, reads "[m]en can partake in these experiences through women but without that men become like dangerous automatons as we can see." Broun, "In Search of the Female Creative," 25, 27. Daly's *Beyond God the Father* and *Gyn/Ecology* were featured in this short article's bibliography as well. Ibid., 27.

5. "PaganLink Update," 2; Broun and Morgan, "Women's Network," 4–5.
6. Ibid., 4.
7. Broun, "She Speaks," 9–10.
8. Bowman, "The Holy Thorn Ceremony," 123.
9. Prince, *An Anthropology of the 'New Age'*, 47.
10. Prince and Riches, *The New Age in Glastonbury*, 87.
11. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 81.
12. Garrard, *Free State*, 159, 208.
13. Prince and Riches, *The New Age in Glastonbury*, 143–144.
14. Garrard, *Free State*, 346.
15. Bowman, "Valuing Spirituality," 215.
16. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 81–83.
17. Hexham, "Glastonbury and the New Age Movement."
18. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 258.
19. Hexham, "Glastonbury and the New Age Movement."
20. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 83.
21. Garrard, *Free State*, 27.
22. *Torc* 4 (May 1972): 5. Quoted in Garrard, *Free State*, 26.
23. Maughfling, "Witchcraft," 26–27; Garrard, *Free State*, 35. For a reference to his Wiccan background, see Hutton, *Witches, Druids and King Arthur*, 252. Maughfling himself self-described as "a third degree Alexandrian for some twenty years standing" in 1989. See his letter in *The Pipes of PAN* 31 (Spring 1989): 2.
24. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 84.
25. Joylon, "Glastonbury Community Weekend," 2–3; Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 264.
26. Prince, *An Anthropology of the 'New Age'*, 1; Prince and Riches, *The New Age in Glastonbury*, vii.
27. Prince, *An Anthropology of the 'New Age'*, 32, 55.
28. Ibid., 26.
29. Ibid., 27–28.
30. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 45.
31. Kreps and Garrard, *The Glastonbury Assembly Rooms*, 15–16; Jones, "Shareholders to buy Assembly Rooms," 12.
32. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 84. In 1991, the board of trusties who owned the Assembly Rooms sold and then re-bought it in a system of shared ownership with an elected steering committee. Committee members aimed at refurbishing the building—as a 'sacred space'. Prince, *An Anthropology of the 'New Age'*, 24.
33. Ibid.
34. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 84. A later argument centered around attempts made by a group of women to take over the café based in the

Assembly Rooms—which they considered to be overwhelmingly dominated by male 'energies'—and "fill it with lighter, female energies." Prince, *An Anthropology of the 'New Age'*, 24.

35. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 84.
36. Personal Interview with Kathy Jones, 22 May 2013.
37. Roberts, *Sacred Glastonbury*, 11.
38. In Long, "Asphodel Long," 195.
39. "Editorial," *Glastonbury Thorn* 1 (1979): 3.
40. Sjöö, *New Age and Armageddon*, 271; Rupert White, *Monica Sjöö: Life and Letters 1958–2006* (Antenna Publications, 2018), 112.
41. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 83.
42. In a letter send by Janet McCrickard to Monica Sjöö (and attached to a letter to Sjöö from Hilary Llewellyn-Williams dated 16 February 1981), McCrickard noted that the group has been "busy sinking" by the time the Tor ritual was organized, and has later disbanded. I am grateful to Rupert White for sending me a scan of the letter, which is preserved in Sjöö's personal archive.
43. Neale, "A Woman's Place," 9.
44. Julian, "Assembly Rooms," 10.
45. Jones, "Kathy Jones Inner Views," 28; Ella, "The God Training, the Goddess, Glastonbury and Me," 14; *Glastonbury Communicator* 6 (September? 1985): 3. In 1986, the event grew into a 'Circle Dance Week'—held in the Assembly Rooms—which included a 'women's mysteries' workshop facilitated by a Katya Gahlin. See ad in the *Glastonbury Communicator* 8 (Imbolc 1986): 25.
46. Morgan, "A Place for the Dark," 7; Valerie, "The Dance Camp," 8.
47. See ad in the *Glastonbury Communicator* 3 (1985): 6.
48. A local High Street icon of the alternative community, Gothic Image was founded in 1975 and "stood practically alone as a landmark for new age visitors to the town" until the mid-1980s. Garrard, *Free State*, 41, 42.
49. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 264.
50. Coon, *Voyage to Avalon*, 79, 80. Quoted in Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 264.
51. Asphodel, "Beltane at Glastonbury."
52. *January News of Green and Common Womyn's Peace Camp* (1985), 4. Located at the Women's Library/Greenham Common Women's Peace Cam (Yellow Gate)/5GCW/D/1.
53. Rollo, "Goddess Consciousness?" 10.
54. Roberts, *Sacred Glastonbury*, 1–3.
55. Jones, *On Finding Treasure*, 25.
56. Prince, *An Anthropology of the 'New Age'*, 139.
57. Ibid., 131.

58. Ibid., 136.
59. Welch, "The Spirituality of, and at, Greenham Common Peace Camp," 231.
60. Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 43–47.
61. Leland, "Greenham Women Are Everywhere," 113.
62. Welch, "The Spirituality of, and at, Greenham Common Peace Camp," 234.
63. Quoted in Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 11.
64. Welch, "The Spirituality of, and at, Greenham Common Peace Camp," 232.
65. Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 144–145.
66. Ibid., 156.
67. Roseneil, *Feminist Political Action*, 130.
68. Anon., *You Can't Kill the Spirit*, 19, 20. See also the accusation made by a Greenham woman of non-separatist women in the peace movement for objecting to Greenham's 'women-only' policy and for "constantly try[ing] to undermine it by calling [for] mixed actions and bussing in coachloads of men" during these events. Freer, *Raging Womyn*, 14.
69. Roseneil, *Feminist Political Action*, 152.
70. Ibid.; Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 70.
71. "Provisional Festival List for 1982," 13.
72. Transcript of Interview with Rebecca Johnson, Sisterhood and After: The Women's Liberation Oral History Project, The British Library, C1420/34, 169, 170.
73. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 83.
74. *Full Circle: A Glastonbury Magazine* 1 (Summer 1982).
75. Leland, "Greenham Women Are Everywhere," 118.
76. Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 195.
77. Seymour, "Looking Back at Greenham," 22. Kathy Jones likewise recalled that the group—about twenty to thirty strong—went and stayed at the camp. Jones, "Kathy Jones Inner Views," 28.
78. Blue Moonfire, *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network* 9 (Halloween 1982); Katrina, *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network* 9 (Halloween 1982).
79. Komatsu, *An Empirical Study of Matriarchy Groups*, 81.
80. Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 50–51.
81. Johnson, "1982: Greenham Common," 36–37.
82. Roseneil, "Greenham Revisited," 183.
83. Roseneil, *Feminist Political Action*, 140; Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 276, 282.
84. In Harford and Hopkins, *Greenham Common*, 2.
85. Ibid., 166.

86. Ibid., 170.
87. "Loyalty to Women," *The Greenham Newsletter* (1986): 22–23. The Bristol Feminist Archive/FA/Arch/22.
88. Welch, "The Spirituality of, and at, Greenham Common Peace Camp," 235.
89. Ibid., 239.
90. Roseneil, *Feminist Political Action*, 140; Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 276.
91. Leland, "Greenham Women Are Everywhere," 118.
92. Jolly, "'We Are the Web,'" 199.
93. Laware, "Circling the Missiles and Staining Them Red," 34–35.
94. Harford and Hopkins, *Greenham Common*, 92.
95. See Welch, "The Spirituality of, and at, Greenham Common Peace Camp," 230–248.
96. Transcript of Interview with Rebecca Johnson, 267.
97. Leland, "Greenham Women Are Everywhere," 114.
98. Harford and Hopkins, *Greenham Common*, 27.
99. Ibid., 31, 35; Leland, "Greenham Women Are Everywhere," 114; Roseneil, *Feminist Political Action*, 156. Rebecca Johnson, a Women For Life on Earth activist, recalled that the original plan which set the 'Dragon Festival'—held at the camp during 25 June 1983 with 2000 women participants—in motion was a wish "to celebrate the full midsummer moon." On a different occasion, 50 women were arrested on 3 February 1985 after infiltrating the base and lighting bonfires on its runways in order to celebrate Imbolc, also known as Candlemas. Harford and Hopkins, *Greenham Common*, 153; Junor, *Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp*, 38.
100. Transcript of Interview with Cynthia Cockburm, Sisterhood and After: the Women's Liberation Oral History Project, The British Library, C1420/42, 119. Indeed, "if we decided to do [a] witches [action were we all dressed up as witches] it was because it was October 31st and that's what you do on Halloween. Women have always been killed and maligned as witches, so why not adopt a witch hat?" Ibid.
101. Harford and Hopkins, *Greenham Common*, 102. Several more camps were established during July and December of 1983 in order to accommodate the growing numbers of women who came to live following the July Blockades and the 50,000-strong December demonstration. Roseneil, *Feminist Political Action*, 158.
102. Fairhall, *Common Ground*, 45–46. This is not to suggest that other camps were devoid of lesbians, for according to Sasha Roseneil "Greenham rapidly became an environment in which lesbianism was the norm. The more lesbians who went to Greenham, the more it attracted.

It was a place where women could live as lesbians twenty four hours a day, without feeling they had to suppress aspects of their identity." Roseneil, *Feminist Political Action*, 120.

103. Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 80–81.
104. Ibid., vii.
105. Roseneil, *Feminist Political Action*, 162.
106. Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 82; see entry by Ros in Underwood et al., "10 Million Women—10 Days," 8.
107. Harford and Hopkins, *Greenham Common*, 31.
108. Welch, "The Spirituality of, and at, Greenham Common Peace Camp," 237. See also Roseneil, *Feminist Political Action*, 144.
109. Harford and Hopkins, *Greenham Common*, 50.
110. Welch, "The Spirituality of, and at, Greenham Common Peace Camp," 236.
111. Transcript of Interview with Rebecca Johnson, 175.
112. Ibid., 267.
113. D'Arcy, *Loose Theater*, 340. See also Howse's characterization of herself as a "Self-Confessed Witch" in Katrina Howse, "Witch Burning," *Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp Newsletter* (1987), 20. Located in the Women's Library/Greenham Common Women's Peace Cam (Yellow Gate)/5GCW/D/1/1 of 2. Howse lived in permanently at the camp from August 1982 and "talk[ed] about the whole [w]icca heritage." Transcript of Interview with Rebecca Johnson, 281; Junor, *Greenham Common*.
114. Ibid., 29.
115. Interview quoted in Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 200.
116. Jones, "Perceptions of 'Peace Women' at Greenham Common 1981–85," 195–196.
117. See 'Badge, Civilian, Witches Against the Bomb'/Imperial War Museum London/INS 5832. Another badge contained the writing "War is menstruation envy", thus reflecting a classic cultural feminist discourse. Kirk, "Our Greenham Common: Feminism and Nonviolence," 119.
118. Welch, "The Spirituality of, and at, Greenham Common Peace Camp," 239. See also a Greenham newsletter published during January 1985, which included a line from one of the most popular songs in the Goddess movement, "We All Come from the Goddess," which was actually written and composed by Z Budapest. Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, *January News of Green and Common Womyn's Peace Camp* (1985), 4. The Women's Library/Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp (Yellow Gate)/5/GCW/D/1.
119. Roseneil, *Common Women, Uncommon Practices*, 17.
120. Ibid., 14.

121. Transcript of Interview with Rebecca Johnson, 281–282. These sites were visited frequently by British Goddess Feminists during the 1980s. On August 1984, for instance, 40 women 'invaded' Avebury and celebrated Lughnasadh over the weekend. Another example was the Avebury Goddess Celebrations—a 'women only' event—that was organized at the nearby Silbury Hill during August 1988. Worthington, *Stonehenge*, 193; "Festivals and Events," 1.
122. Transcript of Interview with Rebecca Johnson, 355.
123. Komatsu, *Empirical Study*, 82.
124. Worthington, *Stonehenge*, 194. The full chant was "We are the flow and we are the earth, We are the weavers and we are the web, We are the flow and we are the earth, We are the witches back from the dead." Ibid.
125. A few days later, though, when discussing a ritual break-in into Stonehenge, the Greenham women told Starhawk they did not wish for her (or anyone else, for that matter) to lead a structured ritual. Sjöö, "Women's Dream," 5–6.
126. Starhawk, *Truth or Dare*, 250.
127. *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network Newsletter* 48 (Beltane 1988); Taylor, "Interview with Starhawk," 4, 7.
128. Cornish, *Recreating Historical Knowledge and Contemporary Witchcraft in Southern England*, 47–48.
129. Hutton, *Triumph*, 373.
130. Bennett, "Witchcraft in a Cross Cultural Perspective," 2.
131. Valiente, *An ABC of Witchcraft*, xi.
132. Worthington, *Stonehenge*, 34.
133. Howard-Gordon, "News and Views," 3.
134. Ivakhiv, *Claiming Sacred Ground*, 86.
135. McKay, *Glastonbury*, 102–103.
136. Leland, "Greenham Women Are Everywhere," 117.
137. "Provisional Festival List for 1982," 13.
138. Richardson, "Memories of Gerald Gardner," 18–19.
139. Worthington, *Stonehenge*, 74–75.
140. Garrard, *Free State*, 52; Worthington, *Stonehenge*, 114. The 1984 festival attracted close to 100,000 participants. Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe*, 409.
141. Worthington, *Stonehenge*, 112.
142. Garrard, *Free State*, 52.
143. Quoted in McKay, *Senseless Acts of Beauty*, 58.
144. McKay, *Glastonbury*, 103.
145. Sebastian, "Triad: The Druid Knowledge of Stonehenge," 112; Worthington, *Stonehenge*, 170; Hutton, *Witches, Druids and King Arthur*, 250.

146. Ibid., 251.
147. Howard, *Children of Cain*, 14.
148. Griffin, "Goddess Spirituality and Wicca," 273. Attendance in later Halloween Festivals during the 1980s was usually around 2000. York, *The Emerging Network*, 117.
149. Luhrmann, "Persuasive Ritual," 152. Andrews facilitated an 'Aquarian Festival Group' which organized monthly meetings on New Age subjects at London's Clapham Library and published a bi-monthly newsletter. The location for the yearly festival was probably Lambeth Town Hall, where it was held during 1979. *The Q Directory 1980–81*, 53; *Undercurrents* 32 (February–March 1979): 7. Available at http://undercurrents1972.wordpress.com/2013/03/09/uc32-february-march-1979, accessed 11 October 2014.
150. "Aquarian Pagans," 5.
151. "Wood and Water at the Aquarian Festival '81," 10.
152. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 30–31.
153. This is implied in a letter from S.W. Thonnesen to Prudence Jones, 17 May 1983. Found clipped to *Celt* 2 (Spring 1983) at the Museum of Witchcraft's library.
154. Luhrman [sic], "Aquarian Festival," 1–2.
155. *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network* 10 (Winter Solstice 1983), 2.
156. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 6, 19, 30.
157. "Prediction Festival," 6.
158. *The Q Directory 1980–81*, 55.
159. Quoted in White, *Monica Sjöö*, 101, 103.
160. *The Q Directory 1980–81*, 55; "Festival for Mind Body and Spirit," 5.
161. Personal Facebook Correspondence with Catherine Summers, 3 September 2015.
162. Cox, Williams and Friends, *The Play Goes On*, 226.
163. John of Monmouth, *Genuine Witchcraft is Explained*, 113.
164. Tanya Luhrmann, who described them as 'Beth' and 'Enoch' in her ethnographic research, met them at the sixteenth annual Quest Conference, which took place on 5 March 1983 in Russell Square and attracted some 100 participants. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 21.
165. See the 'Projects' page on their 'Pagan Pathways' website, available at http://www.paganpathfinders.co.uk/projectss.html, accessed 6 October 2014. See also Williams and Cox, *The Gods Within*.
166. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 35, 36, 74. For more information on the London Group—an offshoot of Dion Fortune's Society of Inner Light—see Barrett, *A Brief Guide to Secret Religions*, 242–243. For Luhrmann's treatment of the group, see Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 35, 36, 64–76, 101–103, 138, 196–200, 210–214, 233–235.

167. Cox, Williams and Friends, *The Play Goes On*, 9–10, 15–19.
168. Ibid., 231.
169. Quoted in White, *London in the Twentieth Century*, 91.
170. Ibid., 91, 92.
171. Mandler, "Two Cultures—One—or Many?" 142, 144.
172. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 17, 55.
173. Email correspondence with Michael Howard, 13 January 2011; F.P., "The Regency," 13.
174. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 19. Amy Simes followed a similar route when starting her participant-observant research among Pagans in the East Midlands during 1992. Simes, *Contemporary Paganism in the East Midlands*, 57.
175. Interview with Geraldine Beskin, 4 December 2010. On the importance of the Atlantis Bookshop for the local occult and Pagan scenes, see Wise, "A Pagan London Landmark," 14.
176. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 80–81.
177. Ibid., 52–53. Michael Howard noted that the site "was also popular with Gardnerian Covens, as it was in the countryside within easy reach of the city." Howard, *Modern Wicca*, 291.
178. The latter two were named 'Beth' and 'Enoch' by Luhrmann, who also did not name their coven, but the details she supplied leave little room for error. See Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 21, 25, 27, 32–36, 49, 74–75, 77. This is confirmed by an insider's account in Howard, *Modern Wicca*, 290.
179. *The Q Directory 1980–81*, 39.

CHAPTER 5

Individual Case Studies of British Goddess Women and Dianic Witches Connecting British Wiccans and Feminism

In 1979, Carol Lee—an American feminist living in Britain—stated without reservation in a self-issued pamphlet that "[h]eterosexuality is a cornerstone of patriarchy, a toll for keeping women isolated from one another and oppressed by biological reality".[1] As we shall see below, Carol Lee was the pseudonym of Jean Freer, who studied and practiced Z Budapest's Dianic Witchcraft while in America. Based near Glastonbury and a core member of its Women's Group, Freer was also a staunch Greenham activist. In 1984, she produced a pamphlet in support of its 'women-only' activities in reply to *Breaching the Peace*—a collection of articles produced by radical and revolutionary feminists in condemnation of Greenham as a diversion from real feminist struggle. As we shall see below, Freer had connections with the British Wiccan-derived community and monitored its magazines on occasions, but her view of Wicca and mixed Witchcraft circles was highly critical. Freer's connections to feminism, Glastonbury, Greenham Common, American Dianic Witchcraft, and British Wiccan-derived Paganism perfectly illustrate the importance of the previous chapter's identification of the arenas in which British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans intermixed with Dianic Witches and Goddess feminists. Other women like her played a similar role, while their attitudes toward British Wiccans and mixed ritual work did not necessarily match those sported by Freer.

Thus while the previous two chapters attempted to chart various avenues for cross-fertilization between Goddess feminists and

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British Wiccans from either an organizational (such as the Matriarchy Study Groups or the Glastonbury women's group) or spatial (such as Glastonbury itself, or the festival scene) levels, the following chapter will focus on case studies of specific women involved with these groups, who—by virtue of their extensive writings or actions—were put in a position to connect British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans with ideas of radical, cultural, and spiritual feminisms. I shall begin with Pauline 'Asphodel' Long, co-founder and highly influential member of the London Matriarchal Study Group. The following three sections will deal with three members of the Glastonbury women's group (which had close contacts with the Matriarchy Network)—Kathy Jones, who in later decades became immensely influential within the town's Goddess scene; Janet McCrickard (b. 1952); and Jean Freer, who also had stronger contacts with both the MRRN and feminist-inclined Pagans than did Jones and McCrickard. Two other women who will feature in this chapter are Felicity Aldridge (AKA Felicity Wombwell)—an MRRN member who published a book on the Goddess—and Shan Jayran, who founded the House of the Goddess in London and was highly influential there during the latter half of the 1980s. The last case to be examined would be that of Monica Sjöö, a Goddess women and powerful writer who in her comings and goings intermixed with British Wiccans and feminist-inclined Pagans in all of the aforementioned arenas. In addition to being a prolific writer during the 1970s and 1980s, Sjöö left future historians rich materials to work with in the form of the Monica Sjöö Papers (MSP)—located at the Bristol Feminist Archive—making her as fine a candidate as possible for the purposes of this chapter.

Pauline 'Asphodel' Long

Born in 1921 in the UK to refugee Polish Jewish parents, Pauline Long was active in the British Left since the early 1940s and was a member of the Communist Party until the Hungarian Uprising of 1956. She became active in the Women's Liberation Movement around 1970–1971.[2] In 1975—as mentioned in the Chapter 3—Long became part of a set of women who founded the London Matriarchal Study Group, which "first met in her 'squat', [and] later in her new home and elsewhere".[3] As a "militant atheist" her interest in matriarchy originated from a "purely political and intellectual" point of view, but her atheism withered after she and her colleagues visited what they understood to

be ancient goddess worship sites throughout Britain, in order to locate "Goddess in the Landscape".[4] During the latter half of the 1970s Long was particularly influenced by Monica Sjöö's work (of which more would be said below): In a letter sent to Sjöö in August 1979, Long described the latter's research and art as "the scaffolding… that brought together for me the hidden & repressed experiences & needs of my lifetime". She updated Sjöö on this occasion that she was changing her name to 'Asphodel' and added—"you are the first I have told".[5] Politically she was now championing cultural feminism, which "puts women in touch with their past; with their psyche, and shows them that there is no need… to ape men".[6]

Long was a reader of American Women's Spirituality magazines such as *Womanspirit* and *Woman of Power*.[7] In 1982, she published a review of American books on feminist spirituality which focused on Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* and Budapest's *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries*, complemented by Margot Adler's documentation of American Neopaganism in *Drawing Down the Moon*.[8] After supplying her readers with lengthy quotes from the aforementioned works, she extoled forms of "feminist Wicca" for the "strong connection [they made] between spiritual and political action". Thus she contrasted with "[m]any – indeed most – of the neo-pagan groupings… [which did] not make this connection".[9] Concentrating her attack on British Wiccans specifically, Long added that "the kind of 'witchcraft' and 'magic' that is generally known in Britain which has been revived by male leaders such as Aleister Crowley, Gerald Gardner and Alex Sanders…, although deemed to be based on traditions apparently inherited through our grandmothers, in fact sets up a male oriented craft, worshiping a male god, … allowing to women a 'priestess' role and confirming heterosexual stereotyping on a patriarchal pattern".[10] Long's review of Budapest's work brings out Daly and Griffin's discourse very clearly: "Budapest… make[s] a strong political stand against today's oppressions of women, linking the systematic killing and tortures of the past with current forms of the same thing: clitoridectomy, rape and the multitude of oppressions against our sexual and personal autonomy. Male exploitation of the earth and planet is linked to male domination of nature and the desire to subjugate it – and women. This, says, Budapest, leads to 'today's obsession with death – a direct result of the exclusive male value system'".[11] In an earlier article she also utilized Daly's discourse on naming when she wrote that "Women know what they want. Their difficulty… is to find words

to describe, and to produce ideas acceptably. Not because we are 'silly' but because words and ideas have grown over the last 5,000 years in a patriarchal setting, and describe what men want".[12] Long then employed these insights in a letter on the feminist reclamation of the word 'cunt', printed in the *Revolutionary and Radical Feminist Newsletter*.[13] All this should not surprise us, since Long herself referred her readers to "the splendid Mary Daly" and her *Beyond God the Father* and *Gyn/Ecology*.[14]

During the early 1980s Long expressed her criticism at Pagan men and their relationship with matriarchy:

> It seems to me that yet again women's research, work, feelings, insights, discoveries, and much more are being co-opted by men, who are finding this area of women's spirituality and of inspiration one that is a growth market for them… . Men are taking over, writing books on the Goddess, menstruation, what it means, on all our female symbolism…, they are employed by publishers to research these and similar matters; they are doing similar research in universities…[15]

Instead, Long urged these men to explore men's lives during ancient matriarchy, the divine king and human sacrifice or their place in a post-patriarchal world.[16] While she supported 'women-only' ritual activity, at the same time she advocated occasional joint celebrations for Matriarchy groups and Goddess-oriented, feminist-inclined men, in addition to both groups' single-sex rituals.[17] Together with Daniel Cohen and Monica Sjöö, she attended the May 1980 Ritual walk up Glastonbury Tor, which was organized by Kathy Jones and the local women's group in participation with Geoffrey Ashe.[18] Cohen feels that some of the first Goddess rituals devised by Asphodel Long were partly influenced by those of the Colin Murray's (1942–1986) Druidic Golden Section Order, which served as her first foray into ritual work during the late 1970s and early 1980s.[19] As I have shown in the previous chapters, Long wrote of mixed group rituals which had taken place during this period. Elsewhere she wrote more specifically on the Golden Section Order, noting that Murray "welcomed female aspects of deity, and, with them, …matriarchal women… . He gave us space in the ceremonies on our own terms and thanked us for representing the Matronae".[20] Long summed up her views on the subject in 1988, "The Women's Movement will need to recognize women who are working with men and will need to take part in their lives and struggles. If we are to get anywhere now, men to must change".[21]

Kathy Jones (b. 1947)

One of the women who were influenced by Long's work in the London Matriarchy Study Group was Kathy Jones, who has become a leading force in the Glastonbury Goddess scene for the past thirty years. Jones grew up on the outskirts of Newcastle and graduated from the University of Nottingham in 1968. After a period spent in London during the early 1970s, Jones moved to the countryside and lived in a cottage on the Welsh hills between 1972 and 1977, engaging herself in meditation and the reading of "esoteric and spiritual books".[22] In 1976 she published *Learning to Live in the Country*—a fascinating how-to book aimed at city dwellers wishing to start a self-sufficient life in the British countryside, which included sections of finding and maintaining a country household, cultivating vegetable gardens and farm animals, ecological recipes, and much more.[23] A careful reading of this volume did not reveal any radical or cultural feminist rhetoric. The issue of attitudes toward women in the country arose three times: Jones did note that in general countryside women are "completely unliberated" and are "expected to get married and have kids", and "spend the rest of their lives cooking, cleaning and scrubbing for the men of the family".[24] When discussing eligibility to supplementary benefit from government, she referred to married women living with their husband or women living in cohabitation with a men as 'man and wife', but did so in an informative matter which did not include any criticism of patriarchy, etc.[25] Furthermore, her friendly and knowing suggestion to women to "send the men out to do the shopping" in the town's store because they "get much better deals from both men and women shop assistants in rural areas, …[who assume] that they don't know what they are doing and need help", sound simply unutterable for a radical feminist of the time, practical as it may be.[26] Lastly, her five and a half page instructions on spinning wool did not contain any of the meanings attached to it later by Mary Daly in her 1978 *Gyn/Ecology*. Her call to "relearn the crafts our grandparents learned at their *mother's knee* [my emphasis]"[27] does not make up for it, as the attribution the art of spinning to grandparents of both genders, instead of as solely a woman's occupation, would be highly unlikely for a radical or cultural feminist of the time. It would not be unprovable to conclude, then, that at this stage Jones did not yet identify as either.

By 1976 she was traveling to Glastonbury during each new moon for meditational rituals she co-held in the town hall, until finally moving to live in the town permanently during 1977.[28] Sometime between 1976 and 1979, her identity as a cultural feminist had to form, as in 1979 she was among those who established the local women's group, which kept contact with the London Matriarchal Study Group and organized ritual activities in town. Together with other group members Jones visited the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp on several occasions during the 1980s, including during the famous 'Embrace the Base' demonstration in December 1982.[29] Following another visit to Greenham during the autumn of 1983, Jones wrote a play on the abduction of Persephone by Pluto, which she paralleled with the events at the camp. The play was eventually performed in the Glastonbury Assembly Rooms on the winter solstice night during December 1983.[30] Her second play highlighted the Greenham issue as well, set against the background of the myth of Inanna and Dumuzi. It was performed during the winter solstice night of December 1984, with many in the local alternative community serving as actors. One of them was American expatriate and Glastonbury resident Stephanie Leland—a Greenham activist and editor of *Women For Life on Earth* magazine.[31] Throughout the 1980s Jones was highly involved in matters relating to Glastonbury's alternative community, and most likely participated in most—if not all—of Goddess-related events mentioned in the previous chapter.

In her 2006 *Priestess of Avalon, Priestess of the Goddess* Jones "bow[ed] in homage to Mary Daly", and recalled the "profound impact" that reading her *Beyond god the Father* and *Gyn/Ecology* during the 1970s had on her own thinking.[32] In 1979 Jones contributed an article to the *Glastonbury Thorn* titled "The Death of God", in which she discussed Dalyan concepts such as God the Father and the duality of matter vs. spirit under patriarchy.[33] In another piece written during this period she championed a discourse similar to Daly's concept of naming, when she wrote that "words are now so tainted by the patriarchal concepts they have been expressing… . Words are important. They do mean what they say. They are the means by which we express the underlying concepts that determine the way we live. As our ideas change so does our language. … As we begin to stand in our right as ourselves woman changes easily to 'womon', women to 'wimmin'. The sounds are similar but the meanings are so different. We are no longer defined by our relationship to men".[34]

Jones also espoused a classical cultural feminist stance in claiming that women's menstrual cycle put them directly in touch with the natural world, but she also gave men the chance to "fully recognize how patriarchy has betrayed them too and to register their own internal cycles" in order to create a balanced future society.[35] Thus while harkening back to a matriarchal golden age in which women "used to be the High Priestesses to the Goddess to whom men came for spiritual mediation", Jones vision for a future society was a future in which "neither sex is going to be dominate", for "[p]atriarchy and matriarchy are both about… one sex having more power than the other by divine rite [sic]".[36] Commenting on the concept of the Horned God, Jones stated that "[t]he male role in a matriarchal culture was to die for Her [i.e. the Goddess], to be lunar consort. That was because it was a matriarchal culture". Her vision for the immediate future was the construction of an egalitarian Goddess culture, in which both sexes would undergo symbolic and mental descents into the Goddess in order to be reborn spiritually.[37] Her opinion of British Wiccans during the 1980s, however, was not favorable: As late as 1988 she claimed that "most of the paganism I have seen is mainly male dominated, using the same old stuff dressed up in another version. Feminism to me is about empowering women and redressing the balance. If that needs positive discrimination in favor of women, then I'm for it".[38]

Jean Freer

Jean Freer (who also wrote using the name Carol Lee)—who was a member of Jones' Glastonbury Women's group—is mostly remembered by Goddess feminists today for her 1987 work *The New Feminist Tarot*, which was originally published in 1982 as *Toward a Reclaimed Tarot*. Freer was active in the American peace movement opposing the Vietnam War, and came to live in the UK during 1968 in order to study teaching in the Montessori system. She then became a draft counselor for Americans who moved to Britain for fear of being drafted to the war.[39]

In 1971 she attended the first Women's Liberation march in London.[40] Freer then became active in Britain's first radical feminist group, which included Lilian Mohin and Sheila Shulman—who like Freer were American expatriates—as well as British feminists such as Amanda Sebestyen. Freer acted as national coordinator for the 4th national WLM conference, which took place in London during 1972.

She was also involved with the Brighton lesbian group, as well as with the adaptation of the demand on the right to a self-defined sexuality and an end to discrimination against lesbians at the Edinburgh National WLM Conference in 1974.[41] In the summer of 1974 Freer was initiated into Dianic Wicca by Z Budapest during a short summer visit to the States.[42] On her return to the UK she was living near Glastonbury in Shepton Mallet, which was home to about half a dozen other feminists with whom Freer co-organized one of the WLM Southwest Regional Conferences during the latter part of the 1970s.[43] Freer was active in the Glastonbury Women's group during 1979 and 1980 (with women such as Kathy Jones and Janet McCrickard), and held weekly tarot reading sessions at the Gothic Image bookshop.[44] In addition to her involvement in the group Freer also began to organize rituals during the Pagan festivals in Shepton Mallet. Asphodel Long, who knew Freer from their involvement in the WLM, then asked her to come and teach Dianic Witchcraft to the women of the Matriarchy Study Group.[45] Freer visited the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp in October 1981 on the assumption that as a 'women's camp' it was purely separatist. Upon discovering that it was in fact a mixed camp (as it was until March 1982) she left it, feeling "disgusted by the deception and disinterested in the still non-feminist peace movement". Freer eventually came to live in Greenham after attending the 'Wimmins International Summer Event (WISE)' which took place at Worthy Farm near Glastonbury during August 1982.[46] She became heavily involved with the activity at Green Gate until November 1983. After spending eight months away from the camp, she resumed her visits to Green Gate following July 1984.[47] Maggie Parks, who visited Greenham during this period and would later co-edit the *From the Flames* Goddess Spirituality magazine recalled recently that Freer led Dianic rituals while at the camp.[48]

In 1979 she published a pamphlet titled *Further Thoughts on Feminism, or 'What is to be Done'* as Carol Lee. Identifying as a radical feminist, Freer held fast to the ideas formulated by her group in the Radical Feminist Manifesto—influenced by American groups such as Redstockings, as I have shown earlier, and originally presented at the 1972 WLM National Conference—when she quoted from it in 1979, stating that "[a]s long as women's sights are fixed on closeness to a man, the ideology of male supremacy is safe".[49] Clinging to heterosexuality as pleasurable, Freer wrote, "is part of the separation of sexuality from emotionality and the establishing of a self-contradictory norm of sexual

gratification and emotional safety/deadness/separation".[50] She criticized non-separatist feminists for "using the new energy to enhance their own lives but not undersining [sic] their dependence on men" and dubbed them "superficial feminists".[51]

That same year she also, however, took care to differentiate herself from revolutionary feminists, whom she met at conferences, demonstrations, and discos, read their writings and talked with individually.[52] Unlike revolutionary feminists, Freer did not exclude the possibility of forging alliances with mixed left groups under the condition that the radical feminist principle of never working against other women will be adhered to.[53] She deplored the "emergence of 'boot girls' committed to anger and aggression… [who were] merely aping opposite gender characteristics" and claimed that "while anger can be a source of Energy to use to generate radical change, hatred or institutionalised [sic] anger is merely destructive".[54] Simultaneously she also wrote an article which attempted to clarify the differences between the two positions. She objected to revolutionary feminists' claims that any women 'had to become a lesbian', and that heterosexual women were 'collaborators with the enemy'. She emphasized instead the concepts of sisterhood and of being a 'woman-identified woman'.[55] Considering her musing on 'superficial feminists' mentioned above, it seems that on this subject Freer and revolutionary feminists differed simply in nuances. Freer basically chose to accentuate 'woman-identified' instead of 'men are the enemy'-feminism. She stated elsewhere during that year that "Radical Feminism is about giving life to our visions and giving birth to ourselves as wimmin", arguing "so strongly for what has perjoratively [sic] been labelled 'cultural feminism'", and adding five years later that "[w]e must create wymn's culture as we undermine the misogynist society we live amidst".[56] As an initiate of Z Budapest's Dianic line Freer accused the women's movement on several occasions for "oppress[ing] witches", and claimed that "Radical Feminism includes a spiritual dimension". She urged feminists to acknowledge that "Our connection with our foremothers, with the moon and with the ancient wisdom of the cosmos, including herbal lore and healing, is an active concern of radical feminists".[57]

Freer noted the influence of American feminists on her writing at the beginning of *Further Thoughts on Feminism*.[58] She quoted a paragraph from Valerie Solanas' *SCUM Manifesto* on male 'emptiness' and 'inability to relate to anybody or anything', and elsewhere recommended the

pamphlet to her readers.[59] Her 1979 pamphlet also included lengthy paragraphs from Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex* and from *Lesbian/Woman*—a founding text among American lesbian feminists.[60] The influence of Mary Daly's *Gyn/Ecology* is clear in Freer's quotation of a lengthy paragraph on 'Sparking', but also in her call for "reaching back beyond patriarchal myth-making to a time/space where wimmin were respected", and her conviction that "[i]t is the life-creating force of the female principle which has made men hate and fear women".[61] She also noted Mary Daly's analysis of 'naming', and like the latter blamed patriarchal religions for instilling guilt and shame in women through an internal "psychologic [sic] thought police", and criticized patriarchal dualism.[62] In July 1979 Freer also commented on the issue of Transsexuals and the WLM, and stated that the answer to the question 'what is a woman' "must be, in present conditions, someone raised as a female, thus internalizing the reality of the female experience".[63] In 1984 Freer wrote that "As Mary Daly taught us, the power of naming is the power to create reality and by the way we use words we are slowly changing attitudes".[64] Elsewhere she claimed that women "need more words to describe ourselves in womonly ways without accepting society's ideas".[65] As a Dianic Witch initiated by Z. Budapest, Freer adaptation of the latter's deconstruction of the word 'heritage' into 'hera-tage',[66] thus revealing the name of the Goddess Hera, should not surprise us. By doing so, however, she was also adopting Daly's recommendation for women to deconstruct words in order to reveal hidden, subversive meanings lost within 'patriarchal language'. Freer was also affected by Susan Brownmiller's discourse on rape, and specifically noted her when explaining to her readers in 1979 that every man "remains a potential rapist".[67] She was also influenced by Daly and by Susan Griffin's 'Woman = Nature' discourse when she noted that "Patriarchy has divorced us from the earth and turned our attention skyward", leading to "the rape and pillage of the planet". She added that science led to the development of the 'man's mastery over nature' troupe, and described 'masculist power' as "artificial, based on… crude imitation and theft".[68] Freer adopted the term 'masculist' from Janet McCrickard (a colleague from the Glastonbury Women's Group), and defined it as "the values of male supremacy and/or male dominance". She added that "[a] 'masculinist' is someone who upholds masculine values – currently determined to be heterosexuality, competitiveness, aggressiveness, exclusiveness, etc.".[69]

Throughout the 1980s Freer voiced vocal criticisms of both British Wiccans and non-separatist Goddess women who acted in disharmony with her own vision of Dianic ritual working. In an article written for *Arachne* she urged those participating in women's circles to keep their thoughts "womonly and creative", and avoid introducing "ideas that have no place in magical womon space (talk of men or male gods for example)".[70] Freer "wholeheartedly disagree[d]" with the use of recorded music within the circle, and explained that "it is a patriarchal trick to offer goddess artificial (man-made) sound". She likewise believed that the 'excessive' use of metal and especially of ritual knives could pollute women's circles, for the use of "knives for hexing spells is adopting patriarchal tactics and allowing the militarization of magic".[71] The following issue of *Arachne* contained a reply to Freer by Beth L. Neilson,[72] a 'traditional' Witch who also worked with a Dianic group. Neilson refuted Freer's "instruction not to talk about men or male gods" in the circle, and emphasized that not all Goddess worshipers are separatists, and that their experiences and choice to maintain relationships with men (children, brothers, lovers) should not be dismissed as politically and spiritually incorrect by separatists such as Freer.[73] Freer then commented on Neilson's criticisms in a long article published in *Arachne* two issues later. She restated that Dianic Wicca "does not give energy to maleness in [group] ritual observance", i.e., during celebrations of the Sabbats and of 'Women's Mysteries', and then relegated possible attention to boy children to separate healing circles or personal, 'household' spell-craft.[74] Although she attended the ritual organized by Pagans Against Nukes at the 1982 Green Gathering,[75] Freer's original article warned the readers of *Arachne* that "Pagans too can be masculist even though they honor the mother, speak of goddess and give womyn prominence at festival celebrations".[76] Neilson defended non-Dianic Wiccans from charges of patriarchal control voiced by Freer, and wrote that "Yes, the son/sun is acknowledged, does have a role to play, that role however is secondary, it is the Goddess who initiates and rules".[77] This was considered to be off limits by Freer: "a goddess who accepts male lovers perpetuates my oppression. [In non-Dianic Wicca]… the goddess always maintains theoretical pre-eminence, [while] in practice the men representing the son take up vast space and energy".[78] Neilson's overall criticism and specifically her espousal of mixed-group ritual activity and the recognition of male deities within the circle struck a deep nerve with Freer, who—though defining herself as a radical

feminist—adopted Revolutionary Feminist terminology and concluded that "the issue of men and heterosexuality separate us in vital ways. In political terms *you collude with my enemy* [my emphasis]".[79] It is not surprising, then, that Freer—like other Dianics—espoused parthenogenesis as "a central concept in our vision", and added that "[t]hough we fully acknowledge that parthenogenetic reproduction is not common at this time, we believe it will re-emerge when the time is right".[80]

During the summer of 1988 Freer got involved in "Pagan Politics in the Midlands and South Yorkshire, mainly making alliances with those pagan groups who still support anarchy and honor powerful wymn", yet at the same time lamented that "[a]ll groups are still dominated by men". She resented contemporary moves among British Wiccans in the Pagan Federation toward achieving a higher level of organization, which she saw as an attempt to create hierarchies and accumulate individual power. Freer therefore attacked "men in suits proud of their Native British Tradition who want to computerize pagan contacts to put the movement on a 'sound financial basis'".[81] She also criticized Leonora James for cooperating with Nigel Pennick of the Earth Mysteries movement (due to his altercation with Monica Sjöö, which will be covered below) in the 1988 restructuring of the Pagan Federation (which Freer worried would police British Pagans), and hinted that this might be due to her acceptance of her 'patriarchal conditioning' in a similar way to the reigning British prime minister of the time, Margaret Thatcher.[82] In return, British Pagans had their own reservations about certain aspects of Freer's ideology: Terry Parker, a contributor to the Michael Howard's *The Cauldron*, utilized Freer's *The New Feminist Tarot* as a means for illustrating what he termed 'Goddess Fundamentalism'. While he hailed the book as "a powerful corrective to the endless stream of androcentric texts on the tarot" and expressed his "respect [to] her illuminated feminist approach to Tarot", he did not see eye to eye with Freer's designation of women as 'the sacred sex', suggesting that the obvious conclusion is that she defines men as 'the profane sex'.[83] The review in *The Wiccan*, however, was positive: "The whole book is written from a woman's perspective", wrote 'PHJ', "something which would-be liberated men find surprisingly upsetting and so would do well to experience".[84]

Another subject that Freer contributed to was the development of a fourfold view of the Goddess, as opposed to the threefold one used then by British Wiccans and most feminist Witches and Goddess women,

influenced by Robert Graves. It appears that the first strides in that area were actually made by Margaret Roy, a woman who affiliated with the London Matriarchy Study Group, who stated in a 1979 exploratory article that "the fourth aspect [i.e. the Dark Goddess] needs considerable exploration". She criticized patriarchy for instilling a "fear [of] death and darkness", and for utilizing the Triple Goddess concept "into a good woman…, [who] without its non-compromising, anti-material dark pole… can be tolerated in a patriarchal world, toothless but pretty". Roy added that in her form of Maiden, Mother, and Crone, the Goddess is thus passively "contorted into a strange male linearity of the 'ages of woman'", while the adaptation of a fourth 'active' and dark aspect brings forth a "Woman who inspires the fear of death in men and in all who fear absolute reality".[85] She criticized Wiccans for taking this fourth phase from the female and according it to "a male Horned God as an aspect of maleness and so that this pole is controlled by men – with the Lady's horns on his head… [,thus] opening a space for men who formerly were not allowed into the Goddess's presence".[86] This, according to Roy, leads to "a contorted view of the active pole, a recognition of it but denying its nature… The four is completed but stifled in its manifestation". She furthermore characterized the sexual union between the Wiccan priest and priestess as "[e]ffective, but gross and infuriation, [since] it denies woman her own active pole and demeans her positive role vis a vis a male".[87]

In 1985 Jean Freer presented her own criticism of the threefold Goddess concept of Maiden, Mother, and Crone, which she described as a form of the Goddess particularly adapted for the use of heterosexual Wiccan women: "as she is defined by her fertility… her life is one of service to men and the mixed community". Instead Freer introduced a fourfold Goddess construct—divided into nymph, maiden, crone, and hag—which she deemed acceptable for the use of Goddess women and feminists Witches.[88] Her view was later supported by a woman who identified as 'Cath Is-Foel', who joined Freer in highlighting the role played by Jungian psychology among contemporary Wiccans as a patriarchal aid in the oppression of women: "How many male members of covens… up and down the country must give thanks to god every night for the gift of Carl Jung! How else, with feminism rampant, would they keep hold of their women members and their vital psychic energies? Good old Carl, so much more subtle than Sigmund, even allowing a Goddess in the picture, split up though she is according to her ability to bear children to the god!".[89]

Beth L. Neilson "wholeheartedly agree[d]" with Freer's depiction of the threefold Goddess construct as patriarchal, and added that it is based on the suppression of women's autonomy and their true position as "the ruler and initiator of all".[90] She objected, however, to adding to this system a fourth aspect of the Goddess, and instead developed an aspect system which was based on the presence/absence of menstruation rather than age-progression: the first aspect in Neilson's system included both the Mother and the premenstrual daughter, "because neither the daughter nor the pregnant/lactating mother, bleed". This aspect of the Goddess covered, according to Neilson, "all the attributes of the mother, and those associated with the maiden/nymph/vestal virgin".[91] The second aspect was termed by Neilson as "'the Queen', the menstruation woman, *of any age* [sic]… who rules, who holds power", while the third aspect was that of the Crone, and encompassed "the old woman of wisdom, healing etc. and also the Priestess, the lady of magic".[92] Neilson added that each aspect included three 'faces', which—like the aspects themselves—often merged and blended into each other. The aspects in her system related to the three visible phases of the moon, and she interpreted the dark phase as "the time when the Goddess is not showing any of her 3 faces, and therefore is present as the One, as Herself in Her entirety".[93] Neilson placed great importance on avoiding 'patriarchal reductionism' which, according to her, aimed at reducing the complexity of the Goddess' aspects by applying them to normal female age-progression. This, for Neilson, focused too much on the Goddess within women on the expense of the external, independent Goddess, and was described by her as a mistake shared by Dianics and Goddess Feminists as well.[94] Freer was aware of the implications of her approach, yet replied that "I prefer to be basic and down to earth and accessible, gradually opening the deeper Mysteries to wymn as they make increasing commitment to the path". She characterized "[o]bscure esotericism and excessive mentalism" as "habits of patriarchy", and added that "given an either-or choice, womon-identified reductionism offers me more support and potential than esotericism which does not account for the reality of wymn's lives".[95]

Janet McCrickard

Janet McCrickard became involved in Goddess Spirituality around 1978.[96] She was a member of the Glastonbury women's group together with Kathy Jones and Jean Freer. In 1980, McCrickard authored a

pamphlet titled *The Way of the Goddess: A Pagan Declaration for Goddess Folk, Christians and Others.*[97] Written in outline form as "a kind of pagan declaration to the Christian world", the pamphlet focused on "[t]he Goddess as a Source and Being of all things".[98] While claiming that in its essence the supreme divine is beyond male and female, McCrickard added that "[i]n giving birth to existence from itself, Deity is to us female".[99] Mary Daly's discourse affected McCrickard greatly. She criticized 'patriarchal linear thinking', its dualism of matter vs. spirit, as well as the figure of God the Father as emphasizing separation instead of relatedness, while claiming that the Goddess "is not Spirit set over matter, but gives rise to both; thus she is not set in opposition to Her creation".[100] In her suggestion that the Goddess is both immanent and transcendent and her use of terms such as 'word-spinning' and 'world-weaving',[101] McCrickard echoed Daly (who coined these terms) and her discussions of immanence and 'God/dess as Verb' in *Beyond God the Father* and *Gyn/Ecology*, as presented earlier in this book. Her notes also included a reference to *Gyn/Ecology*'s "analysis [of] the suppression and negation of female being".[102] McCrickard also adopted the discourse set by writers such as Susan Griffin and Carolyn Merchant when she deplored the 'rape' and 'despoilment' of nature by patriarchy, as well as the view of "the universe and its inhabitants as things or machinery, put there or designed and controlled by a father-god above, who is essentially divorced from the world of matter".[103]

While disagreeing with Wiccans over the necessity of initiation, claiming that "the Goddess way… rejects initiations… [and with it] the concept of an 'authentic knowledge' which can only be passed by an initiated elite",[104] McCrickard's pamphlet also represented an attempt at rapprochement. Thus, while stressing that "the relationship of male to female [in early mythology] is always either as son or lover", she took care to emphasize that 'the Goddess way' will not aim at imposing a female-dominated society, and sided 'neopaganism' with Goddess religion as opponents of fundamentalist Christianity.[105] She championed "life-affirming paganism" as the alternative to patriarchal religions,[106] and called for "the exchange of ideas… [which] will contribute to the building-up of a thriving pagan community".[107]

As to the level of exposure this obscure pamphlet received during the early 1980s, it was definitely available for purchase through Glastonbury's Gothic Image bookshop and was reviewed in *The Cauldron* and *Wood and Water* during late 1980.[108] The reviewer for

The Cauldron, a David Briggs, highlighted that some British Pagans might take issue with McCrickard's designation of the Goddess as the only source and being of all things, to the exclusion of the Horned God. Seemingly ignoring McCrickard's above reassurances that 'the Goddess Way' would not impose a female-dominated society, he also noted that while many of them will agree with her attack on patriarchal religions, matriarchy was as unacceptable and unbalanced as patriarchy.[109] Indeed, *The Way of the Goddess* seems to have attracted great resistance from male[110] readers, as McCrickard's correspondence with Monica Sjöö will attest. In a letter written by McCrickard on August 30, 1980, she referred to a different correspondence with one Tom McSorley, who received her pamphlet from Sjöö and was apparently quite angered by it. In return, McCrickard recommended he read Daly's *Gyn/Ecology* and described him privately to Sjöö as "absolutely riddled with the whole necrophiliac [sic] complex of patriarchal thought".[111] In the meantime, Michael Howard reported in early 1981 that Briggs' review "provoked a sharp response from a small minority of our readers. We have been labelled by them as 'phallocentric', 'male chauvinist', and 'patriarchal' for publishing" it.[112] Reactions to her pamphlet encouraged McCrickard to withdraw her 'energy' from men, whom she found to be "all… deeply… treacherous".[113] As a result, McCrickard recanted her "position on 'matrianarchy'" and declared that "*absolute* [sic] matriarchy is the only answer. When men rule", she added, "death results. When women rule, life results. (And that is that!!!)".[114] This approach manifested itself in McCrickard's "Mother Earth, Father Sky… Beware of the Patriarchal Lie!" article, published in *Wood and Water* during early 1981, in which she argued against the relegation of the Goddess to the position of Earth Mother, fertilized by a male Sky Father. This, claimed McCrickard, was an act of dismemberment perpetrated by patriarchy:

> in confining the Goddess to the earth, patriarchy buries Her, entombs Her…[,] establishing that polarity where activity, will, fire and the spirit are part of exalted or 'higher' being, i.e. maleness. Father Sky is high and dry, while down beneath him lies Mother Earth, waiting – for what? to be got pregnant by his thunderbolts, for she has no fruitfulness of her own – will, conception, … creativity are all inevitably contained in the image of Father Sky. The essence and purpose of the Earth Mother/Sky Father theme is the justification of male power; … Each time the lie is reiterated, the Goddess is raped, dismembered, buried.[115]

Influenced by Daly, McCrickard added that this reflected another example of patriarchy's "devious reversals", and called on women to "reclaim the true images [of the goddess]… [in] a process of exorcism. It is", continued McCrickard, "as Mary Daly says, 'RE-MEMBERING [sic] the dismembered Goddess".[116] In the aftermath of McCrickard's article, the magazine's editors reported receiving two negative comments from male readers which (in their eyes) "managed to combine triviality, manipulativeness, aggression and self-pity in various proportions".[117]

McCrickard kept contact with American spiritual feminists, contributing an article to *Womanspirit*'s 37th issue during the fall of 1982, which focused on sun Goddesses.[118] She became highly invested in this issue throughout the 1980s and challenged what she termed as an "inflexible [yin-yang] dichotomy of [the] lunar feminine versus solar masculine"—an idea that many in her contemporary Goddess milieu apparently found to be wrong both politically and spiritually.[119] McCrickard, in turn, charged Goddess women with accepting "patriarchal cosmology wholeheartedly" by adopting Bachofen's myth of matriarchal prehistory without reservation.[120] She criticized writers such as Monica Sjöö for deeming intellectual discipline and factual accuracy as false patriarchal 'sun-consciousness' and their total reliance on intuitive, dream-based 'moon-consciousness'.[121] McCrickard argued that "[t]here is a divine balance between the constant sun, the Goddess as She is in Her aspect of unchangingness [sic], and the inconstant moon, the Goddess as She is in the Changefulness of existence, the waxing and waning of things".[122]

Felicity Wombwell

Not all Goddess women were an integral part of the Glastonbury scene, of course. Felicity Aldridge—better known in the Goddess and Pagan milieus as Felicity Wombwell—works currently as an Art Psychotherapist in Brighton. Around 1981 Aldridge came across Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance*, and later recalled that the book started her "journey to the Goddess". Her first experience of ritual was as part of the Marian Green's Green Circle in London. Aldridge then contacted the Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network, based at the time at 'A Women's Place', and joined its ritual, art and Dianic subgroups.[123] In July 1982, Aldridge wrote to Starhawk as a representative of the MRRN London group after learning of her impending September visit

to Ireland and of the possibility of her visit to Britain from the *MRRN Newsletter*. She noted that group members all enjoyed reading *The Spiral Dance*, and offered to host her in London.[124] In 1991, she noted Dianic Witchcraft as one of the traditions she was involved with during the 1980s, and it is likely she was the 'Felicity' who coordinated a 'Dianic Study Group' in London during 1988.[125] She was certainly listed as the contact person for a North London-based Dianic coven in a letter written by Shan Jayran that is dated 'Beltaine 1989' and is preserved in the Museum of Witchcraft's Library.[126] Her involvement in Dianic groups during the decade altered her perception of the eight festivals of the Pagan Wheel of the Year from one which was "very much about the cycle of the Goddess and the God", as presented in Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance*, into one which perceived them as "festivals to the Goddess in her own right… [which] belong[ed] to women's cultural heritage".[127] In 1987, she co-organized a 'women-only' conference on menstruation as Felicity Wombwell.[128]

In 1991, Wombwell published her first book, titled *The Goddess Changes: A Personal Guide for Working with the Goddess* in which she introduced her concept of the Spinning and Weaving Goddess.[129] She thanked Mary Daly in the Acknowledgments page of the book "for her work on the Spinner" and added that "[t]his was where I originally got the idea for the work".[130] Wombwell also included two quotes from Daly's *Gyn/Ecology* on Spinning in the next page, opposite to the Contents section.[131] Building on Daly's discourse, she wrote that "[t]he Spinner is identified with the feminine; to sit and spin is a very maternal activity. To sort the thread is to relate and join things together. The woman tends and cares for the thread; she provides the space in which it can grow and form the cauldron of creation, her body".[132] Later on she concluded that "We need to be able to stop the male from invading our being", and referred to Daly's analysis of the 'spiral movement' of Spinning women over, under and around the 'fathers' foreground', necessary to them for "[t]he journey into the center of our being".[133] Echoing Chodorow, Wombwell added that "Men… have separated from their mother at an earlier age [than women… who] do not make this clear separation".[134] Augmenting this theme of separation vs. connectedness, Wombwell adopted Susan Griffin 'woman = nature' discourse when she stated that "the connection between the earth and the feminine is… [what] we as women are trying to find again through trying to heal the split between ourselves and the earth. … We can feel her energy rising

and falling, as we are still feeding from her breast". She then referred her readers to Griffin's *Women and Nature* as a book that "describe[d] this process".[135] Building on Starhawk, Wombwell proceeded to claim that "Life on earth is an interconnected web. This web is now in tatters and we need to reweave it so that interconnectedness can be found again".[136] In order to achieve this goal, Wombwell supported the induction of men into the 'mysteries of the womb' as a sacred organ of women's bodies, thereby "help[ing] to regain its true nature again as a source of life and creativity", and postulated that "this process… [would involve] women also learning about the sacred mysteries of the phallus".[137] Her thoughts on the nature of the God and the male in Goddess-centered Pagan cosmology were ambiguous, and she stated having "no good answers" to the question.[138]

Shan Jayran

Another woman who became heavily influenced by Starhawk during the 1980s was Shan Jayran. Born in England in 1949, Shan and her parents lived in New York for a period during the mid-1960s, when she was 17. Shortly after their relocation to New York she ran away from home to live in Greenwich Village, and discovered *The SCUM Manifesto*, which soon became her 'Bible'. Solanas' pamphlet encouraged bisexual Shan to withdraw her sexual involvement with men, and back in the UK she amerced herself within London's pre-feminist lesbian scene, centered around establishments such as the Gateway Club, which Shan felt was 'rather boring' politically and intellectually. A television appearance by Germaine Greer galvanized the young Shan—who was 21 years old at the time—into participation in the Women's Liberation Movement. During the early 1970s she discovered Robin Morgan—whom she felt personified radical feminism—and her poetry, and helped to sell the pirated underground British version of the censored *Monster*: "[Morgan's] incredible poem, 'Monster'… that was my politics… 'I want a women's revolution like a lover'… I think that was the most important thing I ever read. …I wrote it all over my walls, and I used to print it as cards to send to people".[139]

During the 1970s Shan worked at the London Women's Liberation Workshop, and helped produce its newsletter. In 1974, the newsletter published a keynote speech delivered by Morgan during the 1973 Los Angeles West Coast Lesbian Conference, in which she came out

as an initiated Wiccan Priestess and read the 'Charge of the Goddess'. Although Shan hardly identified with the spiritual at that time, Morgan's speech actually served as Shan's introduction to the Craft.[140] She read *Goddess Shrew* as it came out in the spring of 1977, but was not taken in by the views expressed in it: "I thought it was very silly… I was a very hard feminist; I was 'politics, and economics, and revolution' and a radical feminist, and I thought this was a waste of time. I thought this was entertainment, like writing poetry… it was very nice but it had nothing to do with politics".[141]

In 1981, she founded a private women's center called Tabbies which contained a café, a sauna, and a meeting room, where various women's groups held their meetings and Greenham women could arrive for a short London r&r.[142] The center included a resource library which had a full run of *Womanspirit*'s forty issues.[143] Simultaneously she also held various New Age activities such as yoga, tai chi, and meditations which centered on the four elements.[144] After a year or so of facilitating these meditations Shan was approached by one of the participants, who—unknown to Shan at the time—took part in the production of the 1977 *Goddess Shrew* and was a member of MRRN's Dianic 'grove group'. She encouraged Shan by saying that other women across the country were organizing similar activities, and the two befriended. Later, during 1984, she identified herself as a 'Witch' after being questioned on this matter by Shan, and agreed to train and initiate her into Dianic Witchcraft. Shan and her teacher then decided to form a coven with some of the women who attended her meditation sessions at Tabbies,[145] which Shan was eventually asked to lead. This created a row between her and her Dianic teacher, and consequently her initiation to Dianic Craft was not completed.[146] In 1984, Shan established a 'women's temple' adjacent to her south London residence, which began to serve both women and men by October 1985 as 'House of the Goddess' (HOG), lasting until 2001.[147] HOG soon "became the centre of an eclectic form of feminist witchcraft which she developed for herself, and which embodied the whole American version of the history of witchcraft".[148]

Tabbies, Shan's women's center and café, closed in the spring of 1985. She began to attend New Age festivals and fairs such as Prediction and Mind, Body and Spirit, setting up stalls in order to sell Goddess books and figurines. One of these fairs was set in Brighton during early 1985, and one of the women visiting Shan's stall, wearing a long green cloak, seemed particularly interested in her posters, which had

the 'Charge of the Goddess' printed on them: "and she said 'hmm.. oh, this is very interesting – you have the Charge of the Goddess'. … and I said 'yes, you see what it is it's the nearest thing we Witches have as a creed, and what its about is this, and this, and this'. And she waited very politely 'till I got to the end of it and she said 'yes, my dear, I wrote it'".[149] That woman, of course, was Doreen Valiente. Unable to make a living solely through these means and forced out of four years of separatist lifestyle, Shan rented out part of her South London property to Alan King, who operated a Pagan mail-order business named 'Craefte supplies' selling books, candles, incense, etc. and utilized this new space as a Pagan/occult shop that ran parallel to a large room in the back used by Shan for meditations and meetings.[150] In October 1985, Shan began to conduct there open training courses in 'Circlework' ritual and philosophy—a simplified amalgamation of Starhawk and of British Wicca as presented in Valiente's books—as well as other open meetings and rituals. In January 1986, she began holding fortnightly 'Pagan "At Home" Evenings'.[151] Shan furthermore created a large contact network and managed The Magical Teahouse from her home for five days a week, where "beginners in the occult tradition… [could] network and make initial contacts".[152] In 1987, Shan organized the first completely Pagan national festival open to the general public, which attracted 1400 attendants.[153]

Shan utilized Valerie Solanas' *SCUM Manifesto* in claiming that men "have persuaded the first sex they are the second, and puffed the second sex up to pretend, uncomfortably, they are the first".[154] She maintained that the basic model of creativity lies in "[t]he female [,who] creates from her own, building within and then giving birth", and added that "Mother remains our first security, our first relationship… [S]he can never deny that we are her children; birth is too big an event. In contrast, fathers can deny us. Fathers can leave". The Goddess, claimed Shan, "gives birth to the universe and her many children with it" through her cervix and vagina, which symbolize "the gate of life".[155] Men, furthermore, were seen by Shan to be "less well endowed by nature" than women.[156] Her vision of the God, as representative of the male principle, was that of "provider, protector and guide, not as an appointed authority who remains above and beyond, but as a striving, suffering force who provides by his own sacrifice. … Where Goddess has clearly marked separate personalities, the God is less diverse, perhaps simpler. … [He] gives men a model of themselves which

invokes love and honour [sic] for the female".[157] But while her work was mostly Goddess-centered, Shan also argued against "fall[ing] totally into the dream of a matrifocal (women centered) paradise".[158] In the latter half of the 1980s, HOG acted as a sort of middle ground connecting the more liberal-minded in both Wiccan and Dianic/Goddess strands, who would attend Shan's rituals and other activities. In an interview I conducted with her she recalled that while some Wiccans disdained her work due to her lack of interest in male-female polarity,[159] on one particular occasion Wiccans attending her meetings introduced their own coven to some of her practices (such as chants and 'shamanic witchcraft' work), which were then incorporated into its repertoire.[160] A clue to which specific chants these were can be located in HOG's first of the monthly 'Pagan Moon' events, which took place on March 10, 1990 at the Students Union Building of the University of London. This gathering included a ritual led by Shan which featured several chants—two of these were Shekinah Mountainwater's 'We are the flow, and we are the ebb; We are the weaver, and we are the web' and Deena Metzger and Caitlin Mullin's 'Isis, Astarte, Diana, Hecate, Demeter, Kali, Inanna', popularized by Starhawk's Reclaiming Collective.[161] British Goddess feminists were also divided in their attitudes to Shan during this period, and while some cooperated with her, others criticized her choice to work with men. In 1986, the women who produced the *MRRN Newsletter* has stopped advertising Shan's Goddess publications and workshops due to her business liaison with Alan King, owner of 'Craefte supplies'—an act which led her to write an enraged letter to the Newsletter's editing committee.[162]

An ephemeral 'Goddess bibliography' included in a *Communicat* issue printed around 1984–1985 included Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* and *Dreaming the Dark*, and in her *Which Craft?* And *Circlework* Shan recommended *The Spiral Dance* as the minimum read for non-bookish novices.[163] During an interview I conducted with her Shan recalled reading *Dreaming the dark* during December 1983, and noted that it 'blew her mind' and quickly became 'the' book for her: "it drew together so many different parts of me. You know – psychology, politics, magic, Goddess, being a women, nature - all the things that were very important to me all came together' and… I remember saying to my girlfriend 'all these things that I have been trying to fit in the corners of my life – they're serious, other people take them seriously', and I realized I could put this at the center of my life".[164] Starhawk's influence on Shan

is clear in her definition of magic as "power from within" in the context of her discussion on the idea of power in her 1986 book—*Which Craft?*.[165] Shan first met Starhawk when the latter visited London, during one of the two evening talks she facilitated there during May 1985.[166] This was shortly before the closure of Tabbies and the foundation of HOG, when Shan was already leading a Dianic-inspired coven. Following the talk, Shan volunteered to drive Starhawk back to the flat in which she was staying, talking politics on the way and taking a (rather long) detour for a feast at Tabbies with the women of her coven.[167] Her conversations with Starhawk during this visit resulted in, among others, Shan's adaptation of a new quadruple type of coven leadership partly inspired by the former's ideas.[168]

Monica Sjöö (1939–2005)

Monica Sjöö was a Swedish painter, feminist, and Goddess activist, who lived most of her adult life in Bristol, England and whose life and works are integral to the purposes of this chapter. Sjöö's most famous painting, *God Giving Birth*, was completed during 1968, when the Women's Liberation Movement in the UK was still in an embryonic state. Its depiction of a woman giving birth represented the Great Mother Goddess whom Sjöö understood to be the creatrix of the Universe, and the painting was banned from public exhibitions on several occasions during the early 1970s.

In the summer of 1968, Sjöö spent three months in the United States and witnessed the birth of second-wave feminism, manifested in the very first radical feminist groups and demonstrations in New York.[169] By September 21, 1968 she was back in Britain, and Beila Cohen, who wrote to her from New York with updates regarding the local radical groups, promised to send her "some W.I.T.C.H. stuff".[170] Her diary for late 1968 lists the books she was reading at the time, such as volumes by Margaret Murray, Robert Graves, and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, as well as the biography of Aleister Crowley.[171]

Upon her return to the UK, Sjöö completed the painting *God Giving Birth*, a work she begun just before leaving for America.[172] Sjöö visited London in the spring of 1969, where she stayed with Don and Kathy Nicholson-Smith, who—according to Sjöö's diary—had WLM material from the United States. She noted the existence of the New York-based W.I.T.C.H. In September, Sjöö noted in her diary that Nicholson-Smith

was back from a visit to New York and gave her some anarchist literature.[173] In February 1970, Sjöö received another letter from Beila Cohen, who attached the special January women's issue of the New York underground magazine *Rat*. This publication contained—as noticed by Sjöö in her diary—Robin Morgan's seminal early radical feminist article "Goodbye to All That".[174] She later quoted verbatim from the article in a poster produced in time for the St Ives 'Festival/Gathering', which took place in Cornwall on 19–21 March.[175] Sjöö paintings, which were installed inside the town's Guildhall, were ordered to be removed by the authorities, in an incident that was later hailed as the first significant milestone in the history of the country's Feminist Art movement. In the aftermath of the festival, Sjöö wrote to various magazines, such as *Shrew* and *Socialist Women*:

> I am persecuted as a woman & as an artist who refuses to portray women as sexual victims but perceives of us as creators, as people of strength, my vision is of the women of the matriarchal past & future… I want to get into contact with other women who… have tried to express in any artform spheres of experience that up to now have been taboo. In the States artists are apparently working & exhibiting together as 'Women in Revolution' what about starting something in this country?[176]

Sjöö first became involved in the British Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) during 1969,[177] and participated in the first British WLM conference at Ruskin College, Oxford, during February 1970.[178] She attended meetings of the National Co-ordinating Committee of Women's Liberation in Liverpool and London during September and November 1970, as well as the National WLM conferences held during March and November 1972 in Manchester and Acton and the National WLM conference held at the University of Bristol in July 1973.[179] The MSP Archive reflects her involvement and knowledge of various strands and groups of the British Women's Liberation Movement.[180] Her archive and the articles she wrote throughout the 1970s clearly reflected the influence of radical and cultural feminist ideas which came from across the Atlantic. Sjöö's very first article, originally published during 1969 in the inaugural issue of the Bristol Women's liberation Journal *Enough*, was opened and closed with lengthy quotes from "Lilith's Manifesto".[181] This manifesto was written in the spring of 1969 by an American woman, Louise Crowley, who was active in a Seattle women's

liberation organization called Women's Majority Union.[182] Toward the end of her paper, Sjöö also quoted from Valerie Solanas's notorious *SCUM Manifesto*.[183]

At the turn of 1970, Sjöö corresponded with British socialist feminist Sheila Rowbotham. One of these letters, written by Sjöö, is preserved in the Papers of Sheila Rowbotham at The Women's Library. Sjöö started writing this letter during late December 1969, and finished it in February 24, 1970, a few days before attending the Ruskin conference. The letter makes it clear that Sjöö had sent Rowbotham an article for publication sometime during the latter half of 1969, which was rejected. The article included materials on ancient matriarchy, and credited women with the development of agriculture, herb lore, pottery, and weaving.[184] Similar claims were found in Sjöö's 1969 *Enough* article, which included her vision of a past in which mothers formed collective communities which cared for the young, allowing 'now and then' for males to join in. Woman, Sjöö stated as early as 1969, "create[s] the life within herself,… [and is] the main creative force".[185] Sjöö's letter to Rowbotham also provides a glimpse of Sjöö's socialist feminist leanings during early 1970, as her analysis of patriarchy was influenced by Engels and Bebel and focused on the critique of private property and the traditional family.[186] Sjöö's 1969 *Enough* article even opened with the sentence "Death to the patriarchal family and institutions, capitalist economy and the state".[187]

During the 1970s Sjöö continued to correspond with American feminists, such as Kirstin Grimstad, author of *The New Woman's Survival Catalog* and would-be founder of the influential *Chrysalis*—an American "magazine of women's culture" that represented cultural-feminist views. In November 7, 1974, Grimstad wrote that she was looking forward to meeting Sjöö during her visit to Britain planned for the end of March 1975.[188] The MSP Archive includes a 1978 issue of *Chrysalis* that featured Mary Daly, Susan Griffin, and Adrienne Rich (among others) as its contributing editors.[189] Sjöö read this magazine from its inception, as during 1977 she noted reading an article that was published in *Chrysalis*'s first volume.[190] Also found among her personal papers at the MSP Archive was a short pamphlet which was published in California after 1976 and written (originally in 1973) by American feminist Andrea Dworkin. It included several quotes from Adrianne Rich and Robin Morgan.[191] Another find is an undated pamphlet version of Robin Morgan's aforementioned seminal 1970 paper, "Goodbye to All

That…".[192] By 1977, Sjöö had reviewed Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will* (1975) and Adrianne Rich's *Of Mother Born* (1976).[193]

In December of 1975, Sjöö published a pamphlet titled *The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All* which was inspired by her work as a feminist artist and by her long-distance involvement with the London Matriarchal Study Group, founded that year.[194] On June 10, 1976, Sjöö published an extended version of her pamphlet just in time for the 'Women and Spirituality' conference, which took place at Wick Court near Bristol. The conference was organized by a local, Mary Condren, who worked for the Student Christian Movement, and was attended by members of the London Matriarchy Study Group.[195] Sjöö then sent the pamphlet to Ruth (1923–2016) and Jean Mountaingrove, editors of the American *Womanspirit* magazine.[196] Writing to Sjöö in July, the two were noted being "very impressed" by her essay, and while it was obviously too long for publication in *Womanspirit*, they felt it deserved wider exposure and offered to help in connecting her with feminist publishers who would print it in pamphlet form with minor editing and illustrations. They sent a copy of the essay to Barbara Mor, who wrote to Sjöö enthusiastically in late August and promised to "persuade someone to print it, AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE [sic]".[197] Together, the two reworked and extended the pamphlet and republished it in 1981.[198] The forward note stated that "Mor has edited the work, added new material … [such as] sections and titles".[199] Indeed, in a letter to Sjöö (presented by her biographer Rupert White), Mor stated than she "rewrote a lot more than… first intended, one sentence leading to another… [and] added a lot of info in places where [she]… though necessary to bolster the argument. Especially about European witches & the witch-huntings". This more than doubled the initial word count, making the Mountaingroves unable to cover the costs of its publication.[200] *Womanspirit* did, however, distributed the work throughout the United States and Canada, and in June 1982 connected Sjöö with Merlin Stone and Z Budapest. In November of that year, Sjöö received a letter from Budapest complimenting her work.[201] According to White, Sjöö also corresponded with Stone during late 1978, as well as with Arlene Raven—the editor of *Chrysalis*—during early 1979. She also established contact with the Heresies Collective, and her iconic painting—*God Giving Birth*—was included in *Heresies'* issue on women's spirituality.[202] All this serves to show us how feminist views were circulated across the Atlantic during the 1970s, encouraging cross-fertilization between

women living in different continents. As Sjöö and Mor's joint work was eventually expanded into a full-size book in 1987,[203] we have been given a unique opportunity to examine how Sjöö's original 1975 British-based pamphlet was embedded within American radical and cultural feminisms during the course of twelve years.

Sjöö's original pamphlet, published during December 1975, contained several paragraphs influenced by Mary Daly's 1973 book, *Beyond God the Father*. The pamphlet was even concluded by quoting a lengthy paragraph from Daly's book.[204] Furthermore, the very last page in the pamphlet featured nothing but a quote from Robin Morgan's essay "Goodbye to All That".[205] A simple browse through Sjöö and Mor's 1981 bibliography shows that they were influenced by American radical and cultural feminist authors such as Mary Daly, Kate Millet, and Adrianne Rich.[206] Interestingly enough, the bibliography featured no works by British feminists. In accordance with American spiritual feminists and feminist Witches, Sjöö and Mor's main influence was Mary Daly. They specifically mentioned reading her books.[207] Like Daly, they criticized God-the-Father's transcendental distance from women, and the dualism of matter vs. spirit inherent in Abrahamic religions.[208] They also quoted Daly's *Beyond God the Father* when they criticized the Christian holy all-male trinity,[209] and both used and analyzed her discourse of female "Be-ing" in different parts of their 1981 and 1987 editions.[210] Further Dalyan concepts employed by Sjöö and Mor were the importance of "Naming", i.e., women's reclaiming of male-defined language,[211] and the criticism of the male medical establishment.[212]

In the extended 1987 edition of their book, Sjöö and Mor referred their readers to Susan Griffin's *Women and Nature* in order to get a grasp of "the entire impact of Western male scientism on the female body of life".[213] Inspired by Griffin's work, Sjöö and Mor wrote earlier that witchcraft was originally natural for all women due to their biological experience and to their view on women's spiritual connection to the earth and the universe. They claimed that while patriarchy sought to destroy this connection, "Women cannot change their *nature* [*sic*]".[214] In a separate interview conducted with Sjöö in 1984, she referred to the mystical experiences women face due to these spiritual connections with nature and the earth, and added that "Men can partake in these experiences through women but without that men become like dangerous automatons as we can see".[215] Griffin's *Pornography and Silence*'s effect on *The Great Cosmic Mother* is visible as well when looking at Sjöö and

Mor's claim that pornographic images of women are equated with "maps of the mutilated earth … [and] the deadness of the landscape created by patriarchy, in which nothing lives that is not hideously deformed, controlled… manipulated… bound up for use".[216]

Through reading Adrianne Rich, Sjöö and Mor emphasized that all human beings are of mother-born, connected to all creation.[217] They wrote of "the sacred transformations [women experience in their] own body and psyche—the mystery-changes of menstruation, pregnancy, birth, and the production of milk".[218] They were also influenced by Susan Brownmiller's analysis of the historical evolution of rape, claiming that patriarchal societies established their position by the rape and scorn of women, thereby forcing women into a financial dependency on a male who will protect them against all other males.[219]

Carolyn Merchant's *The Death of Nature*, published in 1980, also affected Sjöö and Mor's work: They connected Daly's words on patriarchal linear thinking with Merchant's thesis on the rise of a view of the natural world as a dead and inert machine during the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods.[220] Sjöö and Mor objected to what they saw as the patriarchal equation between biological beings and machines, and like Merchant they claimed that mechanistic thinking led men to an inconsiderable use of earth's (or Mother's) natural resources.[221] Sjöö and Mor also noted that "the fight of witch women is *also* [*sic*] the fight… against *mechanical* [my emphasis] subjugation and exploitation".[222] Elsewhere they called for a return to a model in which the earth is seen as "a geological-biological-spiritual *being* [*sic*]",[223] in a way reminiscing of Merchant's organic way of thinking.

Sjöö and Mor were also influenced by Robin Morgan. The quote "You are a witch by being female, untamed, angry, joyous and immortal", which was featured in *The Ancient Religion*,[224] was actually the concluding sentence of Morgan's WITCH[225] manifesto. Furthermore, Sjöö and Mor were actually among the few spiritual feminists who relied on Morgan in areas which exceeded WITCH activities. For example, they quoted extensively from a speech Morgan made during the 1973 West Coast Lesbian Conference, which appeared in her 1977 anthology, *Going Too Far*.[226] Sjöö and Mor also dedicated four pages to discussing Morgan's claims in her 1982 volume, *The Anatomy of Freedom*.[227]

As noted above, Sjöö kept in contact with American spiritual feminists, and wrote many times for *Womanspirit* Magazine. She wrote to

Starhawk and the Reclaiming Collective in May 1982, and received a warm reply in August, together with the Reclaiming Spring Newsletter. Starhawk knew of her work and expressed a hope to meet in the future. She has also passed Sjöö's address to Lauren Liebling (of whom more is said below), who planned to visit the UK.[228] Sjöö eventually met and formed a friendship with Starhawk during the latter's 1984 visit to the UK, and the two took part (together with Jo O'Clereigh and others) in a ritual on Glastonbury Tor.[229] Sjöö and Starhawk met again at the 1985 Avebury-Stonehenge walk across Salisbury Plain which—as mentioned earlier—was organized by women in the matriarchy groups, together with 100–150 Greenham women.[230]

Sjöö supported the peace camp throughout the 1980s: She knew Ann Pettitt since the latter's days as a radical student in Bristol during 1969, and stayed in touch with her over subsequent years.[231] In June 18, 1981, Pettitt wrote to Sjöö, letting her know that she was organizing the aforementioned march from Cardiff to Greenham Common. Sjöö, however, was in Sweden at the time of the march and did not attend.[232] She did, however, took part in the December 1982 "Embrace the Base" action, and would subsequently stay at the camp for limited periods of time.[233] Sjöö served as Regional Coordinator for South Wales for the 1983 'Women for Life on Earth' conference, and during October 15–16 of that year, she also attended their London conference—titled "Women Reclaim the Earth"—in which two of the speakers were Greenham women.[234] Her name and mailing address were also found in a late 1980s mailing list maintained by the women at Greenham,[235] and she applauded the struggle of Greenham women in her writing.[236]

Sjöö attended the 1982 Green Gathering and facilitated workshops on "Women and Art" and "Women and Spirituality".[237] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Gathering attracted representatives from Women For Life on Earth, including its coordinator, Greenham activist, and Glastonbury-based Stephanie Leland. Sjöö also had important contacts with Glastonbury Goddess women during the 1980s. Her participation in and support of the May 1980 full moon walk of the maze of the Glastonbury Tor, organized by Kathy Jones and other members of the town's women's group, has already been mentioned above. As the decade drew to a close, Sjöö's held a two-week exhibition at the Glastonbury Assembly Rooms during 10–23 September 1989. Titled 'The Goddess Reawakening' and sponsored by the MRRN, the exhibition included a 'women-only' discussion on 'New Age Patriarchy'

co-led by Sjöö, as well as a lecture by Kathy Jones, and was supported by "many friends & allies in Glastonbury, [as well as by]… men like Geoffrey Ashe".[238]

And what of her connection with British Wiccans and Wiccan-oriented Pagans? Sjöö's description of 'witches' covens' and her reference to 'Wiccans' in her pamphlet *The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All* suggests that by late 1975 she was already familiar—at least on a very basic level—with British Wicca.[239] Whether it was by personal contact with Wiccans or through reading one of the few books on the subject available then, I cannot say, and while Sjöö quoted from Gerald Gardner's *The Meaning of Witchcraft* in an article published in 1981, there is no way of knowing when she first read it.[240] Her reference to "sympathetic magic", as early as May 25, 1970,[241] might suggest familiarity with Gardner's book, who mentioned the phrase in a quote from Ross Nichols,[242] but it most likely have originated from a different source altogether, such as Robert Graves's *The White Goddess*, where it is mentioned several times.[243] Indeed, Sjöö later recalled that it was Graves' book—which she read around 1964–1965[244]—which kindled her interest in matriarchy.[245] As noted above, Sjöö became interested in Margaret Murray's portrayal of the female victims of the European witch trials period as followers of an ancient pagan religion during late 1968, and in an article written for *The Body Politic*, a 1972 British WLM anthology, she quoted the first paragraph in Chapter 4 of Murray's *The God of the Witches* in regards to the persecution of women healers and midwifes as witches by the church, aided by the rising medical profession during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[246]

Now, British Wiccans who subscribed to American magazines such as *Green Egg*[247] would have read that year about Z. Budapest's arrest for Tarot reading and about her unique brand of Dianic Witchcraft. John Score, head of the Pagan Front and editor of *The Wiccan*, was one of them. As he often wrote against the acceptance of homosexuality and lesbianism in the craft,[248] Score's description of the Budapest affair would suggest that he was unaware of Dianic Wicca's views regarding polarity at the time.[249] Explicit reports from the United States on the existence of single-sex covens soon poured in during the following months, however, causing inflamed reactions by Score in the pages of *The Wiccan*.[250]

At the same time, Score noted the publication of Sjöö's pamphlet (together with Merlin Stone's *When God Was a Woman*), of which he

read about in the *Sunday Times Magazine*. His take on the pamphlet, before reading it, was that it contained "An assembly of interesting facts with 'Women's Lib' interpretations one might think; with possible lesbian undertones?"[251]. Sjöö's pamphlet was more thoroughly reviewed by Michael Howard of *The Cauldron*.[252] Although Howard noted Sjöö's "Goddess bias to the exclusion of the Horned God", he had also praised it for "brilliantly" exposing "the suppression of women's rights by the dominant male power structure" and recommended it to readers interested in a "modern feminist approach to the old religion".[253]

Now, it is obvious that Monica Sjöö did not subscribe to British Pagan magazines before John Score mentioned her pamphlet in *The Wiccan*. Rupert White notes that on May 1, 1975 she received a copy of *The Wiccan* personally addressed to her by Score.[254] Sjöö stated in a 1980 document that a letter correspondence with Score followed the review. Three of these letters survive in the Pagan Federation archive and the MSP Archive.[255] The first of them, from Sjöö, was sent eight days after the reference to *The Ancient Religion* was published in *the Wiccan*. The letter makes it clear that the *Sunday Times Magazine*'s mention of Sjöö's pamphlet prompted Score to write to the latter asking her to send him a copy of *The Ancient Religion*. Score's original letter did not survive, but it appears that he had enclosed a copy of *The Wiccan* with it. Sjöö expressed her interest in *The Wiccan* and asked for more.[256] Two days later Score thanked Sjöö for sending him the pamphlet. While finding it "very interesting", he did have reservations about Sjöö's sole emphasis on the Goddess. He emphasized the balance between the male and female, and used wildlife for examples of man's active nature vis-à-vis woman. Score also concluded that "at least we [i.e. Wiccans] have deities of *both* [sic] polarities, unlike the Xtians with their male-chauvinistic priesthoods and exclusively male God-head!"[257]

Documents found at the MSP Archive suggest she was reading *The Wiccan* throughout the latter half of the 1970s. She held the second and third revisions of the Pagan Front Manifesto,[258] which were issued during 1976 and 1978, as well as occasionally advertising exhibitions of her Goddess paintings in its pages.[259] Later on, in 1980, Sjöö recalled noticing *The Wiccan*'s emphasis on gender balance within covens, and its exclusion of single-sex covens (i.e., Dianic Wicca) as an abomination to the Craft. She objected to Score's description of motherhood as natural fulfillment for most women in one of the magazine's later issues, and criticized his characterization of the male and female principles as active

and passive as an expression of patriarchal dualistic thinking, draining women of their "life-blood". Score's depiction of the Mother Goddess as "accept[ing] the initiating force and power of the Horned God", considered superior to Her in ancient societies, was especially irritating for Sjöö. She claimed that the male aspect of the divine was born of the Mother Goddess, and even when it later evolved into a separate being, He was always viewed as son/lover of the Goddess (until the patriarchal takeover, that is).[260] She forwarded her reservations to Score in her answering letter, dated September 25, 1976.[261]

These letters, coupled with Sjöö's 1980 document, tell us something on the divisions between British Wicca and Goddess feminism during the latter half of the 1970s, as many other sources do. But it also shows us the level of contact between key individuals belonging to these distinct spiritual paths. It shows us that as early as September 1976 a pamphlet written from a radical and spiritual feminist viewpoint could have found its way into British Wiccan hands. It also tells us that Goddess feminists such as Monica Sjöö had access to Pagan Magazines such as *The Wiccan*, and that some British Wiccans were aware of Sjöö's feminist criticism of their theology and gender views. As opposed to rumors from across the Atlantic of "lesbian covens", which were easily brushed of as abomination by male Wiccans,[262] contact with British-based Goddess Feminists like Monica Sjöö during the mid-1970s forced British Wiccans to now define their identity not only as opposed to Christianity, but also in relation to the more "liberal" feminist Witches and Goddess women. As witnessed by Score and Sjöö's letter exchanges, this encounter did not happened smoothly. Negative reactions were not uncommon, as recalled by Rufus Brock Maychild: Originally trained as an Alexandrian Wiccan during 1977, he later wrote that during this period, when he approached the coven's high priestess with a hand-duplicated copy of Sjöö's pamphlet, she "rejected this… as 'unbalanced'".[263] Indeed, by May 1979, *The Cauldron*'s editor, Michael Howard, stated with certainty that "the entry of feminist groups onto the [Pagan] scene is something which will create challenging new problems in the years to come".[264] This did not stop Howard from publishing on Sjöö's request her traveling exhibition of Goddess paintings, titled "Woman Magic", in two successive issues of *The Cauldron*, as John Score of *The Wiccan* had done as well.[265] Sjöö stated that she was interested in establishing contact with followers of "the Old Religion". The exhibition was first offered a gallery space in Leamington Spa in the winter of 1979, and then went to Bristol and

London, before touring Sheffield (during late January 1980) and a number of other northern cities, by courtesy of the city's Matriarchy Study Group.[266] In addition to Sjöö's exposure in Pagan magazines, British Wiccans were also able to encounter her art and to learn about her views on Goddess Feminism by tuning into her interview for the BBC television 'Points West News Programme'.[267]

As the new decade unfolded, Sjöö became involved with many feminist-influenced British Pagans and like Asphodel Long wrote several pieces for *Wood and Water* as well as *Pipes of Pan*,[268] where her *Ancient Religion* and *Great Cosmic Mother* were warmly reviewed during the 1980s.[269] She also attended the 1981 *Wood and Water* Beltane Gathering, held in Wales, as well as the *Pipes of Pan*'s Earth Awareness gathering, held during the 1984 Summer solstice.[270] Throughout the decade, Sjöö was even supported by a few feminist-inclined male Wiccans and Pagans writers in these magazines, who cooperated with her and also drew inspiration from her work. John Rowan, a Wiccan initiate, whose portrayal of the Horned God and its relevance to Pagan men—which will be dealt with in Chapter 7—was deeply influenced by Starhawk's books as well as by radical and cultural feminisms, listed Sjöö and Mor's *Great Cosmic Mother* as a source of inspiration on patriarchy and on the Goddess, terming it "marvelous".[271] Jo O'Cleirigh, who took part in the Regency's rituals during the early 1970s and wrote for *Wood and Water* and *Pipes of Pan*, was also a supporter of Sjöö's work.[272] So was Rufus Brock Maychild, Wiccan initiate, founder of Pagans Against Nukes (PAN) and editor of *Pipes of Pan*.[273]

Her articles and books were sometimes followed by waves of supporting and objecting letters. Her recollections of the Beltane 1985 women's walk across Salisbury Plain in *The Pipes of PAN* attracted criticism from occultist and geomancer Nigel Pennick (b. 1946), who read her as divisive and devoid of respect for men, and attacked her "absurd concept that guided missiles are phallic…[, for] [i]n combination with the womb, the phallus brings life, and Monica Sjöö would not be on this earth now without that process".[274] His letter prompted the magazine's feminist-inclined editor to defend Sjöö's 'missiles = phalli' equation as "not intended as strictly literal, but [having] to do with psychological-ideological imagery, and its material consequences". Influenced by the radical feminist discourse on rape, he added that "many men see the phallus as their *weapon* [sic]", and further noted

that even feminist inclined men have "a great way to go before the male organ is universally experienced as loving-pleasuring, and sharing joyously in the generation of life".[275] Most of the magazine's following issue was composed of letters from readers who either criticized or supported the points raised by Sjöö or Pennick.[276]

Another good example occurred several years later, when Monica Sjöö continued to voice her continuing discontent with the Wiccan insistence of acknowledging a male aspect of the divine over the pages of *Wood and Water*.[277] Although the magazine was Goddess-inclined, it had a wider readership, and Sjöö's piece attracted so many response letters that after two issues the magazine editors decided to conclude the subject by printing just one more response. The letter's writer was Michael Howard of *The Cauldron*, which was one of the two most important British Pagan magazines at that time and was not feminist-influenced. Howard expressed agreement with much of Sjöö's view regarding women's oppression, and validated her individual choice of acknowledging only the female aspect of the divine.[278] A year earlier, he reviewed Sjöö and Mor's *The Ancient Religion* in *The Cauldron* and heralded it as an "academic tour-de-force … which should be on every Pagan's book shelf as a standard reference work".[279] This was clearly a change from British Wiccan attitudes toward Goddess Feminists and Dianic Witches during the early 1970s.

In July 18, 1980, Leonora James wrote to Sjöö after having assumed responsibility as editor of *The Wiccan* following the death of John Score: "PF and TW are now in hands both female and feminist – mainly me, your Ed. but with two other HPS's chipping in. I read your paper on 'The Great Cosmic Mother of All' about the same time that I came into contact with the craft and 'M', and have drawn great comfort from it since, so was delighted [to] read your letter in the back correspondence".[280] According to Rupert White, their correspondence continued in February 1981, as Sjöö queried James regarding the Wiccan emphasis on gender balance. On the 23rd, James replied in a lengthy six-page letter, a few paragraphs of which are included in Rupert White biography of Sjöö: "My own belief is that witchcraft is the religion of the coming age, and in its Goddess-centered form precisely because women are the force of the coming age".[281] The change in editorship at *The Wiccan* following John Score's death also affected the magazine's attitude toward Sjöö and Mor's book as it was released in 1981. Under the new editor and head of the Pagan Federation, Leonora James, Monica Sjöö's

old pamphlet was labeled a 'classic', and the new book—enhanced with the cultural feminist views of Mary Daly and Adrianne Rich, as we have seen earlier—was described as a "marvelous mixture of facts, myth and visions… [which will] exhilarate many and infuriate others". James applauded Sjöö for turning "patriarchal theology … on its head".[282] In one of her answering letters to seekers interested in the Craft she even suggested *The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of Al l* as a book covering "the feminist aspect" of modern Pagan Witchcraft.[283] By the end of the decade, Sjöö and Mor's *The Great Cosmic Mother of All* was regarded as a "book… of vital importance to the Pagan movement" by the co-editor of *The Pipes of PAN*, provided inspiration for a short article in the Pagan *Moonshine* magazine, and was described as "essential reading for all Pagan hearts", while her 1989 'The Goddess Reawakening' exhibition was also published in *Pagan News*.[284]

Building on the data presented in its predecessor, this chapter too aimed at highlighting the lines of communication which connected British Wiccans with radical—as well as Goddess—feminism and feminist Witchcraft, as they developed in the United States and in Britain. It is important to note that while British-based Goddess women sported highly critical and (sometimes) adversarial attitudes toward "male-oriented" esotericism in general and British Wicca in particular, it were these forms of British occultism that nonetheless influenced—as noted above—Goddess women such as Asphodel Long, Kathy Jones, and Monica Sjöö in their initial spiritual progression. In the case of Long, it was her involvement with Colin Murray's Druidic Golden Section Order, while Kathy Jones testified reading many occult volumes during her rural seclusion period in 1970s Wales. Monica Sjöö first found inspiration in Robert Graves' *The White Goddess* and seems to have been aware of British Wicca before the development of either local Matriarchy Study Groups or the arrival American Dianic and feminist Witchcraft to the UK. Yet others' point of entry was Budapest's Dianic Wicca, which used the Wiccan template, stripped of all male content. Goddess feminists and Dianics, however, imbued the occultist Wiccan framework with radical and cultural feminisms, as well as with ecological awareness, adding their own unique contribution to theology, ritual, and discourse. The materials presented in these two chapters show that contrary to views of most researchers who briefly referred to the matter,[285] cross-fertilization between British Wiccans and Goddess feminists did exist during the 1970s–1980s, and contributed to the shaping

of contemporary British Paganism. The following chapters will shift the focus from Goddess Feminists and Dianic Witches to British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans, and will further demonstrate how these connections affected them both as individuals and as a movement during the 1970s and 1980s.

Notes

1. Lee, *Further Thoughts on Feminism*, 47.
2. Asphodel, "1968," 7.
3. See Angela Solstice's description in "Tribute to Asphodel Long," 2–3.
4. Sidhe and Cohen, "Who Is Asphodel?"; Asphodel, "1968," 11.
5. Quoted in White, *Monica Sjöö*, 113–114.
6. This quote is taken from an opinion piece on the importance of cultural feminism dated May 12, 1978, which is preserved in the Asphodel Long Archive/DM2767/box 6/4 of 4/folder 1—cream—Goddess articles.
7. Asphodel, "Review."
8. Asphodel, "Feminism and Spirituality," 103–108. She also referenced Starhawk and Budapest in Asphodel, "Letter," *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network Newsletter* 9 (Halloween 1982).
9. Asphodel, "Feminism and Spirituality," 105–106.
10. Ibid., 106.
11. Ibid.
12. Pauline Long, "Politics of Sexuality," 21.
13. Asphodel, "Letter," *Revolutionary and Radical Feminist Newsletter* 8 (1981).
14. Asphodel, "Feminism and Spirituality," 107. In her first book, published originally in 1992, Long also relied on Griffin's 'woman = nature' paradigm and Carolyn Merchant's *The Death of Nature*, as well as Starhawk's analysis of modes of Powers (in itself derived from Daly). Long, *In a Chariot Drawn by Lions*, 51, 182–183, 190–191, 207–208.
15. Asphodel, "Letters," *Wood and Water* 2:1 (Samhain 1981): 24–25.
16. Ibid.
17. Asphodel, "Letter," *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network Newsletter* 9 (Halloween 1982).
18. Email Correspondence with Daniel Cohen, 22 October 2014.
19. Interview with Daniel Cohen. The Order was based at Murray's London home and was founded around 1976 in order to encourage "the preservation of Celtic lore, monuments and antiquities." Its meetings brought together speakers and participants in many aspects of Celtic study and lore, and a magazine titled *The New Celtic Review* was set up in order

to further discussion of these matters. Based on his own interpretation of Celtic religion, Murray also organized ritual gatherings corresponding with the eight seasonal festivals. These were open to spiritual seekers regardless of their denomination, and each festival was held in a location deemed appropriate to it: Beltane, for instance, was held in at the 'Druid Oaks' in Glastonbury, which became the main home of the Order outside London. Long, "Collin Murray—In Memoriam"; Hutton, *Witches, Druids and King Arthur*, 251.

20. Long, "Colin Murray—In Memoriam," 10–12.
21. Asphodel, "1968: Prague Winter, Feminist Spring," 13.
22. Jones, *On Finding Treasure*, 11.
23. Jones, *Learning to Live in the Country*.
24. Ibid., 16.
25. Ibid., 28.
26. Ibid., 72.
27. Ibid., 173.
28. Jones, *On Finding Treasure*, 11.
29. Ibid., 12, 14. See also her enthusiastic review of *The Politics of Matriarchy* in Kathy Jones, "Matriarchal Society," *Resurgence* 75 (July–August 1979): 34.
30. Ibid., 13.
31. Ibid., 16.
32. Jones, *Priestess of Avalon, Priestess of the Goddess*, 134.
33. Jones, "The Death of God," 16, 17.
34. Jones, "…Or Another," 27–28.
35. Jones, "The Death of God," 19.
36. Ibid., 16.
37. Jones, "Kathy Jones Inner Views," 29–30.
38. Ibid., 29.
39. Personal Interview with Jean Freer, 11 April 2014.
40. Ibid.
41. Lee, "Matriarchy Study Group Papers," 80–81; Personal Interview with Jean Freer.
42. Lee, "Matriarchy Study Group Papers," 80–81; Interview with Jean Freer.
43. Ibid.
44. Freer, "Tarot Readings," 10.
45. Interview with Jean Freer. The *MRRN Newsletter* continued to publicize Freer's workshops throughout the decade: On July 5, 1986 she facilitated a 'Women's Magic and Spirituality' one-day workshop in London, followed by a 'Psychic Skills' workshops in April and June of 1988. See "Women's Magic and Spirituality Workshop"; "Notices." See also "Miscellany," 18.

46. Freer, *Raging Womyn*, 4. As noted earlier, some Greenham women attended the event and urged women to join them at the camp.
47. Ibid., 1, 4.
48. White, *The Re-enchanted Landscape*, 206.
49. Lee, *Further Thoughts on Feminism*, 44.
50. Ibid., 48.
51. Ibid., 57. In 1984, during the period of the 'Feminist Sex Wars,' Freer also sided with parts of the Women's Movement (in the UK these were mostly revolutionary feminists) who condemned lesbian sadomasochism. Freer, *Raging Womyn*, 8.
52. Lee, "Radical Feminism, Revolutionary Feminism and the Left," 27.
53. Ibid., 28.
54. Lee, *Further Thoughts on Feminism*, 19, 39, 40.
55. Lee, "Radical Feminism, Revolutionary Feminism and the Left," 24–30.
56. Lee, *Further Thoughts on Feminism*, 8, 73; Freer, *Raging Womyn*, 4.
57. Ibid., 17; Lee, "Radical Feminism, Revolutionary Feminism and the Left," 26.
58. See 'Forward' in Lee, *Further Thoughts on Feminism*.
59. Ibid., 14; Lee, "Radical Feminism, Revolutionary Feminism and the Left," 30. This does not mean that she supported all of Solanas ideas regarding 'cutting up men,' because she emphasized that matriarchy rule would still be a hierarchy, equating it with "the cry for proletarian dictatorship," on which she did not look kindly. Ibid., 29.
60. Lee, *Further Thoughts on Feminism*, 28, 42.
61. Ibid., 16, 42, 71.
62. Lee, "Radical Feminism, Revolutionary Feminism and the Left," 27; Lee, *Further Thoughts on Feminism*, 45, 47.
63. Lee, "Radical Feminism, Revolutionary Feminism and the Left," 25.
64. Freer, *Raging Womyn*, 14. Daly's discourse on male and female language effected Freer to such a degree that in 1988 she withheld her participation in one issue of *MRRN Newsletter* due to her "disappointment, frustration and irritation" after the editors and typist of a previous issue accidently changed the writing in one of Freer's articles from 'humunkind' to the normative (yet politically incorrect at the time among matriarchalists and Dianic Witches) 'humankind.' Freer, "Letter from Jean Freer," 3.
65. Freer, "How to Recognise Patriarchal Magic," 14.
66. Ibid., 11. For the original in Budapest, see her *The Feminist Book of Lights and Shadows*, 60. Freer quoted from this publication as early as 1979. Lee, *Further Thoughts on Feminism*, 71. Later on she also read Starhawk. In May of 1983 she referred to the latter's suggestions for 'self-initiation' rituals, as set in *The Spiral Dance*. Freer, "Creating a Sacred Grove," 15.

67. Lee, *Further Thoughts on Feminism*, 18.
68. Freer, "Gaea: The Earth as our Spiritual Heritage," 131–132.
69. Freer, *Raging Womyn*, 24.
70. Freer, "How to Recognise Patriarchal Magic," 13.
71. Ibid., 13, 14. Her view was defended in a letter to *Arachne* by a Cath Is-Foel, who stated that "[t]he fact that the ritual sword or dagger symbolizes the penis in male occultism indicates the importance of militarism in their systems and their essential pathology." Cath Is-Foel, "Diverging from Patriarchy," 31.
72. According to Neilson's narrative, she became involved in Witchcraft around 1970. She described herself as part of the 'traditional' strand of British Witchcraft, which she defined as based on pre-Gardnerian, 'family traditions.' Her own personally-developed working system was based mainly on 'traditional' Witchcraft, and was furthermore influenced by the work of individuals whose first point of entry was Gardnerian Wicca and who subsequently "were looking for something deeper in terms of the mythology and symbolism of Goddess worship." Neilson stated that her interest in feminism developed out of her involvement in the Witchcraft movement, and wrote that she was working with a Dianic group as well as a mixed 'traditional' one. Neilson, "A Response to 'How to Recognise Patriarchal Magic'," 25.
73. Ibid., 28.
74. Freer, "Divergent Paths," 28. This ties neatly with her 1984 self-description as a 'lesbian chauvanist [sic]' who objected to the inclusion of male babies into feminist events and groups. Freer, *Raging Womyn*, 8, 20.
75. Personal Interview with Jean Freer.
76. Freer, "How to Recognise Patriarchal Magic," 10.
77. Neilson, "A Response to 'How to Recognise Patriarchal Magic'," 27.
78. Freer, "Divergent Paths," 30. In an article she wrote for the feminist-inclined Pagan magazine *The Pipes of PAN* the following year, Freer accused Pagans and Wiccans who make "the son a central figure in the Mysteries" with engaging in "subtle but insidious means to try to immobilize [sic]" Dianics. Three years earlier she claimed that "Patriarchal magic has an 'instinctive' appeal to women who believe a male sun and the number 10 are the 'natural order' of the universe, or who deny the earth dragon her ascendency at midsummer." Freer, "The Dianic Craft," 17–18.
79. Freer, "Divergent Paths," 34.
80. Freer, "The Dianic Craft," 10. For an exploration of the parthenogenesis discourse among American lesbian feminist separatists see Rensenbrink, "Parthenogenesis and Lesbian Separatism," 288–316.

81. Freer, "Letter from Jean Freer," 3. This move was actually carried out by Jean 'Ellen' Williams, High Priestess on the Bricket Wood Coven. Pengelly, Hall and Dowse, *We Emerge*, 24.
82. Freer, "Letter from Jean Freer," 3.
83. Parker, "Some Thoughts on Goddess Fundamentalism," 8–9. Similar sentiments were voiced in a far more negative and anti-Dianic review in Dian, "The New Feminist Tarot." Parker himself knew Monica Sjöö rather well from their joint involvement with *Peace News* (they were part of a group that aimed at producing a Paganism issue of the magazine) and attended the National Men Against Sexism Conference in Bristol during February 1980. See letter from Terry Parker to Peter Redgrove, dated 21 December 1979 (reference number 24.14) and letter from Monica Sjöö to Peter Redgrove, dated 17 February 1980 (reference number 24.27), both in the Peter Redgrove Papers, located at Sheffield University Library.
84. PHJ, "The New Feminist Tarot," 10.
85. Roy, "Power of the Dark Goddess," 32–33.
86. Ibid., 33.
87. Ibid. This was while another women writing in the same pamphlet actually wrote that "in Witchcraft, it is the female who plays the lead, her beauty and power causing the male to worship adoringly at the altar of the Goddess, her vulva." Wise, "Politics of Beauty," 49. About four years later a Matriarchy activist and Dianic Witch named Sheila Rose wrote in an internal publication that although some women in the Matriarchy Network might feel uncomfortable with Starhawk's inclusion of a male deity, for her "the idea of the Horned God is becoming important." Rose, "Celebrating the Summer Solstice," 5.
88. Freer, "How to Recognise Patriarchal Magic," 10. See also Freer, "The Dianic Craft," 10, 11.
89. Is-Foel, "Diverging from Patriarchy," 31.
90. Neilson, "A Response to 'How to Recognise Patriarchal Magic'," 25.
91. Ibid., 25–26.
92. Ibid., 26.
93. Ibid., 25. Marian Green too wrote of the fourth, "hidden face [of the Goddess], at the dark of the moon" which was "not spoken of in words" and left for the initiate—man or woman—to discover. Green, *A Witch Alone*, 31–32.
94. Neilson, "A Response to 'How to Recognise Patriarchal Magic'," 25–26.
95. Freer, "Divergent Paths," 32, 34. In answering specifically to Neilson's criticism on the lack of recognition of the outward Goddess, Freer replied that for her "the All in One aspect is at the center of the four, the fifth aspect that denotes change and growth," yet she preferred to

stick with the four for numerological considerations, as this number corresponded neatly in her eyes with the seasons and the "yearly cycle of the earth." Ibid., 32.

96. McCrickard, *Eclipse of the Sun*, xix.
97. Jean Freer, who lived at the nearby village of Shepton Mallet, printed the pamphlet for McCrickard. McCrickard, *The Way of the Goddess*, 14. Located in the Bristol Feminist Archive/Religion and World Views.
98. Ibid., 1.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid., 1, 5.
101. Ibid., 2, 12.
102. Ibid., 13.
103. Ibid., 2, 3.
104. Ibid., 4.
105. Ibid., 7, 10, 11.
106. Ibid., 12.
107. Ibid., ix.
108. Howard-Gordon, *Glastonbury*, 66, 67; Briggs, "The Way of the Goddess," 6; *Wood and Water* 1:6 (Lammas 1980): 4.
109. Briggs, "The Way of the Goddess," 6.
110. McCrickard's own 'matriarchal milieu' seems to have largely overlooked the pamphlet, though. In a letter send by Janet McCrickard to Monica Sjöö (and attached to a letter to Sjöö from Hilary Llewellyn-Williams dated 16 February 1981), McCrickard noted feeling "absolutely isolated" save for her correspondence with Llewellyn-Williams, and added that the Sheffield Matriarchy Study Group (as well as Z Budapest and the magazines *Spare Rib* and *Resurgence*) ignored it. I am grateful to Rupert White for sending me a scan of the letter, which is preserved in Sjöö's personal archive.
111. Letter from Janet [McCrickard] to Monica Sjöö, 30 August 1980. Found in the Monica Sjöö Papers at the Bristol Feminist Archive/FA/ARCH/85/2.
112. "Unity in Diversity," 8.
113. Letter from Janet [McCrickard] to Monica Sjöö.
114. Ibid.
115. McCrickard, "Mother Earth, Father Sky… Beware the Patriarchal Lie!" 14.
116. Ibid., 14. Her references section sported the 1980 edition of Daly's *Gyn/Ecology*, published in the UK by The Women's press. Ibid.
117. See letter from Hilary Llewellyn-Williams and Tony Padfield to Phillip [n.d.], found clipped to the second issue of *Wood and Water*, housed in the Museum of Witchcraft's library. It is worth noting that a quick

browse through the issues of *Wood and Water* would show McCrickard seems to have been part of its inner circle of contributors. McCrickard and Llewellyn-Williams even traveled together to the 1981 'Wise Woman' conference, organized by the London Matriarchy Study Group. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 134. Furthermore, copies of the letter cited above—which included a plea for help in continuing to run the magazine—were sent to a small group of individual which included McCrickard as well as Monica Sjöö, Daniel Cohen, Jo O'Cleirigh and Ken Rees. Ibid.

118. McCrickard, "Great Mother Sun," 2–3.
119. McCrickard, *Eclipse of the Sun*, xix, xx–xxi, 223. While her book on this subject was published in 1990, McCrickard began work on it as early as the summer of 1982. McCrickard, "Great Mother Sun," 3.
120. McCrickard, *Eclipse of the Sun*, 28.
121. Ibid., 28–29.
122. McCrickard, "Great Mother Sun," 2. See also McCrickard, "On the Sun Goddess. Part 1," 15–17; McCrickard, "On the Sun Goddess. Part 2," 22–24.
123. Wombwell, *The Goddess Changes*, 11, 12, 13, 142.
124. Letter from Felicity Aldridge to Starhawk, 11 July 1982. In the Starhawk Collection/GTU 2002-4-01/Box 5/7. For the first couple of years after its publication, *The Spiral Dance* was available in the UK only through the Sisterwrite bookshop, operated by Mary Coghill. It was only during late 1981 that the Atlantis Bookshop and Compendium began to carry the book. Rees, "The Spiral Dance," 23.
125. Wombwell, *The Goddess Changes*, 1; "Notices," *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network Newsletter* 47 (1988).
126. See letter from Shan to Pru, Beltaine 1989. Museum of Witchcraft Library/Pagan Federation Archive.
127. Wombwell, *The Goddess Changes*, 15.
128. Ibid., 109, 113.
129. Though published in 1991, the ideas expressed in *The Goddess Changes* were also published in an earlier abbreviated form as a chapter in the *Voices from the Circle* Anthology. Work on this collection, itself published in 1990, started in September 1987, while its preface is dated 1 February 1989. Matthews, "Preface," 9, 12; Wombwell, "The Weaving Goddess," 165–176.
130. Wombwell, *The Goddess Changes*, 7.
131. Ibid., 8.
132. Ibid., 166.
133. Ibid., 106, 122.
134. Ibid., 130.

135. Ibid., 103–104, 106.
136. Ibid., 91.
137. Ibid., 113.
138. Ibid., 129.
139. Personal Interview with Shan.
140. Ibid. The speech is reprinted in Morgan, *Going Too Far*, 170–188.
141. Personal Interview with Shan.
142. Ibid.
143. See letter from Cindy Ross in *Womanspirit* 40 (Summer 1984): 59.
144. Personal Interview with Shan. One of my interviewees, Anne Keeley, a WLM activist who was heavily involved in separatist activities during the late 1970s and early 1980s, participated in Shan's Goddess classes at Tabbies, and was referred by the latter to Starhawk's *Dreaming the Dark*. She then joined Shan's women's spirituality group with a couple of her friends, and attended her first ritual in September 1983. Personal Interview with Ann Keely.
145. Personal Interview with Shan. A notice describing Tabbies and its friendliness to Goddess feminists was posted in the Beltane 1984 issue of the *MRRN Newsletter*. Shan was also noted for her "massive contributions" to the Newsletter's 22nd issue, which included an article she penned and permission to use her 48k Amstrad Spectrum computer, and an ad for her upcoming book was published in the 28th issue during mid-1985. *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network Newsletter* 21 (Beltane 1984); *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network Newsletter* 22 (Summer Solstice to Lammas 1984); *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network Newsletter* 28 (Beltane 1985).
146. Personal Interview with Shan.
147. Jayran, "House of the Goddess," 8; Harvey and Hardman (eds.), *Paganism Today*, vii; York, *The Emerging Network*, 116–117, 229.
148. Hutton, *Triumph*, 379. According to Leonora James, who headed the Pagan Federation during the 1980s, HOG was indeed very influential in the British Pagan scene during the latter half of the decade. Personal Interview with Leonora James, 9 February 2011.
149. Personal Interview with Shan; Shan, *Which Craft?* 75. The meeting itself was corroborated in Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 194.
150. Personal Interview with Shan.
151. Ibid.; Michael York, *The Emerging Network*, 116–117, 229.
152. Ibid., 117. Magazines associated with PaganLink, such as *Moonshine* and *Pagan News*, would also help publicize Shan HOG activities during the late 1980s. See for instance "What's On," 3.
153. York, *The Emerging Network*, 117; Griffin, "Goddess Spirituality and Wicca," 273. Attendance in later Halloween Festivals during the 1980s was usually around 2000. York, *The Emerging Network*, 117.

154. Shan, *Circlework*, 113.
155. Shan, *Which Craft?* 66–67, 68.
156. Shan, *Circlework*, 113.
157. Shan, *Which Craft?* 72–73.
158. Ibid., 19.
159. See for instance the negative review of Shan's *Which Craft?* By Wiccan Julia Phillips in *The Cauldron*, in which Phillips stated that "[m]ost damaging of all is the author's rampant feminism which distorts the most fundamental of Craft beliefs" and her "total ignorance of the male role in the Craft." Phillips concluded that "Feminist neo-paganism is not unpopular and one feels Ms Jayran would have been much more at home here then with the Craft." Phillips, "Which Craft?" 7.
160. Personal Interview with Shan.
161. York, *The Emerging Network*, 225–227.
162. Shan, "Letters to the Newsletter." According to Shan, Asphodel Long and Monica Sjöö—whom she met in separatist circles in the late-1970s—were among the notable figures in the British Goddess Feminism scene who did not shun her. Personal email correspondence with Shan, 14 November 2015.
163. Located in Kayoko Komatsu's personal archive; Shan, *Which Craft?* 63; Shan, *Circlework*, 77.
164. Personal Interview with Shan. She also read both parts of Z Budapest's *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries* during that same period. Ibid.
165. Shan, *Which Craft?* 9.
166. Personal Interview with Shan. This was probably the May 6th talk on 'Politics, Magic, Witchcraft and the Women's Movement' which took place at the 'A Woman's Place' center.
167. Personal Interview with Shan.
168. Shan, *Circlework*, 83–84.
169. Sjöö, "Pilgrimage to the USA (Part 2)," 4. According to Sjöö, she "just missed" the very first militant feminist action in protest against the Miss World competition at Atlantic City, but met some of the women soon after. Monica Sjöö, "My Life Story: Page 3," http://monicasjoo.org/bio/autobiography3.htm, accessed 24 July 2013. For a study on American Radical and cultural Feminisms see Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*.
170. Quoted in White, *Monica Sjöö*, 42.
171. Quoted in Ibid., 45.
172. Sjöö, "My Life Story."
173. See White, *Monica Sjöö*, 46, 50.
174. Ibid., 54.
175. Ibid., 54–55.
176. Ibid., 57.

177. That year she was among the founders of the Bristol Women's Liberation group, which was founded in order to support a strike by women sewing machinists at the Ford Motor Company's plant in Dagenham, Essex. She also initiated the formation of the Bristol Women's Art Group in 1970 and the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign in 1971. Among the members in Sjöö's Bristol Women's Art group was feminist artist Liz Moore, who had just returned from New York where she had been part of a women artists group. Sjöö and Moore soon became lifelong friends. Sjöö, "My3." This can be seen as further evidence for the transatlantic connections between radical feminists in the United States and Britain at the time; more materials on this will be presented below.
178. Sjöö, "Journey into Darkness," 5–8.
179. See White, *Monica Sjöö*, 59, 60, 68, 76.
180. Carol Ehrlich, *Socialism, Anarchism & Feminism*. Research Group one, Report no. 296. N.D. Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/83/1; *Anarchist Feminist Newsletter* 3 (September 1977). Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/83/1; Nottingham Women's Liberation Group, "Circulation Letter from Barbara Yates," July 1971. Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/83/1; *Radical Feminist Shrew* 5:2 (April 1973). Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/83/1.
181. Sjöö, "Womanpower!" 20, 25.
182. It was originally published in the spring of 1969 as a two-sided mimeographed sheet, and reprinted in the third issue of *Lilith* Magazine (published in Seattle in September 1970). For more information, see: http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&File_Id=2321.
183. Sjöö, "Womanpower!" 25. Sjöö's report on her 1969 visit to New York shows that she had read Solanas' manifesto as early as in October 1968, for she wrote that "Her SCUM manifesto has now been published & it is magnificent!". Sjöö, "New York Trauma," 16. I thank Mr. Rupert White for bringing this piece to my attention.
184. Monica Sjöö, Letter to Sheila Rowbotham, Papers of Sheila Rowbotham, The Women's Library, GB 106 7SHR/A/1. In her letter to Rowbotham Sjöö's also recommended *Rat* – a copy of which she had just received (as noted above) from the New York-based Beila Cohen. Ibid.
185. Sjöö, "Womanpower!" 22.
186. Sjöö, Letter to Sheila Rowbotham.
187. Sjöö, "Womanpower!" 20.
188. See White, *Monica Sjöö*, 78.

189. Also found in the archive are a 1973 issue of the American feminist magazine *Off Our Backs* and a 1977 issue of an American feminist magazine titled *The Second Wave*. *Chrysalis* (1978), 9. Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/86/7; *Off our Backs* 11:10 (September 1973). Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/83/4; *The Second Wave* 5:1 (Spring/Summer 1977). Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch /83/1.
190. Monica Sjöö, "Feminist Vision: Some Recent Books by American Women Writers," in *Women are the Real Left!*, ed. Monica Sjöö (Manchester: Matri/Anarchy Publications, 1979), 27–28. Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/92/file 1. Published originally during 1977 in *Peace News*.
191. Andrea Dworkin, *Marx and Gandhi Were Liberals—Feminism and the 'Radical' Left* (Palo Alto: Frog in the Well, N.D.). Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/83/1.
192. Robin Morgan, *Goodbye to All That* (N.D.). Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/83/1.
193. Sjöö, "Feminist," 28–29.
194. Monica Sjöö, *Women are the Real Left!* (Manchester: Matri/Anarchy Publications, 1979), 2. Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/92/file1. Sjöö stayed in close contact with the MRRN, who posted her articles as well as news updates regarding her art in their newsletters, magazine and pamphlets. See Sjöö, "Some Thought on Menstruation," 11–13; Sjöö, "A Message from Monica"; Sjöö, "Monica Writes to us from Wales"; Sjöö, "Excerpts from Women's Dream Journeying Across Salisbury Plain Reclaiming Earth, Our Mother from the Military."
195. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 84–85.
196. Sjöö made contact with them through the lesbian feminist community in Paris—where she stayed for a while during 1976—and sent them her pamphlet. Monica Sjöö, "My Life Story: Page 4." http://monicasjoo.org/bio/autobiography4.htm, access date: 24 July 2013.
197. Quoted in White, *Monica Sjöö*, 86, 87–88.
198. Barbara Mor, Letter to Monica Sjöö, 29 August 1976. Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/92/file1; Sjöö and Mor, *The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother*, 4, 6.
199. Sjöö and Mor, *Ancient Religion*, 4, 6.
200. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 93.
201. Sjöö and Mor, *The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother*, 4, 6; White, *Monica Sjöö*, 147, 153.
202. Ibid., 104, 106–107, 108.

203. Sjöö and Mor worked on this project since 1984. The 1981 edition was reedited and greatly expanded by Mor. Sjöö and Mor, *The Great Cosmic Mother*, xiv. The revamped title became widely influential within the feminist spirituality movement. Raphael, *Introducing Thealogy*, 25.
204. Monica Sjöö, *The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All* (Bristol, 1975), 28, 30, 33, 36. Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/85/5.
205. Ibid., 38. Morgan's essay appeared in the highly popular anthology she edited, *Sisterhood Is Powerful* (1970).
206. Sjöö and Mor, *Ancient Religion*, 78–79. By 1987 they have added another volume by Daly (*Pure Lust*), together with books by Susan Griffin (*Woman and Nature* and *Pornography and Silence*), Susan Brownmiller (*Against Our Will*), Robin Morgan (*The Anatomy of Freedom*) and Carolyn Merchant (*The Death of Nature*). Sjöö and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*, 9, 478, 482, 485. However, evidence show that Sjöö was well aware of Griffin's volumes by 1982 (just shortly after *The Ancient Religion* was re-published in book form with the collaboration of Barbara Mor). In a reply to a criticizing letter over the pages of *Wood and Water* Sjöö listed Griffin's books as sources of reference. "Letters," *Wood and Water* 2:3 (Beltane 1982), 19, 22–25.
207. Sjöö and Mor, *Ancient Religion* 6; Sjöö and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*, 343.
208. Sjöö and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*, 16, 54, 65, 279, 417; Sjöö and Mor, *Ancient Religion*, 5, 54–55.
209. Ibid, 72.
210. Ibid., 13; Sjöö and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*, 343.
211. This can be seen in their deconstruction of words, such as "Re-member," and in their quoting of a sentence from Daly who connected between the concepts of Naming and Sisterhood. Sjöö and Mor, *Ancient Religion*, 74.
212. Sjöö and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*, 442.
213. Ibid., 467.
214. Sjöö and Mor, *Ancient Religion*, 44. Sjöö and Mor's adaptation of Griffin's "Women = Nature" argument was made clear through their connecting of women's amniotic fluid and the world's oceans. Sjöö and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*, 59.
215. Vincentelli, "Monica Sjöö," 88. This interview was published originally during August 1984 in *Link* magazine. I thank Prof. Vincentelli for confirming the original publication date.
216. Sjöö and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*, 59. She recommended it as early as May 1982. See her letter in *Wood and Water* 2:3 (May 1982), 22.
217. Sjöö and Mor, *Ancie*nt Religion, 70.

218. Sjöö and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*, 50.
219. Ibid., 183–194; Sjöö and Mor, *Ancient Religion*, 41, 42. Another reference by Sjöö to Brownmiller's discourse on rape can be found in a 1980 piece she published in *The Cauldron*, where she stated that "in this society men call their penis a 'tool' and think of them as weapons of aggression!". Sjöö, "Woman Magic—Further Adventures," 5.
220. Sjöö and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*, 324–325.
221. Ibid., 384.
222. Sjöö and Mor, *Ancient Religion*, 74.
223. Sjöö and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*, 385.
224. Sjöö and Mor, *Ancient Religion*, 74.
225. WITCH, or the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell, was a short-lived yet highly influential radical feminist political theater group, founded by Robin Morgan in 1968.
226. Sjöö and Mor, *Ancient Religion*, 74; Sjöö and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*, 432.
227. Ibid, 403–406.
228. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 143, 151. Michael Howard recommended *The Spiral Dance* to Sjöö in February 1982. Ibid., 143. Sjöö read Starhawk's *Dreaming the Dark* sometime during 1984, probably after learning of its publication through the report in the *MRRN Newsletter* mentioned above. She mentioned reading the book "recently" in an article published during the summer of 1984. Sjöö, "The Ancient Religion and the Nuclear Age," 7–10.
229. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 168.
230. Sjöö, "Pilgrimage to the USA (Part 1)," 5.
231. See White, *Monica Sjöö*, 46, 50, 51.
232. Ibid., 136, 138.
233. Monica Sjöö, "My4." She visited the camp during April and December 1983. During September 1984, for instance, Sjöö stayed at the Camp for ten days. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 157; Sjöö, "Journey into Darkness," 80.
234. See a Women For Life on Earth booklet at the Bristol Feminist Archive/FA/ARCH/23; Sjöö, "Monica." According to Rupert White, in July 1981 Sjöö received an invitation to the inaugural meeting of the group. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 137.
235. See the camp's mailing list, preserved at The Women's Library/Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp (Yellow Gate)/5/GCW/D/6.
236. Sjöö, "Ancient Religion Nuclear Age," 10.
237. *Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network* 7 (Summer Solstice 1982).
238. Sjöö, "Challenging New Age Patriarchy"; Exhibition flyer, Bristol Feminist Archive/Religion and World Views/Goddess, Wicca, Witches,

Healing. This event was among the precursors for the September 1990 "Challenging New Age Patriarchy" Conference at Malvern—attended by Sjöö as well. In the wake of this conference, two other participants—Greenham veterans Maggie Parks and Vron McIntyre—began to edit a new quarterly journal of radical feminist spirituality, magic and the goddess feminism titled *From the Flames*. The journal lasted for ten years and included many pieces by Monica Sjöö and Jean Freer. Parks and McIntyre recalled being "much inspired and excited by the American 'Womanspirit' journal of the early eighties." *From the Flames* 1 (Spring 1991): 2. Parks and McIntyre stated that the magazine folded soon after they discovered it. *From the Flames* 1 (Spring 1991): 2. *Womanspirit*'s final fortieth issue came out in June 1984, which would put their initial encounter with the magazine around 1983.

239. Sjöö, *Ancient Religion*, 15, 20.
240. Sjöö, "No Real Changes," 7.
241. Sjöö, "Female and Male life-Principles?" 40.
242. Gardner, *The Meaning of Witchcraft*, 82.
243. Graves, *The White Goddess*, 187, 350, 541.
244. In an interview with Moira Vincentelli, published originally during August 1984 in *Link* magazine, Sjöö noted that her encounter with *The White Goddess* happened "about twenty years ago." Vincentelli, "Monica Sjöö," 81.
245. Ibid.
246. Sjöö, "A Women's Rights over her Body," 183. Sjöö wrote the original draft of this piece during August and September 1970 following a meeting with Michelene Wandor, and it was later heavily edited by the latter. See White, *Monica Sjöö*, 64, 65.
247. Ads for *Green Egg* were published in Michael Howard's *Spectrum* magazine (a precursor to *The Cauldron*) as early as March 1975. *Spectrum* 4 (1975), 35.
248. M., "Hexerotexual [Sic]," 2; M., "Homosexual 'Witches'," 4; M., "The Queer Lot," 1.
249. M., "Z. Budapest," 1. In *The Wiccan*'s next issue, Score expressed his satisfaction with the fact that the unrelated Texas Dianics (headed by Morgan McFarland) did not charge their students for money. It is obvious, though, that Score was still unfamiliar with Dianic Wicca's basic tenets, for he noted that he had asked them for a sample of their writings, M., "Dianic Branch," 2. This situation carried on at least until mid-1976, when Score printed a request by Texas Dianics for contact and information with British Wiccans M., "Dianic Witchcraft," 4.
250. M., "The Witches Trine," 2; M., "Homo'-Les'," 1–2; M., "Homo'-Les'," 1; M., "Special List," 6.

251. M., "Around the Literary Corner," 3.
252. Howard, "Feminist Witches," 5. Sjöö's pamphlet was also listed among other Pagan magazines and publications in *The Cauldron* 6 (May Eve 1977), 6.
253. Howard, "Feminist Witches," 5.
254. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 81. On the 13th of October she also received the 46th issue of the Pagan Movement's newsletter from Tony Kelly. Ibid., 82.
255. Monica Sjöö, Letter to M., 18 September 1976. Museum of Witchcraft Library/Pagan Federation Archive/W/736; M., Letter to Monica Sjöö, 20 September 1976. Museum of Witchcraft Library/Pagan Federation Archive/W/736A, 737; Monica Sjöö, Letter to M., 25 September 1976. Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/85/1.
256. Sjöö, Letter to M., 18 September 1976.
257. M., "Letter to Monica Sjöö," 20 September 1976.
258. *The Pagan Front: Manifesto, 2nd revision,* 1976, Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/85/1; *The Pagan Front: Manifesto, 3rd revision*, 1978 Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/85/1.
259. M., "Exhibition," 3. She also read *The Ley Hunter* Magazine, organ of the Earth Mysteries Movement, in the years leading to February 1982, finding it "very male dominated and patriarchal". Sjöö, "My4." The Earth Mysteries Movement and British Wicca had parallel interests that both emphasized the connection to the natural world and venerated sacred Neolithic monuments in Britain. As Ronald Hutton stated, "pagan witches readily absorbed the concept of ley-lines." Hutton, *Triumph*, 378.
260. Monica Sjöö, *Is the Pagan Revival Phallocentred and Heterosexual?* (Bristol: March 1980). Located at the Museum of Witchcraft/Pagan Federation Archive/Old Article Manuscripts. Around that time, Sjöö repeated this claim in an article published in *Wood and Water*. Sjöö, "No Real Changes," 6.
261. Sjöö, Letter to M., September 25, 1976. Rupert White uncovered additional letters between the two, and it seems that is was Sjöö who persisted in questioning Score, who wrote back in an effort to explain about the balance of male and female in Kabbalah and again in October with answers to her questions about the Witch Trial period. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 91.
262. In addition to John Score's inflamed reactions towards single-sex covens quoted earlier, see Doreen Valiente's recollections regarding the reaction of male Wiccans. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 183.
263. Blackwell, "Priest of Isis, Activist, Dancer and Muse," 17.
264. Howard, "Balance & Polarity," 5. Howard wrote these words after attending a conference on the theme of 'balance and polarity', titled

'The Re-emergence of the Goddess'. The conference, which took place at London's Kensington public library on April 21, 1979, was organized by Maureen Ballard, a key activist in the Fellowship of Isis and founder of Iseum of Athena. Geoffrey Ashe gave the keynote address, and Caitlin Matthews was among the presenters as well. Howard later noted regarding the seventy or so attendants: "it was obvious that some…were supporters of a totally matriarchal religious philosophy which excluded the male aspect of the Godhood." Ibid., 4–5; Matthews, *Sophia*, xi; "The Goddess Returns," 4.

265. Howard, "Woman's Magic," 7; Sjöö, "Woman Magic—Further Adventures," 5–6. See also "Goddess Painting Banned," 2. A short letter from John Score was found clipped to a *TW* issue, stored in MSP Archive. It stated that a notice of her exhibition was to appear in issue 65 of the magazine, and Score even asked her if she might consider repeating the exhibition in a more central location, such as Bristol. Sjöö, Letter to M., 25 September 1976.
266. Vincentelli, "Monica," 86; Sjöö, "Woman Magic," 5–6.
267. Howard, "Woman's Magic," 7.
268. Sjöö, "No Real Changes"; Sjöö, "Danish Wells and the Goddess," 4–10; Sjöö, "Discovering Sacred Places and Holy Wells," 6–11; Sjöö, "The Bleeding Yeh Mother and Pentre Ifan Cromlech," 6–8; Sjöö, "Some Thoughts about the New Age Movement," 2–6; Sjöö, "Women's Dream-Journeying Across Salisbury Plain Reclaiming Earth Our Mother From the Military," 5–8.
269. Llewellyn Williams, "Review," 23–24; "Book Reviews," 5–6; N.B., "Review," 15.
270. Personal correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, March 2014.
271. Rowan, "Penis, Power and Patriarchy," 9–11; Rowan, "The Horned God," 19–22. Originally published in *Against Patriarchy* 2/3 (1984).
272. O'Cleirigh, "Native Peoples, Womanspirit and Neopagans," 11–13; O'Cleirigh, "Letter," 8–9. Regarding his activity in the Regency, see John of Monmouth, *Genuine Witchcraft is Explained*, 130.
273. Rufus, "Letters," 10–11.
274. Pennick, "From Nigel Pennick," 9–10.
275. See the untitled editorial comment by Rufus Maychild in *The Pipes of PAN* 21 (Samhain 1985): 10–11.
276. See *The Pipes of PAN* 22 (Imbolc 1986): 1, 7–14.
277. A Pagan magazine that characterized itself then as a "feminist influenced, ecologically minded, Goddess centered magazine." Sjöö's piece, "No Real Changes" was featured in two parts in the Samhain 1981 and Beltane 1982 issues of the magazine.
278. "No Real Changes! Editorial Note," 22.
279. Howard, "The Ancient Religion of the Cosmic Mother of All," 8.

280. Quoted in White, *Monica Sjöö*, 123. They eventually met during the 1983 Green Gathering. Ibid., 151.
281. Ibid., 131–132.
282. B., "The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All," 3–4.
283. B., Letter to Paul, October 26 1983. Museum of Witchcraft Library/Pagan Federation Archive/Prudence's Correspondence.
284. N.B., "Review," 15; Babellon, "Tales from Anatolia," 13; "Events," *Pagan News* (September 1989), 3. *Pagan News* also published a two-page article on Sjöö which on an interview conducted with her by one of its correspondents. Seymour, "Spotlight," 4–5.
285. See, for instance, Pearson, *Wicca and the Christian Heritage*, 3; Gallagher, "Woven Apart and Weaving Together," 43–45; York, *The Emerging Network*, 121; Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 77. For Hutton, see *Triumph*, 361–367. As already mentioned above in the Introduction, Ronald Hutton's *The Triumph of the Moon* contains an entire chapter in which he summarizes the development of Paganism in the United States and claimed that American—and particularly feminist—ideas that reached Britain during the 1980s had a considerable influence on the development of British Paganism.

CHAPTER 6

Main British Wiccan Authors React to WLM and Feminist Witchcraft

Kennet Granholm calls for the investigation of occult currents as "complexes, i.e. the interplay of specific discourses in specific combinations that inform ritual practice, teachings, rhetoric, social organization, and so on".[1] The final chapters of this book will examine the interplay between the goal to revive pre-Christian religion and culture—the key discourse constituting Wicca and Contemporary Paganism—with the broader societal discourse of feminism, and will show how British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans engaged with feminist discourse during the 1970s–1980s.

There are several dangers and disadvantages in treating books written by renowned British Wiccans as sole representations of the debate on feminism and gender issues. While the information gleaned from these books can in some cases be augmented by oral history interviews and by surviving letters and journals, it must be remembered that some highly influential British Wiccans of the 1960s–1980s simply did not write books: The most striking case is that of Madge Worthington, who headed a coven on the outskirts of London and initiated many prominent Wiccans into what would later be dubbed as the Whitecroft Gardnerian tradition—so named after the road in Beckenham, Kent, where lived her high priest, the late Arthur Eaglen. Another pair of Wiccans who illustrate this point are Jean Williams and Zachary Cox—the leaders of the Bricket Wood coven.[2] Nevertheless, those Wiccan luminaries who *did* publish books—be it manuals or memoirs—during

S. Feraro, *Women and Gender Issues in British Paganism, 1945–1990*, Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-46695-4_6

the 1970s–1980s may provide the historian with windows to their outlooks on gender and feminist issues, and as their journals and personal correspondence are usually made available only to high ranking initiates, their published works usually serve as the only source available for the secular historian.

The Sanders During the 1970s

As Chapter 2 of this volume ended with the activities of Alex and Maxine Sanders during the 1960s, it seems only fitting to begin this chapter with an examination of their reactions to the Women's Liberation Movement during the 1970s. However, this is easier said than done, as Alex never became a published author. Maxine was the subject of two biographies during the 1970s and published her own memoir in 2008.[3] Due to their importance as founders of Alexandrian Wicca, this chapter cannot overlook them, even if the lack of available materials means that such treatment will be, sadly, brief. In my interview with Maxine Sanders, I asked her whether they knew any women from their Alexandrian covens who were also active in the Women's Liberation Movement. She answered

> Yes, absolutely, but they did not… made the mistake of making the comparison between Witchcraft and feminism because there was no comparison, non-whatsoever. When you are inside a Witchcraft circle you're very aware of the difference of the sexes and the fact that they are complementary… . We weren't… we didn't agree with feminism particularly because…emmm… we always felt that they did more harm to women's… ehhh… a woman's position in society, because it seemed to get rid of the respect women were held in, you know pregnant women were respected, nuns were respected, nurses were respected, and nowadays you have all this violence against, umm.. nuns and nurses etc. etc. probably due to women fighting for equality.
>
> …[Women's Liberation] isn't and wasn't part of our environment; we were very busy… we were getting on with our own stuff which is probably why we were so magnetic to these people – not only did we get, have feminists visiting us, wanting us, wanting to see actually how… because we were so in the press, we were a good – or they thought we were a good – bandwagon for them to jump on, were as an actual…nothing could have been farther from the truth.

> Alex and I were absolutely against it. We felt that they were going the wrong way about it and that the results were not going to be as they thought they were going to get…[4]

During the latter half of the 1970s, Maxine became aware of the existence of homosexual, as well as lesbian (Dianic) covens, of which she highly disapproved at the time, due to Wicca's emphasis on fertility.[5] In the interview I conducted with her Maxine recalled that

> We knew a lot of people, women, who were involved with the… inside Greenham Common and… well, active feminists, and we were very respectful, although we didn't need or particularly agree with the basis of feminism, because the Craft… ehhh, a lot of people were under the impression that we were pro-feminist because we seemed to be a Goddess-oriented religion. In actual fact we weren't, and a lot of people made the mistake thinking we are. Ehh… basically we see the God in every male we…ehh… have contact with and vice versa. So we don't believe in the equality of the s…of the power of the sexes, you know? Respect the opposite sex – yes. But our role are quite different and complementary. So whilst we were respectful of the women who worked at Greenham Common, wonderful women they were, and many Witches were part of t… that group, emm… but they weren't using their Craft, they weren't using Witchcraft, but laity got, for instance Dianic Witchcraft, which was probably necessary, but Alex and I always used to laugh at it and say, well, it was more like a counselling group than a group working Witchcraft and magic.[6]

The Sanders' marriage broke down between 1972 and 1973, but they still maintained a close friendship. While Maxine Sanders continued to run a coven from their London basement flat at Bayswater until the late 1970s (renaming it Temple of the Mother), Alex moved to a house the couple owned in the village of Selmeston, Sussex, and in 1975 relocated to the nearby town of Bexhill. He continued to train and initiate individuals into his version of Wicca, but in hindsight it is now clear that "by retiring from London Alex had chosen also to walk out of the blaze of public attention which he had occupied for eight years".[7] Effectively, writes Ronald Hutton, Sanders had "lost his voice, for he had never been confident enough to publish his own words and had depended largely upon journalists and followers to promote him".[8] Sanders died in 1988.

Stewart and Janet Farrar

At this point, the focus will be dedicated to two of the Sanders' most famous—and prolific—students: Stewart and Janet Farrar. Stewart Farrar (1916–2000) has been described recently as "the third and last of the great male figures who have formed Wicca".[9] Born in Highams Park, Essex (today part of Greater London) to Christian Scientist parents, Farrar himself grew up to become an agnostic, and his interest in spirituality was rekindled during the 1960s.[10] During the 1950s and 1960, Farrar maintained a thriving career as a journalist for media companies such as Reuters and London's *Reveille* magazine and wrote radio and television screenplays (in 1968 he won the Writer's Guild award for one of his radio screenplays) as well as novels. As mentioned above it was in his capacity as a *Reveille* journalist that he met Alex and Maxine Sanders during late 1969, at the age of 53.[11] On February 21, 1970, Farrar was initiated into Wicca by Maxine. Soon afterward, Janet Owen (b. 1950) joined the Sanders' coven following a visit with a friend who read June Jones' *King of the Witches* and wanted to meet Alex Sanders. Owen began to attend the Sanders' biweekly classes and met Stewart Farrar, who was already a member of the coven.[12] The two quickly became a couple and received their second-degree initiation on October 17, 1970. Two months later they founded their own coven with two other new initiates, and on April 24, 1971 they received their third-degree initiation from the Sanders.[13] The couple underwent a Wiccan wedding ceremony—or 'Handfasting'—on January 1974 and were legally married a year and a half later. In April 1976 the Farrars relocated to County Wexford, Ireland, where they set up a new coven. By the mid-1970s, they no longer considered themselves to be Alexandrians and began to develop their own particular way of coven work.[14] This "third distinctive form of British Wicca", which was termed by them as 'reformed Alexandrian', "became especially well known to the public because they embodied it in a series of books, which for the first time laid out for all readers a complete Wiccan liturgy and set of religious and magical resources, for all occasions".[15]

Stewart Farrar—who kept a daily diary until the age of 19—resumed his daily writing only in 1979 (save for a short interval during the summers of 1959 and 1960). He furthermore recorded every coven meeting from the Farrars' first group in London through to their Irish one until his death in 2000, and kept an archive of the various correspondences

between the couple and many notable Wiccans and rituals magicians of the day.[16] While these materials were not available for me during the course of writing this book, I hope to be granted a privilege of examining at least some of them in the future. The Farrars' take on the Women's Liberation Movement during the first decade of its existence, or their reaction to the first rumors of lesbian 'Dianic' covens in the States, can therefore only be gleaned from the books they co-authored during 1980s, as well as from my interview with Janet Farrar.

When I asked Janet about the couple's take on radical feminism during the 1970s and into the 1980s, she replied: "It wasn't something that really crossed our path, to be honest. Ummm… I've always been a feminist, but, you know, most of the women who were radical feminists they didn't want to know just 'a feminist', you had to be a radical feminist or not at all".[17] Farrar's concept of feminism was the liberal, equal-rights feminism, and not the radical feminism of Daly, Brownmiller, nor Sheila Jeffreys' Revolutionary Feminism. In 1984 and 1987, the Farrars described the feminist movement as covering "a wide spectrum… from constructive to unreasonable", and blamed "the extreme radical feminist wing, the 'misandrites' [sic] or man-haters, mirror-opposites of the misogynists" for 'virtually destroying' the American feminist movement and for causing "the loss of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1982". Militant separatists, in the eyes of the Farrars, "strive[d] to replace the male Ego-Empire with a female Ego-Empire… [i]nstead of aiming at a creative balance which would liberate women *and* [sic] men", and "succeed[ed] in creating a false public image of the whole movement".[18] Wicca, they maintained, was about 'equality feminism' (also referred to as liberal feminism).[19]

In their notes to the fourth impression of *The Witches' Way*—which were written in 1986—the Farrars saw fit to state that the language of the Charge of the Goddess, which they included in the second appendix to their book, reflected the days which preceded "the current (and justified) sensitivity about the patriarchal slant of the English language, and uses the words 'man' and 'men' to include men and women". While they chose to leave the original wording in the 1986 edition of the book as well, they emphasized that "our practice is to amend the Charge in places to correct this… . For example, we say 'heart of mankind' instead of 'heart of man', which some may not feel *radical enough*" [my emphasis].[20] Indeed, while terms such as 'patriarchal thinking' did feature in *The Witches Goddess* (published a year later in 1987) the book seems to

have been affected most not by the second-wave radical and cultural feminisms which were so instrumental to the development of Feminist Spirituality, but by another, separate line of thought which influenced many Goddess Feminists and certain British Wiccans: the writings of Carl Jung (1875–1961) and of two of his most known students—Erich Neumann (1905–1960) and Esther Harding (1888–1971). The book's epigraph contained a quote from Newman on the feminine archetype, and references to his work can be found throughout the book.[21] Newman's analysis of the Bright and Dark Mother served as a basis for a chapter the Farrars dedicated to the subject.[22] It might also be of interest to note that the Farrars were familiar with James Lovelock's (b. 1919) Gaia Hypothesis,[23] but seem to have been unaware of Merchant's *The Death of Nature*, which was influenced by the Lovelock's hypothesis and—as we have seen earlier—was popular among Goddess Feminists and Dianic Witches in the States.

In part, this seems to have been the product of the Farrars' isolation. After their relocation to the Irish countryside in 1976, the Farrars—whose house had no telephone at the time—had relatively little contact with British Wiccans, save for their subscription to *The Wiccan* and their prolonged and fruitful correspondence with Doreen Valiente: "Doreen was one of our sources of information. She'd write and have a good old moan if she didn't approve of something that was happening in Britain. And half of the time we had no ideas who the hell she was even talking about".[24] Things began to change somewhat after *Eight Sabbaths for Witches* was published in 1981, and the Farrars began to receive many letters from Witches overseas, Britain included. These letters mostly complimented the book, etc., "but there wasn't an awful lot of discussion about the Craft as such".[25] With no telephone and sometimes—during postal strikes—even without mail, the Farrars "had no access to English newspapers, English television, English radio, so anything they've might reported – the Irish newspapers would not have even bothered with it, let alone, I mean, we only had at that stage one television station". Therefore, they "didn't even know Greenham was happening", and first learnt of its existence only years later.[26]

The Farrars did, however, read Margot Adler's 1981 edition *Drawing Down the Moon*, learnt from it of the feminist influences on American Wiccans and Pagans, and even corresponded with her in 1982.[27] In their introduction to original 1981 version of *Eight Sabbats for Witches*, the Farrars listed Dianic Witches among a variety of "schools of thought"

that make up modern Witchcraft.[28] This could be interpreted as recognition of Dianics as a legitimate faction in the Wiccan scenery. Indeed, it is important to note that while in stating in *The Witches Goddess* (1987) that "[i]n religious terms, to honour the Goddess alone is a step backwards in human development" the Farrars were by definition voicing a certain discontent with Dianic Witches and Goddess Feminists, they also conceded that "at least she is rooted in reality, in life-creating instinct and in the fruitful Earth. …[while] to honour the God alone is to cut one's roots off from the source of life, and to value categories and abstractions above the realities which they represent".[29] That same year, the Farrars even included Budapest's *The Feminist Book of Lights and Shadows* in the bibliography of *The Life and Times of a Modern Witch*.[30] Indeed, as early as in their *The Witches' Way* (1984) the couple noted that "[a]ll-woman covens… can work, the cyclic natures of the members providing the necessary creative polarity". All-male covens, however, were viewed as "a mistake" by the Farrars, who suggested that men interested in working together should stick to ritual magic of the Golden Dawn variety.[31] Stewart Farrar's biography maintains that the Farrars became "the first publically practicing witches to openly suggest in their books that there was nothing wrong with accepting gay members into covens at a time when homosexuals were still not accepted into covens in the UK".[32] This, however, as discussed in *The Witches' Way*, was providing the latter were "prepared and able to assume the role of their actual gender while in a Wiccan context, and when their personalities have been harmonious with the rest" of the Farrars' coven. Personally, they felt "out of tune with the whole idea of a 'gay' coven, and…very ill at ease if we were guests at one, however much we liked the people involved".[33] Aside for their views on homosexual covens, however, Janet Farrar stressed in 1990 that "Witches who are afraid of people who are Gay are afraid of their own sexuality".[34]

According to Janet Farrar, she and Stewart were already "using a lot of information out of [Starhawk's] *The Spiral Dance*" during the writing process of *Eight Sabbaths for Witches*, which they published in 1981.[35] The Farrars first heard of the book via the Atlantis Bookshop, who—as their main suppliers of Pagan and occult volume—were asked by the couple to notify them of new relevant books as they arrived. Janet Farrar recalled that "we literally had them sent it [*The Spiral Dance*] in the post, and we started reading it, and a lot of her ideas were very impressive".[36] As already mentioned above (in Chapter 3 on this volume), the Farrars

hosted Starhawk and a group of American feminist Witches for dinner in their Georgian home near Dublin during the latter's tour of Ireland in September 1982. According to Janet Farrar, Starhawk wrote to them via Robert Hale Ltd., the publisher of *Eight Sabbats for Witches*, who forwarded her letter to them.[37] This was their first meeting with Starhawk, who was very tired and exhausted as the event took place toward the end of the tour: "she spent most of the time sitting in a chair drinking wine, and just chilling – which was exactly what she needed – while all the rest of her coven were bouncing around all over the place".[38] For this reason, the Farrars and Starhawk didn't really have the chance to discuss her writings, feminist ideology or Paganism in general during that night.[39] The Farrars, for their part, included Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* in the bibliography section of the revised 1983 edition of *What Witches Do*.[40] In *The Witches' Way* (1984), they quoted from *Dreaming the Dark* in the context of the patriarchal separation of body and spirit and also noted her "vital distinction between 'power-over' and 'power-from-within'".[41] They recommended *The Spiral Dance* and *Dreaming the Dark* to their readers of as "an intelligent and articulate exposition of the spontaneous (one might almost say Charismatic) end of the Wiccan spectrum", while noting that "[s]ome of the things she and her friends get up to would make a traditionalist's (with a small 't') hair stand on end; but they are a healthy corrective to over-formalism".[42]

Merlin Stone's *When God Was a Woman*—published in the UK as *The Paradise Papers*—served as another important source of influence on the Farrars, who termed it "perhaps the best recent work on …[the] historical development" from matriarchy into patriarchy.[43] Indeed, when Janet Farrar reviewed Stone's second book—*Ancient Mirrors of Womanhood*—for *The Cauldron* during the summer of 1980 she described *The Paradise Papers* as "largely responsible for the revival of feminist oriented paganism". Farrar then hailed *Ancient Mirrors of Womanhood* for "providing a very refreshing, alternative view of women… a major reclamation of women's heritage" in its presentation of "images of women who, unlike the females in Mills & Boon trash novels, are not animated Barbie dolls for men to play with but strong, wise, courageous individuals in their own right".[44]

Influenced by Stone, as well as by writers such as Newman and Harding, the Farrars concluded that "[e]arly human society was inevitably matrilinear, … [while t]here is still argument about whether it was almost universally matriarchal". They therefore concluded that

"[t]he first deity mankind conceived… was the Earth Mother… [while] a male deity was a later development… first as Son/Lover and later also as Father".[45]

They emphasized the Goddess' place as "ever-present" in the world—changing "her aspect (both in her fecundity cycle as the Earth Mother and in her lunar phases as the Queen of Heaven)"—as opposed to the God, who, "in both concepts, dies and is reborn".[46] The Goddess, the Farrars explained, "does not *undergo* the experiences so much as *preside* over them [sic]".[47] Elsewhere they supplemented this by stating that the Goddess, "[i]n fact,… never changes – she merely presents different faces".[48] Drawing on Graves' *The White Goddess* and on the writings of Doreen Valiente,[49] the Farrars added another level to the Wiccan concept of the Horned God in the form of two complementary twin deities—the God of the Waxing year, referred to as the Oak King, and the God of Waning year, or Holly King, each slaying the other and rules in turn at the summer and winter solstices. According to Janet Farrar, the rituals featuring the Oak King and Holly King "were not part of Craft Ritual, or to be found in *The Book of Shadows* until… [Stewart Farrar] researched them and put them in".[50] Described using multiple 'male appropriate' terms, Oak and Holly eternally 'conquer' and 'surrender' each other, 'fall' and 'ousted' by one another, and "*compete*… for the favor of the favor of the Great Mother [my emphasis]".[51] Elsewhere they added that "[i]t is the role of the Sacred King to bow to the Goddess-Queen".[52]

The Farrars addressed the issue of coven gender relations as early as 1981. They described the position of the high priestess as "first among equals", the leader of the coven, complemented by a high priest who acts rather like a Prince Consort of a reigning Queen.[53] In 1984 they added that while "[l]eadership is required from him, too, in his own way… [, t]he one thing he should not do is to assume the primacy himself. … However much drive and enthusiasm a High Priest has, he *must* [sic] channel it through the leadership of his High Priestess".[54] In 1987 the Farrars described the position of high priestess as "only a first among equals", but stressed that a degree of deference was due to the coven's high priestess (or to another female Witch who functioned as such during a ritual) even after the circle has been 'banished', as one who had just channeled the Goddess. They suggested that the high priestess "can be given till next morning to become 'merely' human again – if any woman is ever 'merely' that".[55] Indeed, in *The Witches' Way* (1984), the Farrars

stressed that while a coven's high priestess "should not be an autocratic tyrant", she "should be the unquestioned leader of the coven – and within the Circle, absolutely; if anyone has honest doubts about her rulings, the question may be calmly raised *after* [sic] the Circle has been banished".[56]

This matriarchal emphasis, explained the Farrars, was the result of two basic reasons: One was the need to rediscover and reestablish the female aspect in relation to the divine and to human existence. The Farrars, who subscribed most avidly to Merlin Stone's depiction of peaceful yet sophisticated prehistoric matrilineal and mostly matriarchal Goddess societies, as well as their eventual destruction by the patriarchal Indo-Europeans, used her analysis in order to provide their own interpretation, which would not have sat well with the Dianics or Goddess Feminists. They viewed this process as "a necessary, if bloody tragic, stage in mankind's evolution", which led to an abandonment of the Goddess 'gifts of the unconscious mind' in favor of a development of the conscious mind, supposedly reaching its peak during the latter half of the twentieth century. "Our next evolutionary task", wrote the Farrars, "is to revive the gift of the Goddess at full strength".[57] Six years later, their stressed this even further when they wrote that "at the tail end of the patriarchal epoch", female aspects "may have to be over-emphasised [sic], even exaggerated, in order to overcome the inertia of the status quo".[58]

This 'historical' reason for the special position enjoyed by the coven's high priestess vis-à-vis her high priest was bolstered by another, more important and 'timeless' one, as according to the Farrars "Wicca, by its very nature, is concerned especially with the development and use of 'the gift of the Goddess' – the psychic and intuitive faculties – and to a rather lesser degree with 'the gift of the God' – the linear-logical, conscious faculties. … *on the whole* [sic], woman has a flying start with the gift of the Goddess".[59] Six years later they strengthened their earlier writing on the subject by noting that as Wicca is primarily concerned with the honing of psychic and intuitive faculties, which "are by definition fields of feminine emphasis", Wiccan ritual activity is one women are "naturally [more] equipped to lead".[60] The Farrars furthermore built on Gardner's and Crowther's insistence (as presented above in Chapter 2 of this book) that a woman may impersonate either the Goddess or God (while a man can only impersonate the God) and if necessary assume a male role by buckling a sword, and urged their readers to "remember Carl Jung's dictum: 'A woman can identify directly with the Earth Mother, but a man cannot (except in psychotic cases).'"[61]

At the same time, though, they took care to stress Wicca's emphasis on balanced polarity "between the male aspect (energy, fertilization, rationality, linearity) and the female aspect (form-giving, nourishment, intuition, cyclicality)", and noted that "[w]ithout the energizing support of the Gifts of the God, even the most talented and purposeful High Priestess cannot function".[62] For the Farrars, "the male nature is [typically] analytical, with concentrated awareness. The female nature is synthesizing, with diffuse awareness. He is linear… she is cyclic… He takes things to pieces to see what they are made of; she puts things them together to see how they relate. The two functions need each other. Left to themselves, his concentrated awareness can become tunnel vision, and her diffuse awareness can become disorientation".[63] So, while the Farrars shared with Dianics and Goddess Feminists the cultural proposition regarding men's linear thinking, they differed immensely in the conclusions they derived: While Budapest, Freer, and Sjöö objected to working with men on that ground, the Farrars made it precisely the reason why ritual gender polarity must be adhered to. Stemming from this emphasis on gender balance, the Farrars included in *The Witches' Way* a 'Drawing Down the Sun' ritual (in which the high priestess invokes the God aspect into the high priest), which was devised by Stewart in order to balance the Wiccan 'Drawing Down the Moon' ritual, so central to Wiccan liturgy.[64] Furthermore, when discussing the strict adherence to gender polarity in Wiccan initiation, the Farrars maintained that an "exception [to this rule] is that a woman may initiate her daughter, or a man his son, 'because they are part of themselves'".[65] This is while other Wiccan authors—as will be seen below—accorded this ability to women alone.

Their allocation of 'form-giving' to the female aspect was probably influenced by Dion Fortune's writing on this matter in *The Mystical Qabalah*. The book—together Fortune's other esoteric novels and non-fiction volume—appears in *The Witches' Way*'s bibliography section and is relied upon—in tandem with *The Esoteric Philosophy of Love and Marriage*—for its depiction of the seven planes of existence and the bisexuality of the soul. The Farrars further noted Fortune's *The Sea Priestess* as "a goldmine of material for devised rituals".[66] Utilizing *The Sea Priestess*, the Farrars also concluded that "[t]he male tends to be positive on the physical and mental planes, and negative on the astral and spiritual planes".[67] Building on Shuttle and Redgrove's *The Wise Wound*—which they referred to as "that rare thing, a truly revolutionary

book", one "which should be compulsory reading for every witch and pagan", the Farrars—who dedicated over five pages to a discussion on this volume—concluded furthermore that menstruation supplies women with a deeper experience of life while concurrently making a woman "more vulnerable when she opens herself to these experiences". Men, therefore, "should be the guardian[s] and student[s]" of woman's psychic and intuitive abilities instead of being the "proud and envious aggressor[s]" they are under patriarchy.[68]

Following the couple's 1991 tour of the United States Stewart's views continued to evolve, as he "ceased to talk about 'A purely Wiccan movement', and now began to talk about it being a wider pagan movement"—a development clearly visibly in *The Pagan Path* (1995), a book co-authored with Janet Farrar and Gavin Bone (b. 1964).[69] Bone, who was initiated into a branch of Wicca in 1986, formed a creative partnership with the Farrars, and the trio entered a polyfidelitous relationship. In the year 2000, Stewart Farrar died following a brief illness. A year later Janet Farrar and Gavin Bone were handfasted and have continued to co-author books in which they advance a new construct in the Neopagan scene, titled Progressive Witchcraft.

Patricia Crowther

Turning our gaze back to the early 1970s, as the Farrars were taking their initial forays into Alexandrian Wicca Patricia Crowther was already a celebrated veteran high priestess. In the following section, I will analyze the development of her interpretations of Wiccan theology and her attitudes toward gender issues within the Craft between the late 1960s and late 1980s, as they appear in her writings. As shown in Chapter 2 of this book, Crowther enthusiastically embraced Wicca's matriarchal origins, set out by Gerald Gardner. In an interview conducted during the early 1990s, Crowther recalled how "[m]y life changed when I realized that the female is equally important as, if not more important than, the male of the species. The witches were pioneers, really, of women's liberation".[70] Crowther continued to head her Sheffield coven alongside her husband Arnold, who died in 1974. *Witch Blood!*, Her first autobiography, was published earlier that year. In this volume, Crowther tells the story of her initiation into Wicca by Gardner. She notes entering a "visionary state" during the ritual, in which

> I felt myself being lifted up in the air and found I was being carried above the heads of a group of naked females. Others formed a procession behind, while those in the lead carried flaming torches. They carried me along with them and entered a cave in a hillside. When they arrived at the main cavern, I was hurled through the air and landed on the sandy floor. Then the procession turned and marched out, leaving me in complete darkness.
>
> … the women had come back. They formed a large circle round me and began to chant. Several came towards me and stood in a line one behind the other. They put their hands on each other's shoulders and spread their legs apart. Two more women came forward; one stood by at the top of the line, while the other, who appeared to be the leader, bent down and whispered in my ear. She told me drag myself, the best way I could, through the avenue of legs. … All the time I was struggling through the archway of legs, the women kept on howling and screaming as they swayed to and fro. I has started at the end of the row, and as soon as I had passed the first woman, I was seized under the arms, by the leader and another, and lifted to my feet. Then, the leader cut the cords, with a knife, and released me. She dropped the knife on the ground and held up her breasts, while the other woman signed to me to kiss them. After this, I was sprinkled with water and told that I was now one of them.
>
> The leader took me aside and explained the meaning of the rite to me. I had been reborn into the priesthood of the Moon Mysteries. The cave represents the womb of Mother Earth, into which I had been cast so that I could be born again, after a period of time alone in darkness. The tunnel, formed by the women's legs represented the vagina, through which a newly born baby would pass. The screaming was that of the mother in labor. The leader had offered me her breasts to symbolise that she would suckle and protect me as she would her own children. The cutting of my bonds symbolised the cutting of the umbilical cord.[71]

Crowther then added that "[w]hen I told Gerald about my vision, he wasn't at all surprised. …'You must have gone way back into a previous life, long before men entered the craft, and taken part in an ancient initiation ceremony, which has long been forgotten'".[72]

This is a rather extraordinary description, which on the face it could be included the Second Chapter of this volume as evidence of Crowther's innovative ideas as early as 1960—the year of her initiation. Indeed, scholars of Feminist Spirituality would probably recognize the similarities between Crowther's Birth Canal experience and rituals that

would only be seen in the 1970s during the early days of the American Goddess Movement: Z Budapest utilized it in Dianic initiation ceremonies as late as 1976 (the year of her first publication—*The Feminist Book of Lights & Shadows*), and in 1975, the three members of the Ursa Major women's spirituality group (which existed between 1973 and 1977) used it in a large ritual which they held twice during that year.[73] The chances that Crowther herself knew about such American rituals by the time *Witch Blood* was published are extraordinarily slim, as *Womanspirit* magazine (the first publication women's spirituality) was barely established that same year. It would clearly not be unreasonable to assume that Patricia Crowther did indeed experienced her 'Birth Canal' vision during her 1960 initiation, but there is also a chance—which I believe to be just as plausible (if not more so)—that by 1974, as the Women's Liberation Movement was already well developed in the UK, Crowther was making the same connections that American Goddess women were making across the Atlantic and wanted to include these *new* insights in her autobiography.

When considering Crowther's narrative it must be noted that in her 1965 discussion with Doreen Valiente—chronicled in the latter's notebooks and presented in Chapter 2 of this book—Crowther maintained that the same old lady who gave her the phallic athame also "told her the true 'Goddess position' of the Priestess was as the Babylonian and Near-Eastern statues, of the naked Goddess upholding her breasts".[74] Even if we would assume that the person referred to by Crowther here actually existed, the encounter would have happened only after Crowther's 1960 initiation into Gardner's Wicca, which rites involved a different 'Goddess position' assumed by the high priestess. What seems certain is that Crowther did not inform Valiente of her 'birth canal' vision during their 1965 talk (While the story sounds too good not to mention, Valiente did not do so in her private account of their conversation), even though it could have served as a perfect reinforcement to her claims regarding the information she received.

In analyzing this matter one should also take into account the fact that *Witch Blood!* is known to contain other—even more glaring—inaccuracies. Indeed, Michael Howard has commented on what seemed to be "an astonishing claim" made by Crowther in the same autobiography—that she met Aleister Crowley on the same occasion that her husband, Arnold, and Gerald Gardner did in 1946.[75] As she stated herself

elsewhere that she only met Arnold in 1956,[76] this was obviously impossible. In 2002 Crowther stated in a correspondence with Ronald Hutton that *Witch Blood!* was in fact ghost-written by Arnold Crowther, who (with the support of the book's publisher, the American Leo Martello) insisted against her better judgment to include her in the story of his encounter with Crowley.[77] While Howard did not state it outright in his book, Crowther's 2002 statement still fails to take into account a piece she wrote for the November 1970 issue of *Prediction* magazine, titled "The Day I Met Aleister Crowley", or her letter to John Score from the sixth of October of that year, in which she repeated the story of her meeting with Crowley.[78] A possible explanation for this could be that Arnold Crowther prevailed upon his wife to inject herself into the story of his meeting with Crowley as early as 1970, but it would suffice to note here that other scenarios are possible as well.

As far as Crowther's 'Birth Canal' experience is concerned, several possibilities present themselves: According to the first, Crowther's story is one hundred percent accurate and proves that she was truly ahead of her time in this matter. In a second scenario, she developed this vision during the early 1970s independently and in quite the same fashion as American Goddess women did across the Atlantic, influenced by the WLM, and wished to include it in her back story in order to inspire women. According to a third option, this idea could have come from Arnold—in much the same way as the Crowley story did—in order to make the autobiography more interesting. And fourthly, there is the possibility that this might have been Leo Martello's idea, for the very same reasons. Indeed Martello's location in the United States made him far more likely than the Crowthers to encounter stories of 'birth canal' Dianic/Goddess rituals through the local Pagan grapevine. Personally, I would describe the second—and to a lesser degree the fourth and third—scenario to be more plausible than the first. Indeed, this would not have been the only alteration she made when describing her 1960 initiation in *Witch Blood!*: In his 2002 article, Hutton further presented Crowther's clarification regarding the inclusion of the Dryghten Prayer—a piece of Wiccan liturgy first composed during the mid-1960s—in the narrative of her 1960 initiation. According to Crowther, it was inserted in order to substitute the ritual purification, which itself "was covered by the Oath of Secrecy taken at Initiation".[79] It would not be unreasonable to assume, then, that the 'Birth Canal'

experience was simply another element interpolated by Crowther into the description of her initiation in order to both replace other, 'Oath bound' materials and to inspire would-be female Witches.

As part of my treatment of Crowther in this chapter, I have tried to uncover possible contacts she might have had with women active in Sheffield's WLM scene. This task has proved, for the moment, to be unanswerable, as I have failed to interview Ms. Crowther for my research. The materials which *were* available to me suggest that Crowther was definitely a known and recognizable figure in the Sheffield landscape. The Crowthers' handfasting ceremony—which was officiated by Gardner on November 8, 1960—was reported in "The 'Mirror', 'Express', 'Herald', 'Telegraph', 'Star' etc.", as well as in the local Sheffield Star and several "women's magazines and other journals". Shortly afterward Crowther appeared on Granada T.V.'s 'People and Places' program, which led to many other television appearances during the 1960s and early 1970s. According to Ashley Mortimer of the Center for Pagan Studies, Patricia Crowther "was quite a regular on BBC Radio Sheffield, [and]… was interviewed hundreds of times about Witchcraft, astrology, folklore and all sorts of things".[80] During 1971, the Crowthers produced half-dozen twenty-minute segments of 'A Spell of Witchcraft', which was broadcasted in BBC Radio Sheffield and provided an introduction into Wicca.[81] Numerous speaking engagements across the country also took place, and one of them—at Sheffield University—"drew a record attendance of over eight hundred students".[82] Crowther was therefore quite the local celebrity and was apparently recognized in the street by many residents of Sheffield.[83]

In much the same way that the Crowther name was one that Sheffield-based feminists were bound to have been familiar with, feminist activities in the city during the 1970s could not have been easily missed by Crowther as well. In July 1977 there were four different general WLM groups in Sheffield, meeting weekly in Crookesmoor, Broomhill, Hunters Bar and Nether Edge, as well as Women and Socialism, Women's Aid, Theater group and National Abortion Campaign (NAC) meetings.[84] NAC was a mixed-sex broad-based campaign formed in 1975, with the involvement of some WLM activists, and in 1978 the organization held a conference in Sheffield.[85] An article in *Spare Rib*'s 66th issue (January 1978) documented Sheffield's feminist scene: the city's women's center, feminist film co-op, discos, university, childbirth, and theater groups to name but a few, and radio programs on women's liberation for BBC

Radio Sheffield.[86] It is also worth noting that two WLM films were screened at the local Cineplex during October 12, 1979. A week later, the Yorkshire Regional Women's Liberation Conference was held in Sheffield and included a discussion workshop on Matriarchy.[87] The local scene continued to be lively during the early 1980s as well, with various groups, discos, and a 500-strong 'Reclaim the Night' march.[88]

Around early 1978, the Sheffield Matriarchy Study Group was formed, following a talk and slide show by Asphodel Long, who arrived from London.[89] Four women began to meet regularly and eight others joined them occasionally.[90] They too celebrated their own, Goddess-centered, festivals at the eightfold Pagan Wheel of the Year, and on some occasions visited the Barbrook stone circles in the nearby Peak District. Their activities were put on hiatus from October 1983 but resumed after the autumn equinox of 1984.[91] It would have been unlikely that the women of the Sheffield Matriarchy Study Group were unaware of Crowther's existence. Crowther, for her part, could not have missed the activities of local WLM activists in general, but this does not necessarily mean that she was aware of the town's small Matriarchy Study Group. It is therefore impossible for me to state at this point whether Crowther—or members of her coven—had made contact with this group, or with WLM activists more generally.

It is difficult to determine Crowther's attitudes to (and influence by) radical feminism simply by analyzing her published works. Her 1974 *Witch Blood!* does not contain any references to the Women's Liberation Movement or evidence for the influence of early radical feminist writings, but *Lid Off the Cauldron* (1981) does contain a few. Thus while describing a 'moon controlled' cycle which the world underwent between 1945 and 1981, Crowther presented the rise of Wicca and the birth of the Women's Liberation Movement as examples for the positive changes ushered in by this 'Aquarian Cycle', and wrote that 'equality for women' was a "cry…not before time!".[92] Elsewhere in the book, her claim that "[t]he male-dominated religion of Christianity, sterile, oppressive and guilt-ridden, had turned inward upon itself and the result was cruelty and sadism"[93] does remind us of the discourse promoted by Daly and other radical feminists. Crowther also maintained that "[i]t…appears that the male is the representation of the destructive qualities in Nature, while the female carries the qualities of creation – the precise aspects inherent in the ancient deities, the Horned God and the Great Goddess!".[94] Since *Lid Off the Cauldron*'s bibliography section

does not contain any feminist volumes, it is impossible to determine for now by what means did Crowther 'picked up' these views—reading one of Daly's books on the subject; exposure to the discourse through, say, newspaper articles on local radical feminists; or even through reading Monica' Sjöö's pamphlet, which was (as mentioned in Chapter 5) discussed in *The Wiccan*. In this vein, it is noteworthy that like Sjöö, in 1981 Crowther too readily adopted Michael Dames' analysis of Silbury Hill as a representation of the pregnant belly of the Great Goddess.[95] This was several years after *The Wiccan* carried an advertisement for guided tours to Silbury by Dames in promotion of his *The Silbury Treasure* (1976), as well as a suggestion by him to hold such tours especially for Wiccans.[96] All things considered, though, it seems that Crowther was not self-consciously a cultural feminist, but more likely—based on her support of the 'equality for women' call noted above—identified with a more liberal brand of feminism. For the most part, her relentless defense of Gardner's legacy[97] would have caused her to have major disagreements with Dianics and Goddess feminists on the subject of cosmological and coven-based gender polarity.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Crowther continued to maintain and defend her views on the matriarchal origins of Wicca, which she inherited (as shown in Chapter 2) at its core from Gardner. Thus in *Lid Off the Cauldron*, she wrote that in prehistoric matriarchal society "woman [was held] in high esteem, as the blessed life-giver and sustainer. In many ways she was regarded as the wiser. More sagacious of the sexes. She embodied all mystery and magic, and by giving her all allegiance, man sanctified and purified himself".[98] As an avid proponent of matriarchal prehistory and its implication for both Wiccan cosmology and coven leadership, Crowther was enraged in 1972 when John Score—editor of *The Wiccan*—suggested (as the next chapter will attest) that the male and female aspects of the divine—as well as in regard to coven leadership—should be considered as paired equals. In a letter to John Score, Doreen Valiente noted that Crowther informed her of her intention to write a piece for *The Wiccan* and "remind people that – in her opinion – the worship of the Goddess should be pre-eminent".[99] In late November, Crowther's letter was published in *The Wiccan*: "While acknowledging the principle of both male and female being recognized in Divinity…, it is nevertheless a matriarchal cult", restated Crowther, "with the Great Mother (the Goddess Triformis), paramount as the first principle behind the Universe! Thus the High Priestess as Her representative, leads the

Coven!".[100] She designated "the female, on the whole, [as] the wiser and more intuitive of the species" in much the same way as she would do in 1981 in *Lid off the Cauldron*, and repeated the claim she made in *The Witches Speak* in 1965 regarding men's 'infiltration' into the ranks of 'the Old Religion' occurring only at a later period.[101]

This, of course, affected Crowther's views regarding coven gender roles. In reply to a question which followed a talk she gave in Florida during late 1992, Crowther maintained the opinion—which she held since her 1960 initiation into Wicca—that only a female Witch could be allowed to erect the magical circle. The sole exception to this rule was if a high priest wished to found a new coven, and lacked a fellow initiated priestess. In this—and only this—case was he allowed in Crowther view to train a woman in the ways of Witchcraft and erect the circle by himself when the time came to initiate her into Wicca. Following this initiation, the priestess herself "will perform the function of erecting the Circle with her athame on *every* [sic] occasion".[102]

In summation, it seems that Patricia Crowther has supported the feminist movement during the 1970s and 1980s. This much can be judged both by statements she made in her printed works and by the inspiration she drew from cultural feminism—concurrently and in much the same way as other, American, Goddess Feminists—when she wrote of her 1960 initiation into Wicca. While Crowther was probably known to local feminists, and in all likelihood was aware of the city's WLM scene herself, she seems to have been more of a liberal feminist, and like Gardner was steadfast in her adherence to strict gender polarity. She therefore objected to the activities of Dianic and Goddess separatists.

Lois Bourne

Lois Bourne, another high priestess trained by Gardner, continued during the late 1970s to voice her support (already mentioned in Chapter 2) for the witch cult's supposed matriarchal origins, which she explained stemmed from men's ignorance of their role in conception in primordial times.[103] Her references to the Neolithic site at Çatal Hüyük and to the ancient pagans who tried to defend themselves and their religion "against the onslaught of the patriarchal invaders"[104] brings to mind Marija Gimbutas' (1921–1994) Kurgan hypothesis, which was readily adopted by Goddess Feminists in North America and Britain. Bourne might have read of Çatal Hüyük in Barbara G. Walker's *Women's*

Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets (1983)—a seminal tome among American Goddess Feminists, which featured in the bibliography of her 1989 *Conversations with a Witch*.[105]

Like Crowther, Bourne seems to have been effected by radical feminist discourse to a certain degree. Similarly to Mary Daly's *Gyn/Ecology*, in the late 1980s Bourne utilized Ehrenreich and English's 1974 *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers*, which aimed to contextualize the Witch Hunt period as part of a struggle between rural female healers and the rising male medical profession.[106] Bourne seems to have adopted Rich's and Griffin's cultural feminist discourse when she stated that "[t]he Goddess is the Earth; she is the mother who nurtures us and brings forth life… .she is the life of trees and plants, of grain and herbs… She is the air and the sky and the elements… . She is nemoral, the essence of life and the mystery of waters… the bounty of Nature".[107] Contrary to the warlike culture of the Abrahamic faiths, wrote Bourne, in the eyes of "[t]he Mother… everything that lives and breathes and has its being is all part of the great nurturing at her bountiful breast".[108]

While I have not managed to locate a reference made by Bourne during the 1970s and 1980s to Dianic Witches, it should be noted that as late as 1998 Bourne claimed that she had "never met or recognized any homosexual witches by the particular aura possessed by all witches which allows them to identify each other", and added that Gardner's objection to the participation of homosexuals in the Craft as anathema "was probably correct".[109] As we shall further see below, this reflected the views of many veteran Gardnerian during the 1970s–1980s.

Doreen Valiente

No discussion of veteran first-generation Wiccans, of course, would be complete without Doreen Valiente. Born in Mitcham, Surrey on January 4, 1922, to Harry and Edith, Doreen Edith Dominy became interested in mystical phenomena as a small child—an interest which led her devout Christian parents to send her to a convent school. Doreen "hated the school and by the age of 15 had vowed never to return".[110] Several years later, during World War II, she divided her time between Bletchley Park and Barry, Wales, as part of the war effort. It was in Barry that she met her first husband, the 32 years old Joanis Vlachopoulos, who served as a seaman in the Merchant Navy. The couple married in south Wales on

January 31, 1941, but six months later Joanis went missing and was presumed dead. Sometime later Doreen had met Casimiro Valiente, a Spaniard convalescing in London, and married for a second time on May 29, 1944. Following the war, the couple lived in the Bournemouth area, and it was there that Doreen first read John Symonds biography of Aleister Crowley—*The Great Beast* (1952).[111]

According to Jonathan Tapsell—one of Valiente's biographers—her private notebooks from this period show her contemporary interest in the rituals of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, and Valiente herself later recalled having "had some experience of Spiritualism and Theosophy" during the preceding period.[112] In 1952 Valiente began to correspond with Gerald Gardner and was eventually initiated by him to Wicca. Reflecting back on her first contact with Wicca in 1950s Britain, Valiente would later write that "[w]omen were supposed to be sweet, submissive and generally subservient to their male lords and masters – and to like it that way. …Now [i.e. following Gardner's press interviews regarding Wicca] suddenly we were hearing about a pagan cult which had priestesses!".[113] The crucial part Valiente played in the formation of Wiccan liturgy during the 1950s and 1960s—which has already been surveyed in Chapter 2 of this book—earned her "the title of mother of modern pagan witchcraft", according to Ronald Hutton.[114] The following pages will be dedicated to analyzing the development of her tought throughout the 1970s and 1980s, set against the background of the rise of radical and cultural feminisms and of Dianic and feminist forms of Wicca.

Valiente's first major relevant publication to appear in this period was her 1973 *An ABC of Witchcraft: Past and Present*, which included over 125 alphabetically arranged entries on the subject. One of these was a five-page long treatment of contemporary witchcraft and Wicca in the United States. While rich in detail, Valiente's description of the American witchcraft scene did not included any references to Dianic Wicca or Goddess Spirituality, which were beginning to bud across North America.[115] This is understandable, since *An ABC of Witchcraft* was sent to the printers by October 1971, when Budapest's original coven was barely up and running.[116]

Building on her reference to the Witches' deities in her 1962 *Where Witchcraft Lives*, in *An ABC of Witchcraft* Valiente located the origins of Witchcraft in "the old forgotten days of the primeval matriarchy, when woman who tended the hearth-fire and stirred the cooking-pot was the

first 'wise one'… . Witches were the descendants of the Wild Women who had sacrificed the Divine King, when his term of office was fulfilled, so that his blood might fertilize the land. Their magic was both dark and bright, like the Moon Goddess they served".[117] In some ways, this storyline was already a departure from Gardner's narrative, which—at least in his published works—did not included the sacrificial king troupe. Valiente then began to describe the process of the move toward patriarchy:

> …the time came when the masculine idea and the male gods began to rise and challenge the supremacy of the Goddess Mother of Nature. Kings began to insist on ruling in their own right, instead of by favour of the goddess; nor would they accept a sacrificial death. Descent began to be traced through the father… . …war and conquest were glorified. Laws and customs that tended to repress the dangerous powers of the feminine side of things came into existence. Men took over the chief places of the priesthood, and organized religions that exalted the male side of deity.[118]

While in 1964 Valiente spoke of society's "deep need to recognize and worship the feminine side of Deity, which orthodox religion has failed to satisfy", by 1973 her tone intensified as she wrote that "Witches reject the masculine, patriarchal concept of God, in favour of older ideas. … [and] conceive of divinity as being both masculine and feminine".[119] Utilizing Gardner's earlier portrayal of the Horned God, Valiente labeled him as "opener of the Gates of Life and Death". She also described him as "the masculine, active side of Nature, as the Moon Goddess represents the feminine side".[120] Attention should be drawn to the fact that here Valiente took care not to describe the Moon Goddess as 'passive'—the opposite word for the Horned God's 'active' nature—though elsewhere in the book she did describe "the universal interplay of positive and negative [forces of the]… god and goddess".[121] Valiente also repeated Gardner's insistence on gender polarity in rites of initiation (though presenting it in a mellower tone as a "general belief [among Witches]"), except in cases "when a witch initiates his or her own children".[122]

By the mid-1950s Valiente and her husband had moved to Brighton, settling first in Lewes Crescents at the city's eastern section, before moving closer to the city center, at 8A Sillwood Place, where they lived until Casimiro's death in April 1972.[123] During the early 1970s, she

regularly frequented the Unicorn Bookshop in Gloucester St. in search of esoteric publications.[124] As we shall see below, it was through similar alternative bookshops that Valiente could have engaged with feminists and matriarchy activists. What is clear is that by the time the Unicorn Bookshop closed down in 1974 Valiente was already a WLM supporter. In a letter to Edward Budden, a local National Front activist, dated October 12, 1974, Valiente expressed her support for free contraceptives and abortions and described Women's liberation as one of several contemporary "important social advances".[125]

A snapshot description of Brighton's WLM scene during January 1977 described a combined group from all Brighton—with 200 women subscribing to its newsletter—which organized outreach activities in order to spread the feminist message to the local population. There was also a Women's Refuge center; a Women's Rights Action Group; groups for Women and Science, Women and Health, CR, Women's Studies; a lesbian group and a Women's Center.[126] It seems unlikely that Valiente would have been unaware of feminist activities in town at this stage. In fact, Valiente never even had to head far in searching the feminists out, as their literature was available at certain local alternative bookshops she frequented. The information sheet which was produced by the London Matriarchal Study Group during the autumn of 1978—and referenced in Chapter 3 of this book—noted that the group corresponded with the owners of the Solstice Bookshop.[127] The bookshop was located on 28 Trafalgar Street, an 18-minute walk from Doreen Valiente's flat on Tyson Place, Grosvenor Street, to which she moved after the death of her second husband.[128] Solstice Bookshop operated between 1977 and 1982, "had a fairly lively section on paganism, old religions and stocked Doreen's books". According to one of the shop's owners, Valiente "was a regular customer at the shop and would pop into see what we had coming in from time to time".[129] The bookshop "had a 'strong' feminist section, both non-fiction and fiction, carrying many Women's Press… and Virago titles", as well as feminist books by Penguin. According to its co-owner, Paul Bonett, it "also had a selection of books on 'earth mother' re-awakening authors, and on moon goddess ideas, much of it linked to Jungian principles".[130]

In early 1978 Valiente published another book, titled *Witchcraft for Tomorrow*, which she wrote during 1975–1976.[131] In this volume, Valiente criticized contemporary religions in both East and West for their

"puritanism and *anti-feminism* [my emphasis]", and added elsewhere that "the subjugation of woman, the dangerous temptress, has been built into most of the world religions of our day".[132] Crowley's statements in *Liber Aleph* regarding women's limited magical abilities earned him the title of "male chauvinist pig" in Valiente's book, who suggested "the possible origin of male chauvinist piggery is 'vagina-envy'".[133]

In *Witchcraft for Tomorrow*, Valiente repeated her earlier claims regarding matriarchy, stating that "[o]nce upon a time matriarchy, not patriarchy, was the ruling custom of society; descent was traced, not through the father, but through the mother. Religious authority was held not by a high priest, but a high priestess".[134] While she understood that matriarchy is a thing of the past, by the late 1980s she did suggest—in a manner not unlike that of the kind of cultural feminism surveyed in this book—that "women can show the world a set of values different from those we have today".[135] It should also be noted, however, that *Witchcraft for Tomorrow* also contained a reference to "the horned god and his consort, the goddess of the moon" as presumed deities of the ancient the witches of old.[136] This reference to the Witches' Goddess as the consort of the Horned God was unique among Wiccans and feminist Witches, who kept to a description which would insure the primacy of the Goddess and relegate the Horned God to the position of *her* consort. This might not be so surprising when considering Valiente's "kind of personal devotion to Old Hornie",[137] but it was probably an anomaly, since in her preface to Evan Jones' *Witchcraft: A Tradition Renewed* she described this deity as the "son and consort" of the primeval Mother Goddess.[138]

According to Valiente, she had always considered herself "to be an upholder of women's rights; but it took a contemporary feminist book, Robin Morgan's *Going Too Far* [1977], suddenly to hit me with the truth of what she was saying; namely, that women have no names… . We have status only as the appendage of some man".[139] Valiente mentioned buying the book in a letter to Monica Sjöö in May 1986.[140] Her first public reference to Morgan's *Going Too Far* can be found in her preface to the 1986 edition of *An ABC of Witchcraft*. There she highlighted the book's description of W.I.T.C.H., and wrote of the pride felt when she read in it that Morgan's speech for the 1500-strong 1973 West Coast lesbian feminists' conference ended with a reading from *The Charge of the Goddess*.[141] That being said, I feel that what Valiente

omitted from her discussion of *Going Too Far* deserves some attention as well. When she mentioned the activities of W.I.T.C.H., for instance, Valiente chose to present her readers with the phrase 'Women Inspired to Commit Herstory' as one of the acronym's meanings, instead of the original—and far for militant—one: the 'Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell'. Furthermore, while through reading *Going Too Far* Valiente could not have missed the reference to the venue of Morgan's 1973 speech as the West Coast lesbian feminists' conference, in her description of it the lesbian element of the conference's title was omitted.[142] It is unclear whether Valiente decided on said omissions due to her own personal views on the matter of lesbianism and the original WITCH acronym, or because she felt that the mention of radical feminism and all-female feminist covens would have been radical enough for her readership. Indeed, writing in 1988 she recalled how "when stories of all-women covens started to filter through from the USA [during the 1970s], the reaction of male witches in Britain (and I quote one of them), [was] 'We don't want to have anything to do with them. They're a load of lesbians'". She also added that an acceptance of the legitimacy of single-sex covens was among the subjects which would "sound like rank heresy to some witches of the older generation".[143] Only in *The Rebirth of Witchcraft* (1989) did Valiente write that she had come to question Gardner's insistence on gender polarity within covens and his objection to homosexuality in the Craft, stating: "Why should people be 'abhorrent to the Goddess' for being born the way they are?".[144]

In her preface for the 1986 edition of *An ABC of Witchcraft*, Valiente surveyed the developments in "the world of witchcraft" since the book's 1973 debut and described the rise of American feminist Witchcraft as "[p]erhaps [one of] the most notable changes [that] have taken place" within the movement: "All-female feminist-oriented covens", wrote Valiente, "are now appearing in increasing numbers".[145] Valiente reiterated this claim in a 1988 interview with Kevin Carlyon (which was included in his 1989 film 'Earth Magic') in which she maintained that "We are seeing a much greater development of….what I call in my book 'feminist witchcraft'. That is to say that women are taking much more of a leading role in the Craft than they did before, and I think this is a good thing… because probably, this is really going back to the original roots of the Craft. …the occult world has an awful lot of male gurus… but now women are really coming into their own".[146] She repeated

this stance in her semi-autobiography, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft* (written in 1988[147] and published the following year) when she wrote that "it seems… that the feminist movement as it has begun to move into the world of the occult may well be the manifestation of… [the next] impulse [from the Inner Planes]" that occultists have been waiting for.[148] Valiente was particularly attracted to feminist Witchcraft's "concept of powerful women, women who have power in themselves" instead of imitating men, and are thus "manifest[ing] their femininity fully".[149] Applying a retrospective look back into the days of Gerald Gardner, Valiente stated that "in spite of the fact that modern witchcraft has priestesses, in fact they started off playing the role that men such as Gerald Gardner designed for them. We were allowed to call ourselves High Priestesses, Witch Queens, and similar fancy titles; but we were still in the position of having men running things and women doing as men directed".[150] Writing in a similar vain to Monica Sjöö in October 1989, Valiente stated that *The Rebirth of Witchcraft* "brings the old witchcraft forward into the New Age by putting the Priestess in charge of the coven – really, not just in name, as Gerald's version did".[151]

During the course of the 1980s, Valiente was exposed to a variety of American and home-grown literature on Goddess Feminism and Dianic or feminist Witchcraft. In her preface for the 1986 edition of *An ABC of Witchcraft*, Valiente praised Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* and wrote that it "constitutes in effect a new Book of Shadows and one of real literary merit".[152] She repeated this claim in *The Rebirth of Witchcraft* (1989) and added that she "had the great pleasure of meeting Starhawk recently, on one of her trips to Britain".[153] Valiente was furthermore highly impressed by "an amazing passage in Starhawk's" *Dreaming the Dark* which described the 1981 demonstration and arrests at the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant.[154] By that time she had also read the 1986 edition of Z Budapest's *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries* and dedicated an entire page of *The Rebirth of Witchcraft* to her life story. It appears Valiente was happy to learn that while Dianics objected to teaching their "magic and… craft to men until the equality of the sexes is a reality", they had begun to "teach 'Pan' workshops… and work together with men who have changed themselves into brothers".[155]

The Rebirth of Witchcraft clearly shows the effect radical and Goddess feminisms had on her thinking since the late 1970s, as she hailed radical feminists for their "radical re-thinking of the whole idea of woman's

role in religion and society".[156] One such example is her discussion of the female menstrual cycle, which—though not absent from her earlier writings—now adopted a more militant stance: "women's menstrual cycle, which in olden times was regarded as sacred rather than 'unclean' as it later became under the rule of patriarchal religion".[157] Elsewhere in this book, she added that "the menstruating woman is a powerful woman – and powerful women, from the standpoint of patriarchal religion, are unclean and accursed".[158] Valiente furthermore attacked "the idea… drummed into little girls that they matter only insofar as they can be attractive to men". Connoting the repeated depiction in contemporary films of women on high-heeled shoes staggering and stumbling "in desperate flight" as "every rapists' fantasy", Valiente concluded that in patriarchal society women "must play the roles designed for us by men… [, having] been conned into believing that somehow this is the natural order of things".[159] She objected to "male-dictated notions of 'purity'… [which] entail the existence of a class of women available for the convenience of men" and—in a true Dalyan fashion—wrote that "God, we have been told, is masculine; from which it naturally followed that the male was somehow superior to the female in all respects".[160] Valiente then referred her readers to Merlin Stone's 1979 Virago edition of *The Paradise Papers* (published in the United States as *When God Was a Woman*) as a book that has "vividly described… [t]he way in which male domination slowly engulfed the civilized world by means of religion".[161] As a remedy for this situation, Valiente recommended her readers to delve into the pages of Barbara Walker's *The Woman's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets* (1983), which she hailed as a "literally monumental work…[,] indispensable… for feminist witches".[162] According to Valiente, she first came across this book while browsing through Shan's stall at the 1985 Brighton 'Psychics' and Mystics' Fayre' (a meeting which was described in Chapter 5 of this monograph).[163] Valiente dedicated a little over a page of *The Rebirth of Witchcraft* to Shan's 'House of the Goddess' activities and to her 1987 Pagan Hallowe'en Festival, and concluded that "[s]he seems to be an example of the way in which Dianic, feminist witchcraft is developing – free, creative and much more open than it ever was before".[164]

In *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, Valiente mentioned reading Sjöö's 1981 version of *The Ancient Religion* sometime during the 1980s and eventually meeting her in Glastonbury. Valiente described Sjöö as a "true priestess of the Great Goddess".[165] Correspondence between the two

women seems to have begun in March 1986, in the aftermath of the publication Nigel Pennick's critic of Sjöö in *The Pipes of PAN*. Valiente wrote a letter to Sjöö, who enclosed it to a letter she herself wrote to Jean Freer on 30 March 1986. According to Sjöö—who wrote to Freer that Valiente "seems like a very fine woman"—Valiente wrote a letter to the editors of *The Pipes of PAN* in which she expressed her support of Sjöö, and this action then led to their own correspondence.[166] Rupert White, Sjöö's biographer, who was given access to letters and journal privately held by the latter's surviving family members, writes that Valiente thanked Sjöö for sending her book. Valiente noted that reading it—having "heard of it from others"—was "quite an emotional experience…, because you have felt what I have felt". She added that she was planning a trip to Glastonbury[167] and suggested they might meet there, as they did, according to Valiente's recollections in another letter sent to Sjöö during September 1987.[168] In yet another letter, sent in May 1986, Valiente noted buying Robin Morgan's *Going Too Far* and Barbara Walker's *Women's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets*: "These books together with your own have introduced me to a whole new range of ideas, and widened my mental horizons considerably", added Valiente.[169] Valiente must have attended one of Sjöö exhibitions (perhaps in Glastonbury) held throughout the 1980s, as her *The Rebirth of Witchcraft* described the motifs in Sjöö's paintings. Valiente of course mentioned Sjöö's highly influential "God Giving Birth" painting (which she described as "one of the most powerful images of the Mother Goddess to be seen in modern times"), but her favorite one featured Silbury Hill and contained the following words: "You can't Kill the Spirit, She is like a mountain. Old and strong, She goes on and on and on".[170] These were taken from a song which was often sung by Greenham women, whose involvement in the proliferation of feminist Witchcraft in Britain did not escape Valiente's gaze.[171] While it seems Valiente did not make the connection between the song and Greenham in her book, she did write that these words reflected a new perception of the Witches' Goddess, far removed from the "sweet little Goddess" Gardner presented Valiente with in the early 1950s.[172]

While Valiente's actual Wiccan practice did not necessarily change due do these developments, her centrality in the British Wiccan movement did meant that her outlook on WLM, Goddess Feminism and Dianic and feminist Witchcraft was in a prime position for causing waves and affecting the British Wiccan community as they were published throughout the late 1970s and the 1980s.

Vivianne Crowley

So were those of Vivianne Crowley, who was initiated in 1973 at the age of 19 into the coven of Alex and Maxine Sanders at their London flat in Noting Hill Gate.[173] In 1974 she decided to leave her Alexandrian coven, which had gone "through turbulent times", and was initiated into Madge Worthington and Arthur Eaglen's Gardnerian coven.[174] In 1980 Crowley submitted an undergraduate dissertation on gender stereotyping among arts and humanities and science students, based on Sandra Bem's gender schema theory and the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI). According to Crowley, Bem's work influenced her to become one of the first members of the Psychology of Women Section of the British Psychology Society when it formed in 1986.[175]

By the time Crowley published her first book in 1989 she was acting as the secretary of Pagan Federation—then still under the leadership on Leonora James as president—and was heading a coven which combined both Gardnerian and Alexandrian practices.[176] According to Ronald Hutton, Crowley was "a very proficient Jungian psychologist" and "the closest thing that Britain possessed to an informal successor to Alex [Sanders] in leading his tradition".[177] Her 1989 book, *Wicca: The Old Religion in the New Age*, "at last provided British witchcraft with a writer to match the spiritual power of Starhawk".[178]

Hutton's equation of Crowley's *Wicca* with Starhawk's works is well put, as the influence of the latter on it can be found throughout the book, and not just in its bibliographical section.[179] Jungian philosophy too left its imprint all throughout this volume both generally as well as in its feminist interpretation as presented in Demaris Wehr's *Jung and Feminism*.[180] Bachofen's theory of matriarchal prehistory was also accounted for, supplemented by Merlin Stone's feminist rendition of it.[181] One can also find echoes of Daly in Crowley when she asked "what part can a woman play in a patriarchal religion which even denies her the title of priestess?", as well as in her depiction of the Virgin Mary as a model for womanhood: "a woman without sin who achieves this perfection by submitting totally to her husband and male God, serving them devotedly and seeking noting for herself. A woman was not to gain wholeness through her own achievements and finding her own destiny. No divinity was made in her image. Her only role was to serve men; her own spiritual, sexual, intellectual and worldly needs forever denied".[182]

Unlike the Farrars, for instance, when discussing the male to female (and vice versa) polarity in the Wiccan initiation, Crowley made it clear that "[t]he only exception is that a woman can initiate her daughter; she who gave the first birth can give the second".[183] First-degree Wiccan initiation, continued Crowley, "is considered an initiation of the Goddess", and the thinking behind it "pre-dates the role of the father in fertility". Thus the father aspect can be either included or excluded in the ritual, while that of the Mother Goddess is essential. In some covens, she wrote, "the female initiate traces her line of initiation not from the High Priest who inducted her but from the High Priestess of the rite",[184] and in doing so the metaphor of rebirth into the community of the Goddess might be experienced more clearly. This is probably why Crowley later adds that "[f]or a man who is being initiated by women the symbolism of the new birth is very obvious. The sponsor is the mother/priestess who gives the final push which brings the initiate to birth in the world of the circle and it is the High Priestess/Goddess who as midwife receives him into her arms".[185] The high priestess, continued Crowley, "provides the vehicle for both herself and her male partner to rise to the heights of the Godhead, united as One, and for this reason the woman must always be initiated first in any magical partnership. For a woman, the part which the man will play in the rite is that of the solar hero, the rider in the chariot and it is the chariot of her own body which she will offer in order for him to assail the heights".[186]

Elsewhere in the book, Crowley illuminated her readers as to the effect of Wicca on dominant gender roles:

> If we enter Wicca with our partners, as many people do, there may be changes in our relationships with one another. Men who have been used to being the successful and dominant partner in a relationship may well find that their partner is much better at magic than they are and quickly gains an intuitive understanding of Wicca which they initially lack. In Wicca women have a high status and, for some women, it may be a new departure to be treated in this way and the dangers to the ego are obvious. Very masculine men may also find some difficulties at first in adjusting to not being treated as a superior sex. If a couple has been accustomed to playing stereotyped male/female sex roles, their relationship will have to adjust to the new status which Wicca accords women.[187]

> With reverence of the Triple Goddess being so paramount and with the very active role played by the priestess, in his early stages in Wicca, a new

> man may adopt a somewhat subordinate role. …This stage of learning to play a supporting role to the feminine principle is necessary initially to act as an antidote to the male-dominated Western world and its religions… [but] it is important for the man that regard for the feminine within does not become over-emphasized and negate the masculine. … following this a new stable balance has to be struck, where both the feminine and the masculine are given their due.[188]

The Wiccan circle "is a mirror image of that of the outer world which is still largely patriarchal", wrote Crowley, and added that "while both High Priest and High Priestess are in charge of the circle, it is the High Priestess who has ultimate authority". Crowley maintained that this was not due to a superiority of the Goddess over the God, or of the female over the male, "but because it is the feminine energy which is considered to be the impregnator on the magical and spiritual planes; … in the magical realm the flow of energy is not from the male to the female, but from the female to the male".[189] Here, like the Farrars, she echoed Dion Fortune. Another reason supplied by Crowley for resting ultimate authority on the high priestess in much the same way as the Farrars was that while men must learn to generate the 'etheric energy' needed for the production of acts of sympathetic magic, "[w]omen tend to be more instinctively in touch with [it]…, the power of which will wax and wane with the hormonal processes of their menstrual cycles, pregnancy and menopause".[190] Further cause for the HPS' ascendancy, as suggested by Crowley, was the Wiccan myth in the course of which the God knelt and laid his sword and crown at the Goddess' feet out of love and devotion. As Crowley explained, "[t]he meaning of this symbolic gesture is that although the God could overcome the Goddess with his physical strength, he chooses not to do so, but instead laid himself open to her spiritual power".[191] This explanation, of course, would have made the hair of Dianics and Goddess Feminists like Freer and Sjöö stand on end, as evidence for what in their view was the patriarchal nature of Wicca.

Crowley's short survey of the main branches of Witchcraft included a reference to Dianic Wicca as a newer development imported from the States, and she noted briefly that this tradition "is very feminist oriented and some covens exclude men entirely".[192] She utilized the myths of Isis and Osiris and of Cybele and Attis in order to warn against the dangers inherent in eliminating the male as deity entirely in favor of the female

(in a way that could be construed as a criticism of Dianic Witches and Goddess Feminists): in contrast to Isis, who has the dismembered pieces of her consort, Osiris, reassembled (and even impregnates herself with his dismembered penis in order to give birth to their son, Horus),

> Cybele has her followers tear apart the body of her lover and has no regrets; the pieces are not re-assembled. In Cybele we have a woman who rejects all masculinity. Only the feminine is valued; the masculine is destroyed. While 2000 years of Christian patriarchy may make this a very tempting proposition to some feminists, in destroying what she hates woman destroys much which she loves and needs. In destroying Attis, Cybele does violence to herself, for… [t]he masculine is not without, it is within her and in unconscious mind. The masculine is not without, it is within her and in destroying it she destroys the possibility of her own wholeness.[193]

Thus Isis, in Crowley's perception, is better suited to Wiccan cosmology and gender relations:

> In Isis we have a woman who seeks her masculinity and uses it to give birth to a new part of herself and to become more than she was before. She retrieves the phallus the symbol of creative power and makes it her own. For, in Wicca, the Goddess speaks to both woman and man saying, 'It was I who gave birth to you… I am the power', not a Father God in Heaven, but the Goddess, the Mother.[194]

Crowley also took care to emphasize, however, that the Goddess' centrality in Wicca should "not… diminish the importance of the Horned God, for in this image is the key to the understanding of human nature. This archetype, which is animal, human and God, is that to which humanity must aspire; the three aspects of our nature integrated in harmony".[195]

Elsewhere she leans more toward the Goddess Feminism of Sjöö and her ilk by noting that for a woman the Goddess says "you are the creatrix; you have need of no other" while for the man, the Goddess would declare "I am the creatrix; you have need of me".[196] It is also of note that she mentioned Greenham women and quoted from one of their songs.[197] Crowley was probably not aware that the song was originally written and composed in San Francisco's Reclaiming community, but she did quote from another one elsewhere and referred her readers to the Reclaiming chants audiotape.[198]

Marian Green

Another important figure in the British Witchcraft and (especially) Occult scenes during the 1970s–1980s was 'Marian Green' (also known as Anne Slowgrove), who has been described by Hutton as "a clever, practical and courageous woman who had met members of various magical groups in the 1960s, including Robert Cochrane and Doreen Valiente".[199] Tanya Luhrmann, who carried her research into London's occult scene during 1983–1984, described Green as "a woman who had had considerable experience in the Western Mysteries, in ritual magic, and on the edges of Gardnerian witchcraft".[200] Following the success of the Quest Conferences of the late 1960s (mentioned above in Chapter 4), Green founded *Quest* magazine in March 1970. In accordance with Green's own interests, this publication did not focused solely on Witchcraft and Wicca, but covered the work of occultists who were dedicated to a broader 'Western Mystery Tradition', in which Green included "the British Mysteries, Celtic and Druidic Magic, … and the Qabalah" as well.[201]

In March 1982 Green created the 'Green Circle', which she intended to use as a networking platform for beginners interested in Paganism. She encouraged members "to organize local groups, and a newsletter circulated to keep these… in touch".[202] By December 1983 the organization was said to have had 500 members in 30 regional groups across the UK, though the number of active members may have been lower.[203] In her survey of the London occult scene, carried during 1983–1984, Tanya Luhrmann noted that Green's course attracted some six or seven hundred students in the five years or so of its existence during the 1980s.[204] Luhrmann described the Green Circle as "a loose network of individuals in magic, particularly 'pagan' magic – magic with an explicitly religious orientation which found its gods in nature". The network's learning course, as developed by Marian Green, "did not use Kabbalah, and it did not present itself as the outer court of an inner, practicing group… [but rather as] a very beginner level year-long course which focused on 'natural magic' – how to interact, magically, with the natural world".[205] Green led a variety of one or two-day courses as well during the late 1980s, which focused on 'Village Witchcraft', 'Celtic Myth and Magic', 'Practical Ritual' and 'Being a Priest/Priestess – the Philosophy of Paganism', to name but a few.[206]

Green's *Magic in Principle and Practice*, which served as "the basis for… [her] home study course, and was written for rank beginners", was

first published in 1971 (and again in 1976), with a revised and enlarged Third Edition printed during September 1979.[207] It is worth noting that this last edition did not contain any references to feminist issues, nor did its bibliography include any of titles on radical feminism, Dianic Witchcraft or Goddess Spirituality which were available at the time of its publication. Green was however influenced at the time by Jung's concept of Anima and Animus, as well as Fortune's musings on magical polarity, whereby "[m]an is positive on the outer, that is the mundane world, and negative on the inner plains,… [where] women are … magically positive and powerful".[208] By March 1982 her magazine reviewed *Drawing Down the Moon*—Margot Adler's detailed study of the American Neopagan scene—and noted that Adler "…explains, if not justifies, the 'women-only' 'feminist wicca' groups which seem strange to those for whom the Craft centres [sic] around male-female polarity".[209] The information supplied in Adler's book does not seem to have influenced one of Green's more popular books[210]—*Magic for the Aquarian Age*—which was published in 1983. Jung and Fortune were referenced as in Green's earlier work, and the theory of matriarchal prehistory was mentioned as well, though not with the same zeal or recommendations for its implication to contemporary or future society, found in either Dianic, feminist Witchcraft or Goddess literature.[211] Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* was reviewed in *Quest* only in September 1985, as part of a Finnish woman's reading list, and *Dreaming the Dark* won the honor as late as June 1990.[212] By that time, however, the latter was referred to by Green as "[a] classic".[213]

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* finally made it into the bibliography sections of Green's *The Path Through the Labyrinth* (1988), *The Elements of Natural Magic* (1989), and *A Witch Alone* (1991).[214] The latter volume was the first piece of published writing by Green to have included a discussion and adaptation of Starhawk's analysis of the various types of power—the patriarchal 'power-over' vs. her radical feminist 'power-from-within'.[215] Green also seems to have utilized part of Starhawk's discourse on the immanence of the Goddess when she wrote that "[t]he Goddess *is* [sic] the Earth beneath our feet, our home and the substance from which our physical bodies are created… [and] the water that refreshes and cleanses us".[216]

She envisioned the Horned God—the Goddess' "consort, divine Son and Champion" – as a Sun God as well, who "lights up our world, giving it life, warmth and vital energy", and conceded that "[u]ltimately, it is

from the Sun's power that we receive our food for all green things are fuelled by solar reaction, and where there is no light there is no life as we know it".[217] Probably an effect of her main background in occultism, her analysis of the relationship between the Earth Goddess and the Sun God does complicate the familiar Wiccanate narrative regarding the supremacy of the Goddess: It is difficult to understand how a God representing the Sun—which is much older than the Earth, could be viewed as the divine Son of a Goddess associated with the Earth itself. Green's involvement with British magical groups is probably what led her to conclude that "the main attributes of the God and Goddess… are available to everyone" and urged her readers to "choose those aspects which… [they] most need to invoke" in themselves.[218]

Rae Beth

Green's 1991 publication on solitary Witchcraft was preceded by another volume, *Hedge Witch*, which was published in 1990 by Rae Beth. Beth is credited with the development of Hedge Witchcraft, a Wiccan-derived form of solitary, covenless Witchcraft. Written in the form of letters sent from Beth to two of her students throughout 1987 and 1988, *Hedge Witch* "embodied, wholesale and without question, the myth of the Old Religion as developed by American Feminism".[219] Beth's interest in Witchcraft grew out of her involvement with the Women's Liberation Movement , and in 1978 she began see herself as a self-initiated Witch. Sometime later she became associated for a while with an Alexandrian coven, but eventually—on the advice and help of a friend who was a Gardnerian high priest—chose to withdraw her involvement with it before undergoing a full initiation. Beth then returned to practice as a solitary and was highly influenced by the works of Marian Green and Starhawk among others. Throughout the 1980s, "she also came to understand the role of the male witch, as present-day shaman and brother to the wisewoman or witch priestess".[220] Together with her partner, Cole Campion, Beth was a longtime reader of *The Pipes of PAN*, where—as the next chapter will attest—the Starhawkian view of Witchcraft was hailed continuously.[221]

The Goddess, however, continued Beth, is the chief "creator and sustainer of all life", and therefore "first among equals", both as a result of Witchcraft's "roots in the earliest forms of Paganism, which were matriarchal", as well as due to the logic which maintains that "[t]he sex

which gives birth came first, while that which impregnates appeared later on".[222] For Beth, the "worship of a female deity, a Goddess [who takes primacy to the male God]… has implications, spiritually, emotionally and socially".[223] Likewise, while she described the Witches God as "the Father of All Life" and as "co-creator" and consort to the Goddess, she added elsewhere that the word 'Father' should be understood simply as 'progenitor', without "all [of its] patriarchal connotations, like 'head of the family'".[224] Beth therefore maintained that "[t]he Horned God… does not present men with an image of immediate male superiority (or inferiority)", since "[He] is not interested in capital or profit, still less in the rape or domination of either woman or the whole natural world".[225] For this reason, in Beth's view, Dianics and Goddess Feminists' choice to focus solely on worshiping the Goddess in rebellion against patriarchy and to the exclusion of the God, was "[a]n understandable but sad reaction".[226] She acknowledged that her—and by extension, of course, the Wiccanate—description of the relationship between the Goddess and the God was "exclusively heterosexual", one which could offend lesbian and gay Witches. This she hoped to prevent by explaining that as the Wheel of the Year and the mythology behind it deal with "physical fruitfulness, … about nature and reproduction, it can only be about love between man and woman". In Beth's view, this "vision [was] relevant [not] only to those of 'straight' sexual orientation, since it is an image of the processes of all conception and of all fruitful union of opposites".[227]

As a WLM activist Beth's declaration that "images in pornographic videos feed archetypes of violence against women"[228] should not surprise us. Echoing Daly, Rich, and Griffin, Beth criticized "patriarchal culture" for worshiping "a God who is all mind and spirit, 'out there' in heaven, away from the disgusting, 'sinful' Earth", and elsewhere added that "it is a terrible and dangerous thing when men are on hostile terms with the life force, secretly or openly hating their bodies, women's bodies and the Earth itself".[229] Beth lamented "the spiritual view of our modern world, [in which] femaleness has long been reckoned as not quite so holy as maleness" and woman has been characterized as "…the bringer of sin… [, c] loser to animality [sic], through menstruation and childbirth, and to the earth".[230] Childbearing, stated Beth, "*is* [sic] the original creative act", and that therefore, "[f]or a female witch, to give birth is to share consciously in the work of the Mother Goddess".[231] Beth called upon women to remember that their womb "always… is the source of your creative power, whether you are pregnant with a child, an idea, a work of art or an

intention".[232] In contrast to patriarchal monotheisms, wrote Beth, Witches "celebrate the God and Goddess immanent, indwelling the universe", and maintain that "the year has a cyclical rhythm, not a linear progression".[233]

Similarly to the Farrars, Beth described intuitive and psychic skills as female "moon's gifts", and rational thought-processes as "solar skills,… the God's gift, [and therefore] just as essential".[234] Beth claimed that while she has within her the attributes of the Horned God to her inner polarity as a person, as a woman she could never embody this deity.[235] Here she was either unaware or in disagreement with the opinions voiced by Patricia Crowther in *The Witches Speak*, covered above.

The main authors on Wicca and Witchcraft whose books were published throughout the 1970s–1980s reacted differently to the advent of the Women's Liberation Movement and the rise of Goddess Feminism and of Dianic and feminist Witchcrafts. The Sanders, for instance, rejected much of the agenda of WLM activists and objected to the inclusion of radical feminist ideas (whether directly, or indirectly through the influence of Goddess Feminism and Dianic or feminist Witchcraft) to their Wiccan practice. This is while the Farrars—who identified with liberal, instead of radical, feminism—actually adopted plenty of its suppositions via the writings of Starhawk and Merlin Stone. As we have seen above, as the 1980s drew on, the Farrars reacted to these ideas not only in their publications, but in some cases—such as in the matter of the Charge of the Goddess—in their ritual practice as well. Furthermore, while separatist Dianic Wicca certainly wasn't their cup of tea, the Farrars (unlike the Sanders) recognized it a legitimate and viable strand of Wicca. Patricia Crowther seems to have supported the Women's Liberation Movement, and this is exemplified both by statements made in her books as well as by drawing inspiration from it—concurrently and in much the same way as other Goddess Feminists across the Atlantic—when she jotted down her recollections of her 1960 initiation into Wicca. As a well-known figure in Sheffield, Crowther was probably known to local feminists, and in all likelihood was aware of the city's WLM scene. She seems to have been more of a liberal feminist herself, and like Gardner was a staunch supporter of strict gender polarity, to the detriment of Dianic and Goddess separatists. Lois Bourne, another one of Gardner's high priestesses, likewise showed traces of radical and cultural feminist influences in her writings, and starting in the late 1970s and onwards, Doreen Valiente's publications displayed her admiration of Robin Morgan's combination of radical and cultural feminisms, as well as

her endorsement Starhawk, Sjöö, Budapest, and Shan Morgain. Another central Wiccan author, the Jungian psychologist Vivianne Crowley, was likewise influenced by Starhawk and her Reclaiming community, but while her reliance of Jung and Dion Fortune made her feel generally comfortable with cultural feminist ideas, she criticized the Dianic choices of separatism and focus solely on the Goddess. Marian Green, a central figure in the British occult and Witchcraft scene, began to incorporate elements from Starhawk into her writings only by the late 1980s, while Rae Beth—the main propagator of solitary Hedge Witchcraft—actually first became interested in Wicca and Paganism through her involvement in the Women's Liberation Movement.

The next and final chapter, then, will further examine attitudes of Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans toward the WLM and feminist Witchcraft during the 1970s–1980s, but will instead aim at exploring the turbulent magazine scene, which better reveals the discourse regarding women and gender issues at the grassroots level.

Notes

1. Granholm, "Sociology and the Occult," 725; Granholm, "Esoteric Currents as Discursive Complexes," 46–69.
2. While the 2nd edition of their *The Gods Within* (2008) comes to mind, it should be noted that the original version of this volume was published in 1979 as a small booklet which consisted of eleven evocation to mainly Greco-Roman deities, and did not contain the essays which accompany the 2008 version. Williams and Cox, *The Gods Within*, 16–17. Furthermore, the rituals contained in their 2015 *The Play Goes On* belonged to the Companionship of the Rainbow Bridge—a ritual drama group which drew on Thelemic and occult sources more than Wiccan ones.
3. See Sanders, *Maxine*; Deutch, *The Ecstatic Mother*; Sanders, *Fire Child*. *Maxine: The Witch Queen* was ghost written by the journalist Wally Clapham. See Sanders, *Fire Child*, 259.
4. Personal interview with Maxine Sanders, conducted 29 January 2013.
5. Sanders, *Fire Child*, 211.
6. Personal interview with Maxine Sanders.
7. Hutton, *Triumph*, 349, 352; di Fiosa, *A Coin for the Ferryman*, 165. In 1975 Maxine's coven numbered thirty to fifty individuals. Sanders, *Fire Child*, 178.
8. Hutton, *Triumph*, 351.
9. See Ronald Hutton's recollections of Stewart Farrar in Guerra and Farrar, *Stewart Farrar*, 173.

10. Ibid., 20–22, 67–68.
11. Ibid., 15.
12. Ibid., 90, 97.
13. Ibid., 103, 104. By 1987 the Farrars had initiated 59 individuals as Witches, who went on to initiate others as well. Farrar and Farrar, *The Life and Times of a Modern Witch*, 26, 169.
14. Guerra and Farrar, *Stewart Farrar*, 17, 118, 120. See also the original introduction to *Eight Sabbats for Witches* in Farrar and Farrar, *A Witches Bible*, 17.
15. See Ronald Hutton's recollections of Stewart Farrar in Guerra and Farrar, *Stewart Farrar*, 173; Farrar and Farrar, *A Witches Bible*, 17.
16. Guerra and Farrar, *Stewart Farrar*, 14, 17–18.
17. Personal Interview with Janet Farrar, 25 May 2015.
18. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches Goddess*, 78; Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 161. To make their point, the Farrars referred their readers to American-born Mary Maher's article, 'Who Killed the Women's Movement?', which was published in *The Irish Times* on 27 August 1982. Ibid., 161–162.
19. Ibid., 162.
20. Ibid., 6.
21. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches Goddess*, 2, 7–8, 20–21, 42, 55, 61, 85, 90, 178, 194, 235, 243, 275. Jung was featured in pages 19, 20, 22, 43, 56–57, 59–61, 78, 80, 117, and Harding's work was discussed in pages 57, 61, 108, 272, 274. See also Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 132.
22. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches Goddess*, 18–23.
23. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 137, 312; Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches Goddess*, 15.
24. Personal Interview with Janet Farrar, 25 May 2015.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 162.
28. Farrar and Farrar, *A Witches Bible*, 12.
29. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches Goddess*, 10–11. They added that "by her nature… [the Goddess] cannot help rebirthing the Son/Lover who is her complement, and thus forcing us once again onto the forward path". Ibid.
30. Farrar and Farrar, *The Life and Times of a Modern Witch*, 193.
31. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 169.
32. Guerra and Farrar, *Stewart Farrar*, 100.
33. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 170.
34. Pagan News Interview Team, "Spotlight: What Do Witches Do?" 5.
35. Personal Interview with Janet Farrar, 25 May 2015.

36. Ibid.
37. Personal email correspondence with Janet Farrar, 27 May 2015.
38. Personal Interview with Janet Farrar. This was probably when Starhawk signed the Farrars' copy of *Dreaming the Dark*, which they still have to this day. Ibid.
39. Ibid. Janet Farrar and Gavin Bone's Web site contains a picture of Janet with Starhawk, taken in Ireland in 1982 by Stewart when they hosted a party for Starhawk and her tour group. Available at http://www.callaighe.com/photo_archive/other_authors.htm, accessed 10 April 2015.
40. Farrar, *What Witches Do*, Revised Edition, 179. It also included the 1981 edition of Margot Adler's *Drawing Down the Moon*. Ibid., 176.
41. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 195, 313. In 1990 they urged their reader to adopt "an understanding of what Starhawk calls the distinction 'power-over' and 'power-from-within'". Farrar and Farrar, *Spells and How They Work*, 21.
42. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 191. The bibliography of *The Life and Times of a Modern Witch* (1987) furthermore included *The Spiral Dance* and *Dreaming the Dark*. Farrar and Farrar, *The Life and Times of a Modern Witch*, 194.
43. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches Goddess*, 11.
44. Farrar, "Ancient Mirrors of Womanhood," 5–6.
45. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches Goddess*, 8–9.
46. See the original introduction to *Eight Sabbats for Witches* in Farrar and Farrar, *A Witches Bible*, 23; Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 113.
47. Ibid., 25.
48. Ibid., 95.
49. Doreen Valiente cooperated with Stewart Farrar in the writing of *Eight Sabbats for Witches* and *The Witches' Way*. She provided him "with much of the historical information [they] contained" and co-authored "many of the passages" in the latter book with him. Janet Farrar would eventually come to consider Valiente as her "true spiritual mother". Guerra and Farrar, *Stewart Farrar*, 17, 137.
50. White, "Remembering Stuart Farrar," 28.
51. See the original introduction to *Eight Sabbats for Witches* in Farrar and Farrar, *A Witches Bible*, 24–25.
52. Ibid., 107.
53. See the original introduction to *Eight Sabbats for Witches* in Farrar and Farrar, *A Witches Bible*, 17.
54. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 182.
55. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches Goddess*, 65, 80. While they did not note specifically that such degree of deference should not be accorded to the High Priest after the circle as one who has just now 'channeled the

God', it seems that in this case the lack of reference to him would suggest that the Farrars' opinion held that such honor should be accorded to the high priestess (and by extension—the Goddess) alone, and furthermore that while it could be pondered whether woman is in essence 'merely human', it was obvious that men certainly are.

56. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 23.
57. See the original introduction to *Eight Sabbats for Witches* in Farrar and Farrar, *A Witches Bible*, 17–20. For their usage of Stone, see pages 19–20, 74.
58. Farrar and Farrar, *The Life and Times of a Modern Witch*, 68.
59. See the original introduction to *Eight Sabbats for Witches* in Farrar and Farrar, *A Witches Bible*, 17–18; Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 68, 169.
60. Farrar and Farrar, *The Life and Times of a Modern Witch*, 67–68.
61. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 63, 78.
62. Farrar and Farrar, *The Life and Times of a Modern Witch*, 42–43, 66–67, 68; Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 306. See also See the original introduction to *Eight Sabbats for Witches* in Farrar and Farrar, *A Witches Bible*, 20.
63. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 165.
64. Guerra and Farrar, *Stewart Farrar*, 137. For the ritual layout see Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 67–70. In 1989 they also published a companion volume to *The Witches Goddess* (1987), which focused in turn of the God. See Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches God*.
65. Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches' Way*, 11.
66. Ibid., 95, 116–117, 331.
67. Ibid., 118.
68. Ibid., 163, 165; Farrar and Farrar, *The Witches Goddess*, 27, 65. They probably read it after 1981 as the book was not included in the bibliography of *Eight Sabbats for Witches*. According to Stewart Farrar, it was Doreen Valiente who first recommended they read *The Wise Wound* "in the most enthusiastic terms". See page 2 in a letter from Stewart Farrar to Peter Redgrove, dated 28 October 1983 (reference number 59.02), located in the Peter Redgrove Papers at the Sheffield University Library.
69. Guerra and Farrar, *Stewart Farrar*, 149.
70. "Bewitched," 67.
71. Crowther, *Witch Blood!*, 40–41.
72. Ibid., 43.
73. Budapest, *The Feminist Book of Lights & Shadows*, 35–36; MyOwn, "Ursa Maior," 375–389.
74. Doreen Valiente, unpublished notebooks, 5 June 1965.
75. Howard, *Modern Wicca*, 166. See Crowther, *Witch Blood!*, 73–78.

76. Crowther, *Lid Off the Cauldron*, 37.
77. Hutton, "A Dialogue with Patricia Crowther," 23.
78. Crowther, "The Day I Met Aleister Crowley," 12–14; Letter from Patricia Crowther to John Score, 6 October 1970. Located in the Document Collection of the Museum of Witchcraft (document number 725). Quoted in Howard, *Modern Wicca*, 166.
79. Hutton, "A Dialogue with Patricia Crowther," 23.
80. Crowther, *Witch Blood!*, 54–55.
81. See quote in Terence P. Ward, "A Glimpse into History: 'A Spell of Witchcraft' Radio Programs Re-released," *The Wild Hunt: A Modern Pagan Perspective*, 21 April 2015. Available at http://wildhunt.org/2015/04/a-glimpse-into-history-a-spell-of-witchcraft-radio-programs-re-released.html, accessed 24 July 2015. 'A Spell of Witchcraft' is available on the Center for Pagan Studies' website in http://centre-for-pagan-studies.com/centre_for_pagan_studies-paganism-A_Spell_Of_Witchcraft_With_Patricia_Crowther-78.php, accessed 24 July 2015.
82. Crowther, *Witch Blood!*, 54–55.
83. "Interface with Patricia Crowther," 5. She also ran an esoteric bookshop called Mercury Books in Dronfield, on the outskirts of Sheffield. See "Mercury Books," 6.
84. *Sheffield Women's Newsletter* (July 1977): 19–20.
85. Browne, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Scotland*, 117.
86. *Spare Rib* 66 (January 1978): 20–21.
87. *Sheffield Women's Paper* (October/November 1979): 20.
88. See *Sheffield Women's Paper* (Autumn 1981): 25; "Women Against Violence Against Women," 10. The Women's Center was also documented in Arledge Ross and Bearse, *A Chronology of the Women's Movement in Britain*, 45.
89. "Sheffield Matriarchy Study Group," 21–22.
90. Komatsu, *An Empirical Study of Matriarchy Groups*, 66.
91. Ibid., 67.
92. Crowther, *Lid Off the Cauldron*, 80.
93. Ibid., 2.
94. Ibid., 94.
95. Ibid., 70–72. *The Wiccan* carried an advertisement for guided tours to Silbury by Dames in promotion his *The Silbury Treasure* (1976), as well as a suggestion by him to hold such tours especially for Wiccans.
96. *The Wiccan* 50 (10.9.1976): 2, 3.
97. On this matter see Hutton, *Triumph*, 397.
98. Crowther, *Lid Off the Cauldron*, 7.
99. Doreen Valiente, Letter to John Score, 11 December 1972, 1. Museum of Witchcraft Library/Documents Collection/732.

100. *The Wiccan* 29 (27.11.1972): 1.
101. Ibid. For Crowther, women's greater wisdom and intuition stemmed directly from their "physical make-up". See her second piece in *The Wiccan* 30 (1970?), 2.
102. Crowther, *High Priestess*, 184–185.
103. Bourne, *Witch Amongst Us*, 162.
104. Bourne, *Conversations with a Witch*, 129, 157.
105. Ibid., 220.
106. Ibid., 91.
107. Ibid., 125.
108. Ibid., 157.
109. Bourne, *Dancing with Witches*, 38.
110. Tapsell, *Ameth*, 11–15; Heselton, *Doreen Valiente*, 14, 25, 26, 31–35.
111. Tapsell, *Ameth*, 15–17; Heselton, *Doreen Valiente*, 44, 47, 52–54, 60–61; Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 35.
112. Tapsell, *Ameth*, 18; Heselton, *Doreen Valiente*, 63, 65; Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 35.
113. Tapsell, *Ameth*, 13–14; Heselton, *Doreen Valiente*, 70–72.
114. Ronald Hutton, "Valiente, Doreen Edith (1922–1999)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Available at http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/72/101072913, accessed 5 October 2015.
115. Valiente, *An ABC of Witchcraft*, 325–330.
116. See Doreen Valiente, Letter to John Score, 13 October 1971, 2. Museum of Witchcraft Library/Documents Collection/769. Items were added and amended throughout 1971 and 1972 as well, but Budapest's group was still in its early stages of operation and news of it surely haven't reached the UK. See Heselton, *Doreen Valiente*, 177.
117. Valiente, *An ABC of Witchcraft*, 8.
118. Ibid., 8–9.
119. "Fifty at 'Pentagram' Dinner," 6; Valiente, *An ABC of Witchcraft*, 35.
120. Ibid., 182.
121. Valiente, *An ABC of Witchcraft*, 134.
122. Ibid., xvi.
123. Heselton, *Doreen Valiente*, 271, 273.
124. Tapsell, *Ameth*, 66. The Unicorn Bookshop was founded in 1968 by American beat poet, occultist and alternative publisher Bill Butler (1934–1977), and specialized in poetry and American authors until its closure in 1974. See Shire, *Bookends*, 35–58. The online record of Butler in the LSE Library catalogue is available at http://archives.lse.ac.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Persons&id=PA3600, accessed 10 May 2015.

125. The letter is reproduced in Heselton, *Doreen Valiente*, 159–161.
126. "On the Road" 13.
127. *London Matriarchy Study Group Information Sheet*, 1–3. For general information on the Solstice Bookshop see Shire, *Bookends*, 63, 65–68.
128. Tapsell, *Ameth*, 65.
129. Paul Bonett, "We Once Ran the Solstice Bookshop, 1977–82," *North Laine Runner* 210 (May/June 2011): 16–19. Available at http://www.nlcaonline.org.uk/page_id__863_path__0p5p42p.aspx, accessed 10 May 2015; Paul Bonett, personal email correspondence, 26 October 2014.
130. Ibid.
131. According to Philip Heselton, Valiente submitted the manuscript to the publisher—Robert Hale—during July 1976. It was finally published on 24 February 1978. Heselton, *Doreen Valiente*, 192.
132. Valiente, *Witchcraft for Tomorrow*, 135, 138.
133. Ibid., 43. While the term 'male chauvinist' was used in the United States as early as the mid-nineteenth century, 'male chauvinist pig' seems to have been first coined by American Communists during 1934, and was adopted with gusto by local radical feminists during the late 1960s and onwards. See Mansbridge and Flaster, "The Cultural Politics of Everyday Discourse," 627–660; Mansbridge and Flaster, "Male Chauvinist, Feminist, Sexist, and Sexual Harassment," 256–279.
134. Valiente, *Witchcraft for Tomorrow*, 135.
135. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 195.
136. Valiente, *Witchcraft for Tomorrow*, 27. Her discussion of the phallic nature of the witch's broomstick was positive and did not in any way echo the abhorrence of radical and cultural feminists from all things 'phallic'. Ibid., 81.
137. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 185. In 1972 she furthermore noted in a letter to John Score that unlike Patricia Crowther—who insisted on the primacy of the Goddess in Wicca and Witchcraft—she herself was less dogmatic, and preferred "everyone should have their own approach, recognising [sic] that there are many paths to the centre [sic]". Doreen Valiente, Letter to John Score, 11 December 1972, 1.
138. Valiente and Jones, *Witchcraft*, 10.
139. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 180.
140. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 186.
141. Valiente, *An ABC of Witchcraft*, x.
142. Ibid.
143. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 183, 185.
144. Ibid., 183, 184–185.
145. Valiente, *An ABC of Witchcraft*, x.

146. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rXQr2NOQChk, accessed 10 May 2015. The quote appears on minute 20:25.
147. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 224.
148. Ibid., 179.
149. Ibid., 187.
150. Ibid., 182.
151. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 213–214.
152. Valiente, *An ABC of Witchcraft*, x.
153. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 187. According to Rupert White, Starhawk visited Valiente in Brighton during her 1987 trip to the UK. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 195.
154. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 192.
155. Quoted in ibid., 186.
156. Ibid., 180.
157. Ibid., 28. Later in the book she also referred her readers to Shuttle and Redgrove's *The Wise Wound*, which she described as "[o]ne of the most epoch-making books in the advance of feminist witchcraft" in her eyes. Ibid., 187.
158. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 188. Valiente supplemented this with a claim that menstruation enabled women "to work magic which men could not," and suggested that "[t]his realization is another step in the regaining of women's pride in being female". Ibid., 189.
159. Ibid., 180–181.
160. Ibid., 181.
161. Ibid., 182, 230.
162. Ibid., 190. While Valiente herself did "not personally agree[d] with all its derivations of words," she applauded "the amount of research that must have gone into" this volume. Ibid.
163. Ibid., 193–194. She also mentioned buying the book in a letter she sent to Monica Sjöö in May 1986. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 186.
164. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 193–194. She also recommended her books to her readers in an appendix to *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*. Ibid., 224.
165. Ibid., 189.
166. See the letter from Monica [Sjöö] to Jean [Freer], dated 30 March (in an envelope postmarked 3 April 1986), located in the Jean Freer Papers, Bristol Feminist Archive, DM2123/FA/Arch/41 Jean Freer.
167. According to Philip Heselton, Valiente and her partner Ron Cooke (1912–1997) organized the first of many joint visits to Glastonbury as early as the summer of 1978, and by 1983 the town "began to have a particular attraction for them". Heselton, *Doreen Valiente*, 286–288.
168. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 184–185, 194.

169. Ibid., 186.
170. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 188–190. Either one of these painting could have been the one sent to Valiente by Sjöö in poster form. On 13 June 1987, Valiente thanked Sjöö for the poster and informed her that she "liked very much and have it hanging up in my flat". So impressed was she with Sjöö's art, that she suggested to her to design a tarot pack. I am grateful to Julie Belham-Payne of the Doreen Valiente Foundation for sending me a scan of the letter.
171. Ibid., 191.
172. Ibid., 190.
173. Crowley, "Priestess and Witch," 47, 58–59; Personal Email Correspondence with Vivianne Crowley, 2 September 2015.
174. Vivianne Crowley, "Memories of Madge," *Pagan Dawn* 151 (Beltane 2004). Available at http://www.paganfed.org/dl/madge.pdf, accessed 6 October 2014.
175. Personal Email Correspondence with Vivianne Crowley, 4 September 2015.
176. Hutton, *Triumph*, 386; Crowley, *Wicca*, 21.
177. Hutton, *Triumph*, 386.
178. Ibid.
179. See for instance her stressing of the immanence of deity in Wiccan thought as an antidote to "years of transcendent monotheism". Crowley, *Wicca*, 157. Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* and Adler's *Drawing Down the Moon* both feature in Crowley's bibliography and are mentioned the book itself. Ibid., 240, 241, 251, 254.
180. Ibid., 176.
181. Ibid., 12, 16, 18, 175, 208.
182. Ibid., 164, 242.
183. Ibid., 58.
184. Ibid., 70.
185. Ibid., 73.
186. Ibid., 224.
187. Ibid., 80.
188. Ibid., 187.
189. Ibid., 94.
190. Ibid., 95.
191. Ibid.
192. Ibid., 21.
193. Ibid., 167.
194. Ibid., 168.
195. Ibid., 242.
196. Ibid., 172

197. This was 'I am a strong woman; I am a story woman; I am a healer; My soul will never die'. Ibid., 177.
198. Ibid., 180, 249.
199. Hutton, *Triumph*, 350.
200. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 165.
201. Green, "'Quest' Principles Defined," 4. Articles focusing on Wicca and Witchcraft, therefore, did not necessarily formed the locus of *Quest*, and relatively few of those featured in the ninety issues I surveyed dealt with issues of gender and feminism. I therefore decided to relate to these individually as they appear and to use them in my treatments of the specific authors who wrote them, instead of presenting them collectively in the context of *Quest* like other—specifically Pagan magazines such as *The Wiccan* or *The Cauldron* in the next chapter.
202. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 77; Green, *Quest List of Esoteric Sources*, 22.
203. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 77.
204. Ibid., 182.
205. Ibid., 74–75.
206. Quoted in York, *The Emerging Network*, 152.
207. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 165; Green, *Magic in Principle and in Practice*, i.
208. Green, "Polarity and Partnerships," 5.
209. "Review: Drawing Down the Moon," 25.
210. According to Tanya Luhrmann, 10,000 copies of the book were printed by 1989. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 6.
211. Green, *Magic for the Aquarian Age*, 63–65.
212. Koppana, "Desert Island Books," 27; M.G., "Book Shelf," 28.
213. Ibid. It would be highly unlikely, however, to assume that Green—so centrally positioned in the British Pagan and occult scene—was not aware of Starhawk's books during the early 1980s.
214. Green, *The Path Through the Labyrinth*, 197; Green, *The Elements of Natural Magic*, 119; Green, *A Witch Alone*, 29. *The Path Through the Labyrinth* and *A Witch Alone*'s bibliography sections included Margot Adler's *Drawing Down the Moon* as well. Green, *The Path Through the Labyrinth*, 196; Green, *A Witch Alone*, 182.
215. Ibid., 169. One of the book's bibliographical lists also included Monica Sjöö's *The Great Cosmic Mother of All*. Ibid., 189. This token of appreciation was probably inspired by Doreen Valiente's passionate endorsement of Sjöö in *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, published two years prior to *A Witch Alone*. Valiente, *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*, 189.
216. Green, *A Witch Alone*, 18.
217. Ibid.

218. Ibid., 41.
219. Hutton, *Triumph*, 397–398. See Beth's Introduction, dated Yule 1888, and the books chapters. Beth, *Hedge Witch*, 7.
220. Ibid., 88 and frontpiece.
221. See the couple's letter to the magazine's editors in *The Pipes of PAN* 31 (Spring 1989): 2.
222. Beth, *Hedge Witch*, 24–25, 130. A few years later, however, her expressed attitude changed somewhat, and she stated that she did not "pretend to have all the philosophical answers about the balance between the sexes let alone between the deities". See "Interface With Rae Beth," 4.
223. Beth, *Hedge Witch*, 11.
224. Ibid., 12, 13, 130, 154.
225. Ibid., 15, 32.
226. Ibid., 11–12.
227. Ibid., 39. Her heterosexual stance was indeed heavily critiqued in *Wood and Water* by Wren Sidhe and Beth Neilson. Beth, "Reconciliation of Opposites," 10–11; Neilson, "Is the Great Rite a Little Wrong?" 2–4.
228. Beth, *Hedge Witch*, 133.
229. Ibid., 11, 33.
230. Ibid., 11.
231. Ibid., 11, 109.
232. Ibid., 65.
233. Ibid., 30, 122.
234. Ibid., 178.
235. Ibid., 148. She described a similar relationship between men and the Goddess in Ibid., 152.

CHAPTER 7

Women and Gender Issues Among the 1970s–1980s Wiccans and Wiccan-Derived Pagans: An Analysis of the Magazine Scene

A reader of the 1989 issues of *Ace of Rods*—a British-based 'Wiccan/Pagan contacts magazine' that thrived during the pre-Internet era—would find ads by a 'Starhawk inspired' Witch, raised Jewish, who hoped to find people of similar background and explore parallels between Judaism and Wicca; a London-based lesbian (seemingly Dianic) Witch; an Oxfordshire male who sported an interest in "'feminist' and Green spirituality" and "tries to be non-sexist"; a female artist interested Starhawk's writings; and a woman "[i]nterested in wicca, women's mysteries; writings of Starhawk & Farrars" who wished "to hear from Pagans everywhere esp. anyone involved in Dianic Wicca".[1] While numerically they were vastly outnumbered by more general ads involving Wicca, Druidry and Celtic issues, magazine subscribers would have noticed at least one feminist or matriarchalist ad in each of the magazine's pages. A similar situation—though to a somewhat lesser degree—was observed when browsing the issues of *Gates of Annwn*, another Pagan contacts magazine which first appeared during 1989. Contacts zines aside, most Pagan magazines during the 1970s–1980s centered around articles, editorials, letters and opinion pieces, Pagan-related news; reviews of Pagan literature, and yes—the occasional contacts section.

After surveying how-to books and memoires produced by leading Wiccans and Witches during the 1970s–1980s in the previous chapter, it is now time to explore the rich magazine scene, in which such voices intermingled with those of ordinary, run of the mill Wiccans and Pagans. This

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would hopefully allow us to achieve a more accurate analysis, which would take into account the shaping of the discourse on women and gender issues at the grassroots level, instead of the potentially distorted image which could be generated by focusing solely on the writings of 'big name' Wiccans.

Researching Zines

Stephen Duncombe defines zines as "non-commercial, non-professional, small-circulation magazines which their creators produce, publish, and distribute by themselves".[2] Their typical layout was usually made of "a highly personalized editorial, …a couple of opinionated essays or 'rants', criticizing, describing, extolling something or other, … [as well as] reviews of other zines, … books, and so forth. Throughout it would be poems, a story, reprints from the mass press…, and a few hand-drawn illustrations or commix. The editor would produce the content him or herself, solicit it from personal friends or zine acquaintances, or, less commonly, gather it through an open call for submissions".[3] These underground publications were mostly distributed via the mail or on a person-to-person basis, as well as through alternative bookshops, and their lifespan ranged "from single-issue 'one-shots' to volumes spanning years".[4]

While some of the articles featured in both zines in general and Pagan zines in particular contain materials which seem outlandish and bizzare, when "considered in their totality, zines weren't the capricious ramblings of isolated cranks (though some certainly were), but the variegated voices of a subterranean world staking out its identity… in the shadows of the mass media".[5] Duncombe further maintains that "[e]very zine is a community institution in itself, as each draws links between itself and others. Many zines include[d] extensive 'letters' columns, sometimes spreading letters throughout their zine, drawing no sharp distinction between these and other content, and most zines print[ed] reviews of other zines, telling their readers how to send away for them…[, and thus] ensure[d] that zines…[were] not only the voice of an individual publisher, but a conduit for others' expressions as well".[6]

Tim Holmes and Jane Bentley as well suggest that specialist magazines in Britain provide "a locus around which communities can be constructed" in the sense of Benedict Anderson's concept of an 'Imagined Community'—"a socially constructed entity, created collectively by those individuals who perceive themselves to be part of a particular group".[7] Indeed, from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s an

underground 'zine scene' flourished in North America and the UK, comprised of "a network of political, sexual, and spiritual non-conformists, all of whom communicated through small-circulation hand-made magazines called fanzines, abbreviated to zines"[8] Christian Greer, who recently completed a Ph.D. dissertation on the esoteric and counter-cultural alternative magazine scene in 1960s–1980s North America, maintains that "the zine scene was an exceptionally fecund network in regards to the crosspollination of radical politics, illegal sexualities, and esotericism, and as such stands as "an undiscovered continent" of primary source materials for scholars of contemporary anarchism, cultural studies, and esotericism".[9] Greer further maintains that the esoteric zine scene

> constitutes a novel iteration of familiar esoteric practices, which, subsequently, marks a transition in the nature of esotericism itself. The D.I.Y. process of the zine's creation, [and] its function as a vehicle for the dissemination of esoteric materials… are…[two] ways in which the zine scene comprises esoteric practice in a new context. In regards to this new context, the zine scene evidences the transition from the era of professional esoteric journals produced by organizations seeking respectability to one dominated by irreverent, and cheap, self-made periodicals. Far from seeking a wider acceptance by the reading public, these self-produced zines were distributed through an underground network of contacts maintained as much by secrecy as it was by a sense of elitism. This shift to D.I.Y. amateurism marks not only a shift in media technology, but the sociological nature of esoteric discourses as a whole. Analysis of the zine scene raises important questions around how scholars address the social location of esoteric practice, knowledge, and material culture in the late 20th century.[10]

During the 1970s, and particularly the 1980s, Wiccan (as well as more generally, Neopagan) communication relied heavily on "fanzines, little pagan magazines, and… [on] small adverts in the back of them. You would chase them and follow them and then go to something called 'pub moots' and you'd quietly be identified. You'd go a few times and say quietly that you're looking for a coven, looking for initiation".[11]

The Wiccan

Of these magazines, the oldest continuous publication was *The Wiccan*, the organ of the Pagan Front (later the Pagan Federation), now published as *Pagan Dawn*. John Score (1914–1979), its founding editor,

joined the Witchcraft Research Association in 1964 and was initiated into first and second-degree Wicca by Madge Worthington, High Priestess of the Whitecroft[12] Gardnerian tradition in 1967. His wife, Jean (d. 2002), was initiated as well, and together they founded a coven in Poole, which they named the Order of the Golden Acorn.[13] In 1968, Score founded *The Wiccan*, and in 1971 he established the Pagan Front, which he would lead until his death in November 1979. The meeting to set up the organization was held at Madge Worthington's London residence, and in addition to Score it was attended a few others, among them Doreen Valiente.[14] According to Pengelly, Hall and Dowse, "[t]he Pagan Front's influence on the Pagan underground was considerable… It became seen as a sort of Pagan 'establishment', much to its organizer's horror".[15] Subscriptions to *The Wiccan* ranged between 50 and 100 during most of the 1970s and 1980s, rising to 240 in the Samhain 1988 issue and to 250 during 1989 before reaching 2000 by the mid-1990s.[16]

The Wiccan's first issue included a declaration on 'The Mother Principle and a Practical Problem', which stated that "the Wicca, unlike the male polarized Christians, have the concept of paired authority involving at least equal consideration for the mother principle as well as the father". Score took care to highlight the plight of "the unsupported mother and her child" in his declaration and called for the "[t]otal emancipation for women from enslavement [which]… can only become complete when childbearing and parenthood in no way imposes financial or social disadvantages, or loss of freedom; and conversely, when no woman may be pressured into pregnancy for any reason".[17] He tried to promote "[a] 'new deal' for motherhood, with absolute financial security based on communal responsibility (with adjusted national priorities and revised economic structure if necessary), bringing total emancipation to womanhood".[18] Score also took care to list a London-based campaigning group for unsupported mothers called 'Mothers in Action', which was founded a year earlier.[19] Michael Howard also notes that Score's "support for feminism and human rights was… demonstrated by advertising for the Women's Liberation Workshop and the National Council for Civil Liberties" in *The Wiccan*.[20] But while Score obviously shared several ideas with the nascent Women's Liberation Movement, it would be ill-advised to assume that he was a feminist by the standards of the WLM activists of the late 1960s and early 1970s. In his discussion of healing and herbalism in the Middle Ages, for instance, he did accuse the medical establishment of performing a hostile takeover of the care and

the administration of medicines, yet his analysis did not contain the gender viewpoint that would characterize later radical feminist treatments of the subject, and his medieval herbalist was male.[21] He was "[i]n favor sexual liberty, free abortion on demand (though preferably free contraception first), but opposed to matriarchy… [and] homosexuality".[22] A complex person, the feminist (if we can indeed call him that) in Score was not of the radical variety, but the liberal one.

Score's 1970 draft for the 'Pagan Front Creed'—as well as a surviving 1973 version of the organization's manifesto—portrayed a cosmology composed of complementary, equal forces: The Horned God was not portrayed as the Goddess' consort, but as a totally equal—albeit different and complementary—agent.[23] In a 1970 issue of *The Wiccan*, Score described Wicca as a "female-based religion…, but giving full & due weight to male value".[24] About a month later, he added—while stating that "the Aquarian Age now commencing will be the Age of Woman rather than Man"—that with the fall of 'male-polarized' Christianity "[t]he competitive attitudes of the human female will slowly give way to *partnership* [sic] with her male counterpart".[25] By late September 1972, Score openly challenged the description of Wicca as matriarchal religion, its covens 'dominated and led' by their respective high priestesses, and instead stressed a balance composed of pairs of female and male opposites in both cosmology and coven leadership, as "[a] female polarised religion will be no more effective in the long run that the Xtian [sic] male polarization!".[26] His words drew fire from Patricia Crowther, who (as discussed above in Chapter 6) stressed the matriarchal stance, and in late November 1972 Score labeled her description of women as 'the wiser sex' "a piece of female chauvinism". In response to Crowther's 'the Craft developed during matriarchal prehistory' argument, Score stipulated that "the Old Religion may have over-emphasised the female aspect, becoming thus unbalanced, neglecting integration of the male forces, [and this] left the gate wide open to disastrous ingress by those whose minds were similarly distorted towards male exclusiveness…[, i.e.] the Xtian priesthood".[27] Score also criticized "[t]he deliberately limited approach of certain exponents of the Craft" on the matter of the superior status of the Goddess (symbolized by the moon) vis-à-vis the Horned God (also represented by the sun):

> …clearly the influence of any subordinate satellite body will depend upon the governing nucleus – in this instance the Sun. our Moon, as a symbol,

> has no existence without the fiery, masculine, initiatory light of the Sun. the Sun precedes the Moon, and on this limited analogous scale the male God-force dominates the female Goddess powers; and this situation is as unacceptable as the reversal promoted by female chauvinists![28]

Elsewhere Score illuminated his readers with his view on 'proper balance' between men and women in committed relationships:

> …male aggressiveness and sexual potency are inextricably interwoven. …if a woman should be so unwise as to allow herself the eccentricity of dominating her male partner, for *her* [sic] he becomes sexually impotent… . It is a clear warning to all women who wish for a normal and sexually fulfilled life…, to respect, cherish and encourage male dominance and aggression, and at the same time match and *balance* [sic] it in a closely ambient relationship, with loving feminine submissiveness and influence; thus channeling male force towards the creation of love-forms rather that disruption and destruction.

He summarized this with the formula "[t]he woman should be boss in the kitchen, and the man boss in bed".[29]

As already mentioned above in Chapter 5, Score was vehemently homophobic. In a letter to Leo Martello dated June 26, 1970 Score wrote that "no single male should be initiated without good evidence of heterosexual attainment", and that a coven which would contain homosexuals or lesbians would be regarded as "abomination" by established Wiccans.[30] Score was unable to view lesbianism as simply an innate attraction to women, but sought to explain it using an external—and male—locus: either as the cause of a prevailing 'Male inclination' carried over from a preceding incarnation in a male body; or the result of unsatisfactory sexual encounters with less than adequate male lovers; or in order to avoid childbearing and its resulting financial dependence upon a man. Score saw this as 'male emulation' and suggested that the true solution to the plight of women was not the 'lesbian trend' "but male recognition *In Full* [sic] of the value of their opposite sex in all their special functions, abilities and spheres of appropriate actions. Women have an equal part to play in the world", he concluded, "but as women, not as male emulators".[31] For this reason, Score also objected wholeheartedly to the existence of Dianic covens in the United States after he realized what Budapest's teachings were all about and was in many ways unable to support Monica Sjöö's Goddess Feminism (as shown in Chapter 5).

In November 30, 1979, John Score passed away. Several months following Score's death Leonora James "took up *The Wiccan* and the Pagan Front, working with a fellow-priestess to answer the backlog of letters and tidy up the files, and eventually bringing out the next issue of *The Wiccan* nearly a year after the death of its founder".[32] James became a member of the Pagan Front during late 1974, and first met John Score during December 1975. She befriended Score and his wife, Jean, visited their home and corresponded with them until Score's death.[33] James renamed the Pagan Front as the Pagan Federation, served as its president during 1979–1991, and co-headed the Pagan Anti-Defamation League during 1985–1990.[34]

James is described as a leading Wiccan High Priestess by both Ronald Hutton and Tanya Luhrmann, who introduced her in her study as 'Margaret'.[35] We can thus utilize Luhrmann's description of James for our purposes. Reading Jane Ellen Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* and Ester Harding's *Women's Mysteries* as a philosophy student during the 1970s made James realize "that this was very much to do with being a woman. Which was rather nice, because of course as a woman before I'd been very ambivalent about being a woman. It seemed to be a second class status, and it made me very uncomfortable". In a conversation with Luhrmann held around 1983–1984, she added that

> it's easier for women to be in touch with that physical, animal power, and that animal power keeps the world going. It's not your personal power, it's the power you're given by nature. Nature is the power. It's the common ground that you have with other women and with the earth itself. And with the heavens. And with the cycles of the earth and heavens, and the planets and the whole rhythm of the cosmos. Women are very rhythmic. … it all fits in with… blood mysteries of women, the menstrual mysteries, and the birth mysteries… [m]enstruation is the time of the greatest witchpower for any woman. … We're nearer to the earth… [w]e're nearer the ground of nature, as well as being able to be ecstatic [sic] and inspired.[36]

Here cultural feminism was represented en masse, but understanding James' feminism at the time is not so simple a task. In a letter she wrote during September 1985, James presented what in her mind was "[t]he best explanation for patriarchal consciousness" (which she actually heard from 'a white man who is a student of Native American shamanism'): "Men are jealous of women's natural psychic power. …They try to steal it, then they try to control it, and if all else fails, they just

deny its existence".[37] She provided a complimentary theory conveyed to her by a female acquaintance, who pointed out that "it must have been women who let themselves be persuaded out of belief in themselves in the first place, or even who failed to appreciate and use their natural power".[38] Combining these two approaches, James chose to highlight that "women need to regain the strength to engage in the real battle of the sexes, a battle aimed not at dominance (as in the patriarchal, win-lose system), but at the creative transformation of both parties. Erotic not eristic".[39] Here she was both influenced by radical and cultural feminist jargon, while at the same time opting for a solution which would be inclusive of men and less based on radical/revolutionary activism. Similarly, while she met and talked with Monica Sjöö at one of the 1982 Green Gathering, James found her ideology to be

> …a kind of Goddess supremacy, which in a sense I was quite in favor of, umm… everybody likes to be the supreme being, why not? Ummm, so in a sense I was drawn to it but I didn't actually like the content of what was going on. I was being invited to identify with…with in a type of femaleness that I didn't particularly felt comfortable with. It seemed, umm.. there was something quite…quite visceral about it… 'its not for me. I'm not quite sure why, because on paper I should subscribe to this'. And that sort of radical feminism seemed…though in a sense, appealing… well, I didn't want to be stuck in the female role all my life. As a liberal feminist I wanted the freedom to move between roles…[40]

Furthermore, as a member of the Territorial Army (a kind of British equivalent to the American National Guard), James was at conflict with much of the aim of the women at Greenham and had no involvement with either the camp itself or with its support groups in her locality. She "avoided having any direct confrontation, because… I could see entirely were they were coming from – like anybody else I thought nuclear warfare was a bad thing, ummm… but it was a threat you had to make".[41] As editor of *The Wiccan*, she did however provide a platform for the first issue of Pagan Against Nukes' *The Pipes of PAN*, which has been sent to her by the group's coordinators, and did not add her own opinion regarding nuclear weapons to the report.[42] The Pagan Federation archive contained several items which show that while James did not necessarily supported or identified with all the activities of Goddess Feminists or feminist-inclined Pagans, as editor of *The Wiccan*

and head of the Pagan Federation she was many times approached or contacted by such groups and individuals who let her know about their publications and rituals.

The archive includes, for example, a photocopied page with *Arachne*'s description and mailing address, dated 1986, as well as a flyer for a 'Women's Mysteries' exhibition, organized by Sheila Broun at the Ecology Center in London between April 10 and April 21, 1990.[43] As mentioned above, Shan also corresponded with Leonora James during May 1989.[44] A 1990 letter written by James to Daniel Cohen, editor of the feminist-inclined *Wood and Water*, contains a suggestion for an exchange system between the magazine and The *Wiccan*.[45] We have also seen that James warmly reviewed Sjöö's 1981 *The Ancient Religion of the great Cosmic Mother of All*, and even suggested it as a book covering 'the feminist aspect of the Craft' in a letter to a Wiccan seeker. It was only fitting that *The Wiccan*'s review of Sjöö's book directly followed a piece on Dianic Witchcraft which featured the latter in an objective manner, without any reservation. The piece even described the joint ritual work made by Wiccans, Pagans, and Dianic witches at the 1982 Green Gathering and stated that the Wiccans were happy to work with the Dianics and discuss their different traditions.[46] The anonymous subscriber who donated this particular issue of *The Wiccan* to the Museum of Witchcraft's library marked that story with his or her pencil and wrote three words: "Don't times change". The ritual itself was organized by Pagans Against Nukes, who invited James to help in its facilitation.

The Pagan Federation archive also contains letter correspondences between Leonora James and seekers interested in Wicca and Paganism. Her replies as the head of the Pagan Federation tell us something regarding her own personal attitudes toward American feminist Witchcraft, as well as of those of the organization she was representing. While Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* does not feature in the short lists of recommended books James included in her letters during the very early 1980s,[47] all of the surviving letters which included book lists and were sent from late August 1983 onwards certainly recommended it.[48] The inclusion of Stahawk's books in the letters might have been encouraged by James' review of the 1981 edition of Adler's *Drawing Down the Moon* in May of 1983, and her conclusion that "British… readers will find the chapters on feminist witchcraft thought-provoking, providing a perspective which is generally lacking here".[49] *The Cauldron*'s highly positive review of *Dreaming the Dark* in early August of that

year might have contributed as well.[50] In the letters, Starhawk's work was almost always noted as one of several worthy books on Paganism and Wicca generally, and only one of them relegated her *Dreaming the Dark* and *The Spiral Dance* to a list of books covering the 'feminist aspect' of the Craft.[51] In one case Starhawk's writings were even signaled out (in tandem with Valiente's volumes) by James as inspirational books, "best…for an accurate impression" of Paganism.[52] This should not create the impression, however, that James did not have critical reservations of some aspects in Starhawk's ideology: In late 1985, she took care to state that she

> …disagree[d] profoundly with Starhawk's fusion of spirituality and politics[53]. … if a political movement takes place in order to implement a spiritual view of the world then what you get is a tyranny of dogma and superstition… . …Surely she is not creating a new religion in order to bring about her political aims? Chaining people's minds with pagan taboos in order to turn them into right on Green feminists? … There is a subtle but crucial difference between accepting the fact that the new spiritual insights you have accepted, if accepted by others, will inevitably change society and using religious symbols in order to change society.

Thus, while James—whose spiritual emphasis lay on the more initiatory, occultistic side of the spectrum—conceded that "a spiritual initiation, however fleeting, always carries with it a profound sense of responsibility for the world… and the need to discover a new way of acting in" it, she stressed that "to conclude as …[Starhawk] does that spiritual growth 'is not separate from everyday life' and 'requires activity in the world', implying that religion and politics are 'fused solid' is simply false".[54]

The Cauldron

When considering the magazine scene of the 1970s–1980s, the centrality of *The Wiccan* was matched (and one might argue—surpassed) by one other publication—Michael Howard's *The Cauldron*. Howard's interest in witchcraft developed during the early 1960s, when as student of an agricultural college in Somerset he heard stories of local 'cunning men' and 'wise women'. In 1964, Howard joined the newly formed Witchcraft Research Association, and in 1967 became a member of the

Order of the Morning Star—a Luciferian group headed by Madeline Montalban, which practiced angelic magic. Two years later he was initiated into third-degree Gardnerian Wicca by Rosina Bishop—who was also part of the Regency group—but did not joined her coven, or any other during this period.[55] During the early 1970s Howard briefly headed his own group, which combined ritual angelic magic with traditional witchcraft and Gardnerian Wicca, but by the late 1970s, and all throughout the 1980s and 1990s he "worked as a solitary practitioner or with a partner in the magical arts and traditional witchcraft".[56] In 1974, he launched the short-lived *Spectrum* magazine, which dealt broadly in occultism in a somewhat similar manner to *Quest*. According to Howard, it was Madge Worthington who suggested to him during the autumn of 1975 that he should form his own Pagan magazine "as a non-political alternative to *The Wiccan*". The first issue of *The Cauldron* was launched at Candlemas 1976 "with a print-run of one hundred copies", twenty of which were "sold through the Atlantis Bookshop in London".[57]

In March 1974, Howard published a critique on Wicca in *Quest*, which highlighted several issues. Most importantly for our purposes, Howard made it clear that "[d]espite the silly gimmicks of the Women's Lib groups it is total equality of women which is required". This equality, according to Howard, was nevertheless supposed to acknowledge—and glorify—the different attributes men and women were believed to embody. Based on this premise, Howard expressed a dedication to polarity in magical work (which, as I have shown, filtered through the Golden Dawn, Crowley and Fortune to Wicca), whereby "the female principle (activated in a liberated woman) rules the subconscious mind", while the male magus represented the conscious mind which projected the images produced in the inner planes into the outer world of reality.[58] Howard's own perception of feminism was connected not with the aforementioned 'silly gimmicks' of its radical or cultural expressions, but with its liberal strand.[59] With this in mind, Howard called Witches and Pagans to lead "the modern society in the concept of liberated womanhood" and added that "[e]quality begins in the coven, at grassroots level, and it is up to all witches… to show the example".[60] Howard's liberal feminist views are present in his negative review of Anthony Roberts' *Sacred Glastonbury: A Defense of a Myth Defiled* (which was surveyed in Chapter 4 of this book), as well as in his reaction to "a series of savage attacks on feminists made

by certain leading (male) Earth Mysteries personalities".[61] He took care to emphasize that

> …we ourselves… have reservations about certain aspects of the women's movements. In their brave attempt to modify particular attitudes which are deep rooted in our society some feminists have only succeeded in alienating male sympathisers by their extreme actions and words. The policy of 'sexual separatism' is one example of this divisive approach to the problem. …The Modern pagan movement has been aware of the inner equality of the sexes and what can be achieved on the psychic, magical and spiritual levels by the practical application of sexual polarity. Pagans… recognise that an influx of the Feminine Principle is deeply needed to restore the balance between the male and the female at all levels both earthly and spiritual.[62]

In the Hallowe'en 1979 issue of *The Cauldron*, which was, coincidently, the exact date in which Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* was published in the United States, Howard wrote—using a rather Dalyan discourse—that Paganism was "destined to play a vital role in the alternative society which emerges to replace outworn, spiritually sterile patriarchy".[63] Indeed during the 1970s–1980s Howard "read in passing the writings of Mary Daly and Robin Morgan" as well as the pamphlets issued by the British Matriarchy Study Groups and of books published by other "neo-pagan feminists" such as Starhawk. This was done for "research purposes" as editor of *The Cauldron*.[64] As noted in Chapter 3 of this work, Howard and the women of the London Matriarchy Study Group kept in some sort of contact, and he also gave a positive mention to their *Goddess Shrew* in the exchange advertisers section of his own magazine.[65] *Matriarchy News* received mention as well, and in a 1981 letter to Monica Sjöö, Hilary Llewellyn-Williams (co-editor of Goddess-inclined *Wood and Water*) noted first hearing of it via *The Cauldron*.[66] He also read Margot Adler's report on the American Pagan scene (with its feminist emphasis) in *Drawing Down the Moon*, and reviewed it for *The Cauldron* a few months after the book was published in the United States. Howard described it as "essential reading for anyone seriously interested in the future of the pagan belief system".[67] Howard was also informed of the 'Goddess Rising' conference, which took place at Sacramento during March 1982, and he noted the participation of Starhawk (whom he presented as author of *The Spiral Dance*) among the presenters.[68] He seems to have been aware of the book as of

the last months of 1981 at the latest.[69] By August 1983, he included a quote from Starhawk in the 'Think About It' section of *The Cauldron*, in which she wrote about the sacredness of the earth and the immanence of the Goddess.[70] At this point, he also reviewed her *Dreaming the Dark* as an "important book… [h]ighly recommended". Howard noted that while Starhawk "is honest enough to realise and admit that not all pagans will agree with her approach…[,] there are enough fascinating debating points here to keep most pagan discussion groups occupied for several months! Of specific note are the chapters on pagan ethics, sexuality, the Gods & Goddesses and the appendix entitled The Burning Times".[71] In August 1984, he quoted from Starhawk in another 'Think About It' section in the context of her discussion of interconnectedness and added that her books "contain some very perceptive observations with regards to the wider significance of pagan philosophy".[72] In the spring of 1985, Howard reprinted an edited version of an article by Starhawk in which she discussed the 1981 Diablo Canyon demonstrations and arrests, as well as her concept of 'power from within'.[73]

Howard also felt, however, that contemporary Wicca—especially in the post-Gardner age—entered a smothering "era of breast fixation", an over-emphasis on the Goddess' nourishing 'Great Mother' aspect, while at the same time "neglect[ing] her important role as the Great Enchantress".[74] This "overwhelming concentration on the Mighty Mater", added Howard, also led to the marginalization of the Horned God, of whom "[m]any witches make [only a] passing mention… when asked who they worship".[75] The discussion regarding the place of the Horned God within Wiccan and Pagan theology and practice would become more vocal during the 1980s, as I shall demonstrate further below.

Howard avidly supported Pagan groups who linked the spirituality with ecological awareness and included an 'Econews' section in *The Cauldron* since 1980.[76] In the summer of 1980, Howard published a notice by 'The Women's Ecology Group', which was to combine aspects of ecology and Goddess teachings.[77] By early 1981, Howard informed his readers of a new group titled Pagans Against Nukes, and in an article he published in *The Pipes of PAN*'s sixth issue he referred to a piece published in its preceding Samhain 1981 issue, thus suggesting he read the magazine continuously.[78] While Howard never attended any demonstrations or other activities at Greenham, he did know women (and men) who were involved in the camp, and as editor of *the Cauldron* he was

also aware that Witches and Pagans more specifically were active there as well. Furthermore, as a member of CND Howard "supported their aims of getting US nuclear cruise missiles off British soil".[79] News of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp thus reached 'mainstream' British Pagans through *The Cauldron* early on, when Howard emphasized the fact that Greenham women chose to hold their "festival of life" during the spring equinox.[80] According to Howard, "Many Pagans took part in the ['embrace the base'] mass demonstration at Greenham Common".[81]

The Aquarian Arrow

Not all British Wiccan initiates supported Greenham or Pagans Against Nukes, however. Jean 'Ellen' Williams and Zachary Cox, who headed the Bricket Wood coven and began to publish their own occult magazine, *The Aquarian Arrow*, in October 1977, were staunchly critical of PAN (of which more will be said below), and while Cox printed the first, single-sheet, issue of *The Pipes of PAN* (which reached them by post), they made their reservations clear in their comment—titled "Pagans Against Progress".[82] More generally, however, the magazine's attitude toward the Women's Liberation Movement was rather ambivalent. Cox reviewed Naomi Goldenberg's 1979 *Changing of the Gods* (in which she coined the term 'Thealogy') in the *Aquarian Arrow* during 1982. He noted that while "[t]he jacket-blurb suggests 'feminist' axe-grinding,… that does the book no justice. Goldenberg's brand of feminism is intelligent, creative and life-affirming" and added that "her approach is lively and involved".[83] A similarly ambivalent view toward feminisms was expressed by a male reader who reviewed Diane Stein's *The Kwan Yin Book of Changes* (1985). While hailing her "savage criticism of man's past folly towards women" and her "purge… of such male-chauvinist notions such as 'the Superior Man'", the reviewer added that "it could be (and doubtless will be in some circles) argued that the work substitutes [sic] on equally objectionable female chauvinism" and that the book's feminism was "too self-conscious".[84]

Wood and Water

By the late 1970s, specifically feminist inclined Pagan magazines began to appear on the British scene. *Wood and Water* was the first of these. The magazine was the brainchild of Hilary Llewellyn Williams and

Tony Padfield, who both shared a passion for the preservation and veneration of sacred wells. Llewellyn-Williams had "long been attracted to Wicca without ever having been involved in a coven".[85] In the autumn of 1978, the two published a short leaflet on the subject, and the interest it attracted eventually led to the publication of the first issue of *Wood and water* in 1979. During its first couple of years, the scope of the magazine broadened into a wider ecopaganism, with an emphasis on "the restoration of female values and the primacy of the Goddess".[86] *Wood and Water*'s emphasis on Goddess feminism was called into question early on by some of the early subscribers, who were interested primarily in wells and were not necessarily pagan. This prompted Llewellyn-Williams to clarify the importance, in her mind, of Goddess primacy, matriarchal societies' presumed peacefulness opposite to patriarchal "aggressive and competitive values", as well as their "cyclical… life-centered" time perception compared to 'continuous', 'industrial', and 'death-centered' patriarchal time. Her sources were Shuttle and Redgrove's *The Wise Wound*, an article by Sjöö on menstruation—which appeared in her Pamphlet *Women are the Real Left*—as well as Anna Perenna's "Towards a Matriarchal Manifesto", which appeared in the London Matriarchy Study Group's *The Politics of Matriarchy* pamphlet.[87] She made similar claims in an editorial published in the magazine's fifth issue and added that it aimed at challenging "[t]he oppression of…mechanistic society"—signaling her influence by Merchant's discourse.[88]

During April 1980, *Wood and Water* organized a spring gathering in a Quaker Meeting House at Pickering, Yorkshire (on the edge of the North York Moors National Park), which was publicized in advance by *The Cauldron* as well.[89] According to Rupert White, participants included Monica Sjöö, Pauline Long, Daniel Cohen and Jo O'Clereigh.[90] Matriarchy and matrifocality were among the subjects debated in the gathering's discussion groups,[91] and in its wake plans for a nationwide loose network of active and autonomous spiritual/ecology 'Gaia' groups—which would keep contact with other ecological and feminist organizations—were announced in the summer of 1980 in both *Wood and Water* and *The Cauldron*.[92]

In 1981, Llewellyn-Williams and Padfield announced an initiative to establish the "Spiral Centre… a Free School, Education and Resource Centre based on a mixed Matrifocal Pagan Community":

> The key feature of Spiral Centre will be the primacy of women, round which the whole Spiral will revolve. The community will be organized around the rhythms and needs of women and young children; women and men will work side by side as loving and respected equals, but in all important decisions affecting the life of the community and its work women will determine the final outcome – and in spiritual matters will be the initiators and creators. This 'positive discrimination' is for good reason. Our very existence will be a challenge to patriarchy and an alternative to patriarchal values. …We believe that the ancient matriarchies were peaceful, filled with positive energy… and we will be working to re-awaken the spirit of the Goddess-centered communities of old, adapted to our needs in the present times.[93]

A second weekend Wood and Water Spring Gathering was held at Cwmdulais Farm (set in rural southern Wales) in May 1981 to celebrate Beltane. One visitor performer from overseas who stayed for the duration of the gathering was Batya Podos (on which more would be said later)—an American feminist who had been initiated into a British Hereditary Witchcraft tradition in the States.[94] Ads for both *Wood and Water* and the gathering were inserted in the March 1981 issue of *Spare Rib*.[95] Monica Sjöö and Rufus Brock Maychild (who would later edit *The Pipes of PAN*) participated in the gathering as well.[96] Recently Maychild recalled that the participants at this gathering "were a motley bunch of… [the magazine's] subscribers", and at least one of them—Ken Rees—was a Wiccan initiate.[97]

By late February to early March of 1981, Llewellyn-Williams felt that their original aim, of initiating "a *network of people* [sic] to care for and reclaim sacred springs' i.e. who would go out [sic] and look for wells that needed attention…, … meet together from time to time, and keep in touch through Wood & Water… hasn't happened", and that "[i]deas like 'Gaian groups' evoked little response" as well.[98] By August 1981, Llewellyn-Williams and Padfield had "lost the energy, will, time and finances to continue producing" the magazine.[99] Subsequently, *Wood and Water* was edited by a London-based collective, which included Daniel Cohen. Ken Rees, who was involved in the earlier incarnation of the magazine, resigned from the collective in protest of "the censorship applied to balanced criticism of extreme feminist views and object[ed] to the development of WW in the direction of one-sided matriarchal feminism to the exclusion of more moderate views".[100] He obviously included Starhawk as a representative of the latter view, since his book review—published in the same issue—hailed *The Spiral Dance*

as "a sophisticated text where virtually every line conveys meaning and vitality". He particularly recommended Chapter 2, on the Worldview of Witchcraft, and Chapter 6, on the Horned God, and concluded that "[i]t is perhaps an open question as to how many groups in this country provide for their members the level of intellectual awareness or degree of systematic training found in Starhawk's covens".[101]

Since its inception, *Wood and Water* was connected with the Goddess Spirituality scenes in both the United States and Britain. Hilary Llewellyn-Williams contributed a poem to a 1982 issue of *Womanspirit*, and *Wood and Water* published details on the 1982 Goddess Rising conference, which was organized in Sacramento by Ann Forfreedom and included speeches by many American Pagan luminaries such as Starhawk, Margot Adler, Selena Fox, and Carol Christ.[102] Furthermore, in a piece written several years later for the *MRRN Newsletter* , Monica Sjöö noted that the *Wood and Water* was probably known to many *MRRN* readers.[103] The Greenham Common issue received full backing as well: In late 1980, *Wood and Water* Published an extract from *The Pipes of PAN*'s first issue simultaneously with the latter's debuted.[104] It also included the initial call by Women For Life on Earth regarding the march from Cardiff to Greenham, which culminated in the founding of the Women's Peace Camp.[105] Hilary Llewellyn-Williams likewise took part in the 'Embrace the Base' demonstration at Greenham in December 1982 and wrote a report on the proceedings in the magazine.[106]

Under the new co-editor, Daniel Cohen (b. 1934)—who produced the magazine between 1981 and 2003—*Wood and Water* continued with its commitment and connection to Goddess Feminism and feminist Witchcraft. Cohen hails from a Jewish background and was raised by atheist parents. His interest in spirituality developed during the mid-1970s around the age of forty after reading Merlin Stone's *The Paradise Papers* and via Colin Murray's Golden Section Order—whose rituals he attended with Asphodel Long and other women who were active in the London Matriarchy Study Group. Growing up during the war, Cohen was accustomed as a child to women performing what have previously considered 'male' jobs, such as law and medicine practice, and consequently developed a liberal feminist political view as he matured.[107] During the latter half of the 1970s, he was a member of Alternative Socialism, together with Asphodel Long and other members of the London Matriarchy Study Group.[108] Cohen had no close acquaintances who were part of a Wiccan coven as late as May 1980 and

had only met a few "men who described themselves as pagan" during the preceding months.[109] On the eve of May Day 1980, through his contact with Asphodel Long of the London Matriarchy Study Group, Cohen took part in a full moon walk up the maze of the Glastonbury Tor which was set up by Kathy Jones and Geoffrey Ashe,[110] and—as described above—included Monica Sjöö as well.

Cohen read *The Spiral Dance* during April 1980 and immediately wrote to Starhawk, noting that he was "very taken by it".[111] He applauded her for developing a tradition of feminist spirituality which "gives the God, and so men, a place which is highly important without, as too often happens, his usurping the place of the Goddess".[112] Cohen visited the 1982 'Goddess Rising' Conference, which was organized by the feminist Witch Ann Forfreedom in California and included Starhawk (and many others) among its speakers. He joined Starhawk's 1982 tour of Ireland, and made connections with some of its American participants.[113] Cohen was in good terms with her (she later stayed in his London flat during her visit to the UK), and in May 1982 he announced to the readers of *Wood and Water* that he could get some copies of *Dreaming the Dark*—which was to be published during the late summer—directly from Starhawk.[114] He reviewed the book in a later issue of *Wood and Water* in an overall positive manner, but took issue with Starhawk for failing to refer to the potential problems which could arise in mixed ritual and political groups (due to deeply set patriarchal conditioning).[115] His close relationship with Asphodel long, who co-authored a paper titled 'Is it Worthwhile Working in a Mixed Group?', no doubt affected this.[116] Vicky Noble's *Motherpeace—A Way to the Goddess Through Myth, Art and Tarot* (1983), and its accompanying tarot pack, were also reviewed in *Wood and Water* during the spring of 1984.[117] Cohen himself read many radical and cultural feminist texts, and as late as 1987 he noted finding Susan Griffin as "one of the most profound and moving feminist writers".[118]

Beth Neilson, Loren Liebling, Imogen Cavanagh, and Batya Podos

In 1984, Cohen joined a gender-mixed feminist-inclined ritual group which was forming in London and lasted around 25 years. The members of this group at the time of its inception hailed from a wide range of wiccan/Pagan backgrounds, including Dianic Witchcraft,

Reclaiming, Alexandrian Wicca, Traditional Witchcraft, etc.[119] It is worthwhile to expand on this group now before we turn our gaze elsewhere, as an examination of its membership would serve as a fine example to the importance of transatlantic connections in at least some British Pagan groups at the time. According to Cohen and 'Beth Neilson',[120] the group's ritual structure was actually created during the 1970s for another group, which was based in Ealing and functioned in large part as a sort of outer group associated with Ruth Wynn Owen's Y Plant Bran. It was Neilson—who began her involvement with Witchcraft during the late 1960s[121]—and another member of the original 1970s group, named Keith, who proposed using the rituals as a template in Cohen and Neilson's feminist-inclined group.[122] The group also included Lauren Liebling, an American who was originally a member of Starhawk's Raving Coven (which formed around 1976) as well as part of the Reclaiming Collective.[123] Liebling co-authored several Reclaiming chants with Starhawk, and was the one who suggested the title of her second book *Dreaming the Dark*.[124] She joined (and co-led) Starhawk's 1982 tour of Ireland, and in its aftermath stayed with Daniel Cohen at his London flat. Sometime during late 1982 or 1983, Liebling met Asphodel Long through Cohen, and so had some contact with the Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network, which she however chose not to join. At Cohen's flat, she also met (and fell in love with) one of his friends from the men's movement group. They moved in together, and subsequently he introduced her to Beth Neilson. Liebling and Neilson started a female 'moon group' which met monthly for several years, with Liebling's landlady (who was interested in Goddess Feminism) and two others, who were self-taught through *The Spiral Dance* and had been working through the exercises in the book in a group in Kent. According to Liebling, "the group… was a typical Reclaiming group for the time, we started with Check Ins and the path we took from there was a weaving of common themes from the check ins. That was what decided what 'work' we would do".[125] In 1984, when Neilson, Cohen, and several others formed the mixed ritual group, they were joined by Liebling and another friend of Cohen, an American woman living in London, who has been active as Witch in the States.[126] This was Batya Podos, who has been mentioned above as having been initiated into a British 'hereditary witchcraft' tradition in the United States during the 1970s. Podos, who was also a feminist, read all the important radical and cultural feminist texts of the American

variety which are described in Chapter 3 of this work, and alongside her continued involvement in the original, mixed group, formed an all-female Wiccan circle. She met Starhawk in San Francisco during the 1970s and felt that the latter's work "dovetailed nicely" with that of her own.[127] Podos corresponded with Jean Freer prior to her 1981 visit to the UK (her performance at the 1981 Wood and Water Spring Gathering had already been noted above), and it seems Freer tried to organize for her a performance in Glastonbury. Podos looked forward to such occasion and expressed her wish to meet "other women in the craft", but it is unclear whether the performance actually took place.[128] Podos corresponded with Helen Ives of the Sheffield Matriarchal Study Group as well, and wrote to Freer that she was slated to perform and facilitate a workshop there during 16–17 May 1981.[129] In 1983, she relocated to Britain, and through her strong connections with Cohen and Liebling became part of the aforementioned mixed group until she left for the United States in 1993.[130]

Another member, who used the pseudonym of Imogen Cavanagh, described herself as a student of Goddess mythology since 1974, who—in addition to her membership in Neilson and Cohen's mixed group—also participated in a women-only group which meditated and celebrated the monthly moon rituals. She felt "equally committed to evolving a strong Goddess-oriented spiritual tradition with women, and to discovering how men and women may draw on inspiration from ancient mythological themes to improve their interrelationship in contemporary society".[131] Similarly to Cavanagh, Neilson added that knowledge of the Gods as practiced in the group enabled the men "to develop their relationship both with/to the Goddess, with/to women and, perhaps most importantly in this society, with/to each other".[132] She noted the works of Starhawk as an example for writings on the Goddess (the other example was the books written by the Farrars) and deplored the loss of "the powerful autonomous and sexual aspect of the Goddess [under patriarchy]".[133] Elsewhere however she noted being angered by the Farrars' *The Witches Way* and *The Witches Goddess* due to their exclusively heterosexual bent.[134] Liebling voiced similar criticisms about *The Witches Goddess* around this period in a review she wrote for *Arachne*. She stated that she wished for feminist Witchcraft "to rediscover the right relationship between itself and Western esoteric tradition", in which she included British Wicca and viewed the book as a potential bridge between the two.[135] She did recommend it, albeit

"with reservations" regarding its "heterosexual bias", and criticized the Farrars for suggesting that 'mature' women should carry mature aspects of the Goddess in ritual circles, "younger women to carry more maid-like aspects" etc., which Liebling saw as rather "confining".[136]

Liebling recalled that the mixed ritual group adopted the same Reclaiming-based practice of 'check-in's which she first introduced into the all-female moon group.[137] The mixed group's basic cosmology, theology and practice were later introduced in a chapter co-authored by Beth Neilson and Imogen Cavanagh, which appeared in *Voices from the Circle* anthology.[138] It developed its own reading of the Threefold Goddess, whose transformation throughout the year reflected for them "not just the changes in the lifespan of women but also our individual relationship to Her". The group used "sets of triple colours, symbols and qualities" which they associated with the Goddess,[139] who appeared during the early part of the ritual year and the waxing moon simultaneously as "Creatrix, Mother and Virgin Daughter". The coupling of the Goddess' mothering and virginal attributes was meant to symbolize two periods in which a woman does not bleed: "the pre-menstrual young woman (the daughter) and the pregnant and lactating mother".[140] Spring and summer and the full moon symbolized the Goddess' growth into "full womanhood"—that of active sexuality and of menstruation—which was "almost lost under patriarchy". It is this aspect of the Goddess, continued Neilson, which "is the most difficult [for men] to meet because She demands total independence… [and] must be approached on Her own terms".[141] It is interesting to note that according to Neilson, Goddesses of this type are often depicted as wielding a labrys, which was first used by the supposedly matriarchal Minoans and later adopted as a symbol of women's power by lesbian feminist such as Mary Daly.[142] For Neilson, the Goddess wielding a labrys "cuts through the conjunction under patriarchy of sexual activity and reproduction".[143] At autumn and winter and during the waning moon, the group's Goddess transformed again, "from Priestess to Disintegrator", who is charged with "Magic, vision, healing and death".[144]

Jo O'Cleirigh

I shall now focus on another contributor and supporter of *Wood and Water* (as well as of *The Pipes of PAN*, as shall be seen below): the archeologist, Wiccan initiate, and currently a rotating Magister of the

Cornish-based Cuilna Sidhe coven—Jo O'Cleirigh. O'Cleirigh was raised as a Roman Catholic, but became disenchanted by it over the course of the 1960s. In 1959, long before he disaffiliated with Roman Catholicism, O'Cleirigh read Gardner's *WitchcraftToday* and Murray's *The Witch Cult in Western Europe*, and a few years afterward he added Valiente's *Where Witchcraft Lives* to the list. In the late 1960s, he noticed a couple of articles by Tony Kelly in a hippy Spiritual magazine titled *Gandalf's Garden*. It was only in late 1970, in the wake of a chance encounter with an issue of Joe Wilson's *The Waxing Moon* magazine at the basement of an alternative bookshop at Charing Cross—followed by a meeting and a ritual at Wilson's house—that he began to define himself as a Pagan and joined Kelly's Pagan Movement.[145] Around that time O'Cleirigh found copies of Marian Green's *Quest* magazine as well, which led to a long correspondence with Ruth Wynn Owen of the Y Plant Brân and to eventual meetings at her Ealing flat. O'Cleirigh then moved to Wales, and on route visited Tony Kelly's Selene community and attended a ritual with them. He also met Ken Rees and began a correspondence with Ronald White in January 22, 1972, eventually joining the Regency's open rituals for a relatively brief period.[146]

Later during the 1970s, he relocated to Cornwall, where he has lived ever since, and continued to meet with more Wiccans and Pagans. On May 5, 1984, he was initiated into first degree Gardnerian Wicca by Katie Ryder, originally a member of Doreen Valiente's Sussex coven. He would later undergo a second degree initiation into Alexandrian Wicca, by a coven called 'The Crannog', led by a high priestess named Donna Dib. This was long after he was first introduced to feminist ideas by a lesbian friend during the mid-1970s, which already made him feel that Goddess Spirituality "balanced the somewhat conservative Wicca… [he] was studying".[147] O'Cleirigh was involved in *Wood and Water* almost from its inception and began writing for the magazine in late 1979.[148] In his vision for *Wood and Water*'s 'Gaia Groups', he derived "some important insights" from Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance*.[149] Several months later he also quoted from the book in a review essay on 'Native Peoples, Womanspirit and Neopaganism', terming it "a classic in Neopagan literature".[150] The essay was dedicated mainly to Margot Adler's *Drawing Down the Moon*, which made O'Cleirigh "realise far more than I have… which people and groups in the American scene most harmonise with my own views, and with…the…ethos of wood & water".[151] He also called *Wood and Water* subscribers to give more support to local Goddess

feminists such as Monica Sjöö and the women of the Matriarchy Study Group.[152] Around 1983–1984 O'Cleirigh hosted Lauren Liebling at his hut in Lamorna, and she connected him with Starhawk, who—as already noted above—eventually met her in 1984, and the two accompanied her for several days as she toured Conrnwall and Glastonbury.[153]

Pagans Against Nukes

Another important feminist-inclined Pagan magazine of the period was *The Pipes of PAN*—the organ of Pagans Against Nukes (PAN), a group co-founded by Kate and Philip Cozens (the latter is known today by the name of Rufus Brock Maychild). The path that would lead Philip Cozens to co-found PAN began during the 1970s, when as a student at Cambridge he became a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Through reading Friedrich Engels and contemporary feminist literature, Cozens became acquainted with various takes on the myth of matriarchal prehistory, but was yet uninterested in spirituality and ritual. Following his studies, he encountered a novel which deeply affected him. It was Marion Campbell's *The Dark Twin* (1973), set in ancient Scotland at a point of conflict between Goddess religion and patriarchal cults. Shortly afterward, Cozens—a Women's Liberation sympathizer and a subscriber to *Spare Rib*—came across an ad placed in the magazine's January 1977 issue by Caitlin Matthews (b. 1952), who in turn introduced him to Wiccan magazines and groups.[154] Titled 'Mother Goddess', Matthews' ad aimed at providing "[a]n opportunity to meet witches who still honour the Mother", and to "[l]earn about the role of women in the Old Religion".[155] It should be noted that Matthews was by no means alone in her search for prospective Witches among the readers of *Spare Rib*: An ad titled 'Are You a Witch?'—which ran for four consecutive issues—referred both qualified Witches and those with "a serious interest in magic and the occult" to the catalog of 'Star Child', a business which operated out of Whitby, North Yorkshire.[156]

Before long Cozens was initiated into an Alexandrian coven, and a few years later—following a relocation—he joined a coven which described itself as 'Celtic traditional' in Reading, Berkshire. After a while, he became dissatisfied with the coven's activities and left to form a new group with a female partner he met in the coven. Shortly afterward, Cozens attained initiation as high priest in what later became known as the 'Whitecroft' line of the Gardnerian tradition. His links with

the Gardnerians were minimal, however, and he became much more involved with several uninitiated Pagans. It was around that time that he founded Pagans Against Nukes with his partner Kate.[157] According to Cozens, the idea behind PAN came to him after he participated in an anti-nuclear demonstration at Greenham Common (before the establishment of the Women's Peace Camp) and noticed a 'Christians For Peace' group among the many banners.[158] The Cozens aspired to establish the visibility of PAN in the Pagan and occult scene right from the start: In late 1980, they founded a magazine—titled *The Pipes of Pan*—which quickly reached exchange agreements with publications such as *The Cauldron* and *Wood and Water* and several relevant bookshops (including Atlantis in London), and sent copies of its issues to the United States. Over the following months, they maintained a presence at the Aquarian Festival and brought their banner to a Greenham demonstration held on Easter Monday1981.[159] By May 1981, they had received over 150 written enquiries, which included "a number [of individuals] interested in Paganism generally as the spiritual aspect of the general ecological movement", and by the Spring of 1982 PAN had sported several hundred members and had formed regional subgroups in London, Kent, Sussex, East Anglia, Lincolnshire, Cheltenham, Birmingham, Merseyside, and Dyfed.[160] According to Leonora James—who headed the Pagan Federation during the 1980s—PAN "had quite a high profile in the Pagan community" throughout this period, but in their report for the five year anniversary to PAN, *The Pipes*'s editors expressed disappointment at the fact that "[w]ith a couple of exceptions, none of the 'well-known' Craft names, and few of the 'mainline' Craft folk have been interested".[161] In a recent email correspondence, Rufus Maychild recalled that Patricia Crowther, Mike Howard of *The Cauldron*, and the Farrars were supportive of PAN.[162] An examination of Valiente's notebooks for the years 1981–1987 has shown her renewing her subscription to the magazine repeatedly during these years. In 1987, she even utilized the occasion to inquire with the editors for Monica Sjöö's new address, thereby supplying us with a fine example for the magazine's function as a bridge between British Wiccans and Goddess feminists.[163] At its height, *The Pipes of PAN* had print run of about 400 to 500 copies, some of which were sent to Pagan bookshops such as Atlantis in London, and its coordinators "developed strong links with feminist/Dianic pagans".[164]

Cozens counted Hilary Llewelyn-Williams and Tony Padfield—the original editors of *Wood and Water*—as dear friends.[165] As already noted

above, he attended the Wood and Water Gathering in 1981, where he met Monica Sjöö for the first time (after having been already familiar with her work).[166] By November of that year Ken Rees—who participated in the Gathering—published a review of Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* for *The Pipes of Pan* (as he did for *Wood and Water* the same month) and highlighted her "political awareness concerning human rights,… [and] Women's Liberation". Rees underlined the book's chapters on the worldview of Witchcraft and on the God as "particularly recommended… [and] thought provoking".[167] Cozens listed the former chapter as "[o]ne of the many things that impressed… [him] in Starhawk's The Spiral Dance" and noted that the magazine's editorial collective wished to sponsor a writing competition (of either poetry or prose) which would be based on the creation myth presented within it. The winner was to receive a copy of Starhawk's follow-up work, *Dreaming the Dark*.[168] The August 1983 issue of *The Pipes of PAN* featured a warm review of this latter volume, which focused on Starhawk's discussions of concepts such as 'power-from-within', 'estrangement' and immanence, and the editorial of the August 1984 issue quoted a paragraph from the book.[169] PAN's admiration for Starhawk subsequently developed into direct communication; in early 1985 *The Pipes of PAN* featured Starhawk's report on her participation in a peace delegation to Nicaragua.[170] Cozens himself eventually met Starhawk during her visit to the UK later that year: She stayed at his house in Reading for a few days, visiting the prehistoric site of Avebury with him and his partner, and later proceeded to Greenham.[171]

The Pipes of Pan covered Women for Life on Earth's march to Greenham during the autumn of 1981, and the magazine reported on activity at the camp throughout the 1980s.[172] PAN members also participated in several protest activities at Greenham throughout the decade.[173] Six (including Phillip Cozens) attended the 1982 "embrace the Base" action, and PAN's support of Greenham women is also evident in the decision of the Berkshire PAN branch to perform a magical working two days before the planned Greenham women's action, in order to ensure its success.[174] PAN supporters participated in the camp's '10 Million Women – 10 Days' demonstration, and several of them—who participated a few months earlier in PAN's Earth Awareness Conference—organized a Pagan ritual (complete with circle casting, calling the elements and power-raising) for which they previously posted notes at the information tents of all the camp's different 'gates'.[175]

PAN members camped at the 1982 Green Gathering for most of its duration and organized the aforementioned open Lughnasadh ritual there, "to which all Pagan & Magical traditions [were] welcome".[176] Several MRRN activists celebrated the festival at the Gathering as well, probably as part of the PAN ritual.[177] Another participant—as noted in the previous chapter—was Jean Freer. Philip Cozens remembered seeing Monica Sjöö at the Gathering, but he added that she probably did not attend the PAN ritual.[178] As the preceding chapters showed, Leonora James attended the ritual as well and issued a report in *The Wiccan* which stated that over one-hundred Wiccans and Pagans participated in the ceremony, organized by PAN with assistance from Pagan Federation members, 'Celtic and Thelemic Witches', as well as from the leaders of the Los Angeles Roebuck coven of Traditional Witches.[179] Another key participant was Bel Bucca, the high priest of an Alexandrian coven who co-founded (with the help of his High Priestess Ros Briagha) a Pagan learning center called Elfane in Dyfed, Wales.[180] Rufus Maychild recalled recently that "the 'Thelemics' were a couple of young men I knew as friends in Reading rather than anything more formal".[181]

While the ritual which took place at the 1982 Green Gathering primarily attracted the participants of the Gathering itself, who were sympathizers rather than active Pagan practitioners, PAN organized a s imilar ritual event at the 1983 Green Gathering which was "more concentratedly [sic] Pagan in attendance". The rite was simple and included "the most basic chants and dances, such as Starhawk's 'We can rise with the fire of freedom'".[182] The ritual—which was attended by about seventy Pagans—inspired the creation of a London PAN group. In early 1985, the latter's founder reported that they had conducted seven rituals in the capital between late 1983 and late 1984, and that these had drawn together between nine and twenty-eight participants who were involved with PAN and Marian Green's Green Circle.[183] One of these rituals, which took place during the autumn equinox, "was attended by a visiting American couple from Starhawk's territory"[184]—probably a reference to the San Francisco Reclaiming Community.

PAN activists were however becoming increasingly dissatisfied with "the highly commercial, London-based festivals… [as well as frustrated] with festivals like the Glastonbury C.N.D Festivals and the Green Gatherings", so in 1984 they decided to organize the first Pagan summer festival, titled the Earth Awareness Conference. This event attracted about a hundred participants, and "had a strong feminist involvement", with an attendance

of a "significant Dianic group 'led' by Jean Freer", Monica Sjöö "and a group of her friends", an American visitor named Bonnie Luchs (who edited *Pagan Unity News*) as well as "PAN subscribers generally".[185] According to Maychild's recollections, there was "some slight friction with 'separatism'", and this is corroborated by an account written by one participant in the Conference's aftermath, who stated that "yes, there did seem to be some tension between feminists and feminists".[186] According to the latter, these frictions extended to the design of the main ritual as well, as the pre-ritual discussions featured a "tedious" dispute regarding the sex of "the sun…[,] a ball of molten rock and burning gas".[187] PAN tried to organize another EAC the following year, but due to lower participation eventually opted for a smaller gathering in rural Wales.[188]

The magazine's Imbolc 1986 issue, released in February of that year, was mostly dedicated to letters from readers who responded to Monica Sjöö's and Nigel Pennick's articles, as mentioned in Chapter 5 of this book. Jo O'Clerigh, for instance, supported Sjöö without reservation, and stated that "the truth is that history is as the feminists would have it…[, as] [v]irtually all war has been devised and fought by men". O'Clerigh then referred his readers to Carolyn Merchant's *The Death of Nature* and described her analysis of the rise of the mechanistic worldview with Francis Bacon and René Descartes in order to urge men to "face up to the fact that either we help create something beautiful with our virility,… or it will be degraded and corrupted and turned to evil by this Baconian madness which sees Earth, as it sees women, as a passive female awaiting domination, or, even further degraded as a dead machine without its own inner life and integrity".[189] While Janet and Chris Skilberk agreed with Sjöö that "most men exhibit appalling and unacceptable attitudes and behavior most of the time" and ensured fellow readers that her writings do not state "explicitly that all maleness is bad", they simultaneously called upon "Monica and others… [to be] aware that their writings portray personal qualities in women as individual, worthy and valid while portraying personal qualities in men as purely collective, unworthy and unacceptable".[190] Dave Womersley added that the idea of matriarchy "worries" him, despite the assurances of matriarchalists that the women of this utopian society would not seek "power-over" men.[191] Greenham Cruisewatch member Ian Lee, on the other hand, suggested readers to go over the bibliography of Sjöö and Mor's book and recommended Merlin Stone's *The Paradise Papers*, Merchant's *The Death of Nature*, and Rich's *Of Woman Born* in particular.[192] A reader using the pseudonym of

'Tammuz' praised "women like Monica and Starhawk", but at the same time agreed with Pennick that "[v]irility and fertility in sexual matters are completely different from the weapon-like image of the phallus" and criticized Rufus Maychild for his "eagerness to take up the burden of guilt for women's suffering" and for the encouragement of "those who stereotype men with that view of the phallus, and only men".[193]

The magazine's editors, for their part, chose to restate both their support for Sjöö and their position "of firm support for feminism and for the Women's Liberation Movement… [while a]t the same time… strongly support[ing] the development of positive male spirituality", or, as they termed it, "the return of the male psyche from the jealous vengeful sadomasochism of the patriarchal cults to the gentle wildness of the Horned One".[194] For co-editor Nicola Miles (later known as Nicola Beechsquirrel[195]), this was a step in a rather different direction than the one she chose during early 1982 when she critiqued the new *Wood and Water* editorial collective for their Samhain 1981 issue (which included the first part on Sjöö's "No Real Changes" article):

> …it seems that the magazine is in some danger of moving away from gentle, Goddess-oriented Earth Magic and into the realm of feminism/politics, which I feel would be a great shame. I noticed a tendency to promote matriarchy as preferable to patriarchy, which it may well be, but the promoters of this idea seem to have forgotten that the natural order of things does consist of both male and female elements and that in order to achieve a balanced and harmonious universe both sexes must co-operate with each other… .[196]

Jean Freer's denunciation of British Pagans and Wiccans due to their insistence on acknowledging a male counterpart to the Goddess and their criticism of Dianic core beliefs, such as parthenogenesis and the segregation of boy children (published in *The Pipes of PAN*'s Spring 1987 issue and covered in Chapter 5), did not go unnoticed as well. 'Rosetta Stone', who identified as a Gardnerian, felt it important to stress that while her initiators taught her that Wicca was primarily matriarchal, "the male was [of] essential although not of primary importance". She proceeded to criticize Freer for her parthenogenesis "dream" and added that while she was aware of the current repressive nature of patriarchal society, the solution lay in cooperation and not in "an equally repressive matriarchal society".[197] A Gardnerian high priest named 'Merlin' provided a critical yet

far more accepting response.[198] Male-female polarity in ritual work was of course another area which divided feminist Witches and Dianics and British Wiccans. It was perhaps no coincidence, then, that in his generally unfavorable review of Janet and Stewart Farrars' *The Witches Goddess* in the same issue, Rufus Maychild critiqued their emphasis on polarity, a construct which he understood to be "a patriarchal fetish".[199]

In late 1990, following the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, Maychild and Beechsquirrel felt that the immediate threat of nuclear war had receded and decided to cease production of *The Pipes of PAN* and terminate the Pagans Against Nukes network. In the spring of 1991, they established a new—and short-lived—magazine titled *Pandora's Jar*: 'a radical journal of Earth-centered Pagan spirituality and politics' committed to a 'matristic' future, "in which as individuals we live in general equality, but where there is an overall focus towards the Great Goddess and all values implicit in Her".[200]

Moonshine

Another Pagan publication which was influenced by feminist rhetoric and practice was *Moonshine* magazine, which was founded during November 1986 and played an instrumental part in "setting up the networking organization PaganLink",[201] which—as mentioned in Chapter 5—was co-founded by Shan Morgain, Alan King, and Rich Westwood. Created in March 1987, PaganLink was "a loose organization… which aimed to bring together disparate Pagans and Pagan Groups, campaign over Pagan issues, and act as an information service for curious newcomers".[202] *Moonshine* itself was edited by Westwood and his wife Kate, and the couple also operated a Birmingham-based occult store named Prince Elric's bookshop.[203] The Westwoods were influenced by ecofeminism as early as 1983: One of the catalogs they produced that year contained an extract from a statement by Women For Life on Earth, whose coordinator, American expatriate Stephanie Leland—mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4 of this work—was involved in both the Greenham demonstrations and the Glastonbury Green Gathering.[204] In June 1987, Westwood suggested readers of *Moonshine* should organize a 'political' ritual in view of the Margaret Thatcher's victory in the election held during that month. Following criticism from a reader named Pat, who argued that such action would be of a 'power-over' nature, Westwood saw it fit to agree with her, yet simultaneously claim that such

a ritual was needed still, as individuals such as Thatcher simply had too much 'power-over' other human beings and therefore should not be allowed "the right to 'be herself' and contribute to the destruction of the world".[205] Westwood was highly influenced by Starhawk's writings in *The Spiral Dance* and *Dreaming the Dark* and sold them through his shop.[206] In early 1989, he also reprinted an interview she gave to the Canadian *New Catalyst* magazine a year before, in promotion of her then new title—*Truth or Dare*.[207] The interview, wrote Westwood, was "excellent in outlining how Pagan's [sic] have to go about things", which facilitated "[a] real understanding of the way 'pagan' spirituality can inter-relate with politics".[208] Westwood produced several booklets which, "in spite of a low print run, achieved something of an underground cult status amongst UK Pagans".[209] One of these was a 1989 co-authored 40-page booklet titled *Awakening the Dragon: Practical Paganism, Political Ritual and Active Ecology*, which "drawing directly from Starhawk, … [encouraged] male practitioners… to relinquish their 'innate' tendency of using 'power-over' by embracing their 'feminine' side". Dubbed by Andi Letcher as "a Starhawk-inspired call to arms", the booklet encouraged Pagans "to mix ritual and magical practices with political action".[210] On September 24, 1989, Rich Westwood died after suffering a severe heart attack. In the aftermath of his death, Kate Westwood continued to run their Birmingham shop and edited *Moonshine* with the help of Brett Coles.[211]

Another contributor to *Moonshine* was Robin Freman, who wrote several articles for the magazine's early editions. She too was clearly influenced by Starhawk and referred to the latter's distinction between 'power-over' and 'power from within'.[212] In another issue, she called onto Pagans to purge themselves of the "sexist…,Christian morals [they grew up with] and see through the quagmire of Judeo-Christian patriarchal anti-feminine-ism". She urged Pagan women to spearhead this effort, since "men are still children – [and] they will follow the woman as mother, and do as they are told. If women lead", continued Freman, "eventually, men will follow. They will be shamed into following the woman who has truly found the Goddess within herself".[213]

In another piece sent to *Moonshine*, a writer who identified as 'John' argued that "female/male polarity is divisive, and an emphasis on this narrow… perspective in ritual is not only limiting but dangerously close to the over-bearing sexism which surrounds us". Displaying a classical early radical feminist attitude, John proceeded to state that "[t]oday we

know that men and women are inventions of our species, and maybe they should be treated such".[214] *Moonshine* editor Rich Westwood agreed with John's comments and added that while such "personalizasion [sic] of the masculine and feminine energies… is very necessary in our present spiritual dark age, … [it] is only a symbolic representation of the infinite – of the androgynous force I call Spirit".[215]

Moonshine's attitudes toward Gardnerian/Alexandrian Wicca were rather negative. Both editors and writers criticized British Wiccans for their "inability to cast off [the] patriarchal values… [inherent in] its approach to the Goddess and women".[216] A York-based reader named Sue was "unhappy about the assumption underlying the Great Rite, that the only real sex is heterosexual intercourse. Where… does this leave gay and lesbian Pagans, other than right out of traditional Wicca?", asked Sue, who continued to state that "when it wasn't a euphemism for patriarchal conquest/rape", today such a magical fertility rite would logically exclude post-menopausal women.[217] These criticisms actually prompted replies from Leonora James and Michael Howard, who provided explanations regarding the use of sexual magic in Wicca in general, and more specifically regarding the Great Rite. James also added that "the priestesses are always in control of the proceedings in a coven, so any dirty men get firmly put in their place", while Howard claimed that "it is ironic that… [Gardner] is now being cited as a champion of patriarchy", as he supposedly angered 'traditional witches' of his day when he emphasized the feminine principle in his Wicca "partly due to his spiritual commitment to the Goddess and partly due to his desire to be sexually dominated by women".[218]

Phil Hine's Northern PaganLink News and Pagan News

Phil Hine, who was based in Leeds, played a big role in PaganLink's activities in North of the country.[219] He is mostly known today for his writings on Chaos Magic, a tradition he became interested in around 1980.[220] During this period, Hine "worked for a few years with an Alexandrian Coven", but following his engagement with feminist politics and his disillusionment with the concept of Polarity he eventually ended his involvement with the group and began to focus on Chaos Magic.[221] With the formation of PaganLink in 1987, Hine volunteered to act as Regional Coordinator for the Yorkshire area and edited the *Northern*

PaganLink News for a while, before deciding to transform it into a monthly magazine titled *Pagan News* during the latter half of 1988.[222]

Hine quoted from Starhawk's *Dreaming the Dark* and relied on it in two pieces he wrote for *Moonshine*.[223] In one of these—published in the magazine's Samhain 1987 issue—Hine referred his readers to the "large number of books published on the subjects of Women's Mysteries and Goddesses", and defined the former as revolving "around realities that are directly experienced: birth, menstruation, sexuality, creation, nurturance and death". It were these bodily experiences, wrote Hine, and in particularly menstruation, which give "women a cyclical time-perception…[,while i]n contrast, men tend to experience time in term of linear progression".[224] Nicola Beechsquirrel—the co-editor of *The Pipes of PAN*—called upon the readers of *Pagan News* to "[l]ook back… to ancient matrifocal societies (Catal Hyuk etc.) which lived peacefully and harmoniously…, where women were respected and spiritual beings of great wisdom and skill".[225]

Julian Vayne and Catherine Summers' Pagan Voice

One of the staff members in Hine's *Pagan News* was Julian Vayne. As a teenager, Vayne sported an interest in ceremonial magic. He read all the books he could find on the subject at his local library and attended various psychic festivals such as the Mind-Body-Spirit Festival. In 1984—at about the age of sixteen—Vayne became involved with a training circle of an Alexandrian Wiccan coven in north London, ran by initiates Nigel Bourne and Seldiy Bate (themselves initiates of Alex and Maxine Sanders). While he eventually came to officiate in the group's proceedings, it took about ten years for Vayne to undergo an official initiation into Wicca. Meanwhile, he formed a partnership with another member of the group, named Catherine Summers, and together they developed their own ritual system, Serket, which combined the basic framework of Wicca with "elements drawn from Tantra, Thelema, and other esoteric paths", and was later presented in their *Seeds of Magick: An Exposé of Modern Occult Practices* (1990).[226] According to Vayne, the group's Alexandrian template was imbued with an experimental and eclectic approach implicitly influenced by readings of Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* and *Dreaming the Dark*, Adler's *Drawing Down the Moon* and the American Pagan *Green Egg* magazine. Vayne and Summers relocated to Lincolnshire, and their group—which drew to it individuals from various

parts of the country—by now included Phil Hine as well. With the termination of *Pagan News*, Vayne and Summers began to co-edit the Bristol-based *Pagan Voice*, set up to include information on "all Earth-centered traditions that are not about 'power-over'".[227] Summers was determined "to appear [as] more than the token female" in the magazine (in the Editorial she noted making "a definite decision to claim this space for myself") and informed the readers that "we particularly welcome communications from women". While the two chose not to use "herspeak" (i.e., spellings such as wimmin), Summers made it clear that "our dedication is definitely feminine".[228] Simultaneously, Vayne and Summers organized Pagan and magical workshops and courses in Bristol under the title RootMagick, which included (among others) subjects such as 'Awakening the Goddess' (led by Summers).[229]

They referred to the natural loss of blood as 'an offering of power' and wrote of three 'blood mysteries' which symbolize the three aspects of the Goddess—the blood of hymen rupture, which in their reading of tribal society closely followed the beginning of menses; the blood of menstruation, representing the flow of power and life from the Goddess, but (reminiscent of Daly) reversed into a source of shame under patriarchy; and the blood of childbirth, again connected with life and initiation. Summers and Vayne also included a fourth aspect—corresponding to the dark moon—of the menopausal hag, which they maintained was "lost even to the majority of Wiccans".[230] In fact, the two felt that "the nature of the 'traditional' god and goddess in Wicca has been corrupted", as "[t]he image of the goddess has been robbed of much of its solar power, denying the 'passive' nature of the lunar god, and the inherent bisexuality which pervades all occult forms".[231] They spoke at length of this pairing of an active and dark hag Goddess with a youthful, passive lunar God, rejected by patriarchy due to its feminine characteristics and ritual passivity.[232] They therefore also objected to the belief that a reigning high priestess should step down from office at menopause, as it "exaggerates the importance of physical fertility, and displays an ignorance of the functions of the wise or active dark goddess".[233]

Progressive Wicca and Dragon's Brew

Another interesting group which had begun to blossom during this period was the short-lived Progressive Wicca, which has been described by Letcher as a movement "which sought to put Starhawk's Wiccan

ideals into practice".[234] During the late 1980s, Ariadne Rainbird (of the Silver Wheel Coven) and Tam Campbell began discussing the evolution of Wicca beyond its Gardnerian or Alexandrian expressions. In 1991, the Progressive Wiccan network was founded in order to link between "covens who subscribed to a more eclectic view of Wiccan practice" complete with an annual gathering.[235] On January 1991, the Silver Wheel Coven announced through its house magazine, *Dragon's Brew*, that a new tradition was forming—Progressive Wicca. The call outlined the eclectic rational of the new tradition, its system of degrees and the standards it was to operate under. One of the latter was a rejection of 'power over' autocratic rule in coven leadership. This was explained by means of a triad of 'power over – powerlessness – power from within/power with', which was taken out of Starhawk's *Truth or Dare*.[236] By October 1991, the coven merged with a Traditional Welsh coven and changed its name into the Circle of the Snake Coven. They soon began to organize men's and women's mysteries groups, a general training group for beginners, as well as rituals and socials around the Pontypridd and Cardiff regions.[237] By 1993, the Progressive Wiccan Network numbered five covens, as well as two other individuals,[238] but by 1997 *Dragon's Brew* had folded and the network seems to have disappeared as well by the closing of the decade.

Kimberley Morgan's Magazines and Booklets

At this point, it would probably be of importance to note that some Wiccan magazines displayed a sharply critical and adversarial position vis-à-vis the WLM, and Dianic or feminist Witchcraft. Two of these—*The New Equinox* and *Deosil Dance*—emerged during the latter half of the 1980s and were edited by Kimberley Morgan, who was initiated to the Third Degree by an Alexandrian/Gardnerian coven in 1977 and wrote under the pseudonym Keith Morgan during the 1980s. In addition to these two magazines, Morgan also published a number of occult beginner booklets.[239]

In 1990, a *Moonshine* editorial quoted Morgan as saying in the 1989 PaganLink Autumn Link-Up that "Wicca; man and woman, God and Goddess, is a fertility cult – a heterosexual fertility cult".[240] Her 1988 *Traditional Witchcraft* booklet builds further on this tenant in order to state that "it is fairly obvious that any form of Homosexuality, is not compatible with the basics of the Craft. This is not to say that

Homosexuals cannot be witches, for they can, & many are highly successful, for they realise the way of nature, & keep their sexual preferences to themselves, & not involve them within their Craft work".[241]

Traditional Witchcraft's two-page criticism of homosexuality centered on its male expression alone, and lesbians were not mentioned.[242] This is not surprising when considering a piece included in *The New Equinox* (probably written by Morgan as well[243]) which stated that lesbianism was 'kosher' in the Goddess' eyes,

> …for the female form is a representative of the Goddess as all females are, & the Lesbian love making… is as gentle as one can get, [since] there is no bodily intrusion that happens between Men together or Male & female, just an affectionate desire to share each others bodies, through stroking & touching.[244] Whereas male/Male love techniques sometimes take on the somewhat unsavory acts of Anal Intercourse, which may seem harmless, in private, to Pagans it should seem very unnatural [as] after all the Penis is not designed for that nor is the Anus, so it would seem that it intrudes the other persons aura & goes against the Laws of nature, evidence for this is the fact that if you are a Homosexual male you are in one of the highest risk categories for catching AIDS as well as Hepatitis B, whereas if you are a true lesbian lady you would never ever catch any of the above diseases through the sex act, could we take this that nature accepts lesbianity & as nature is indeed the image of the Goddess, can we also take it as it is accepted by Her? Whereas Homosexuals seem to be under threat of Death through their practices.[245]

According to Morgan's cosmological view, "[b]oth Goddess and God are equal in Wicca".[246] Elsewhere she referred to the Goddess as "the creatress, as much as The Horned God is the greator [sic] both coming together in unity".[247] It was not surprising, then, that the *Deosil Dance*'s review of the *Voices from the Circle* anthology called for "a more balanced approach" and bemoaned the "plethora of attention being given to the Goddess, whilst once again Ol' Horny's been relegated to the Back benches, come on folks, he won't bite y'know!".[248] *The Deosil Dance*'s 'party line' held that the exclusion of the Horned God from spiritual praxis would create "a goddess concept not unlike the Virgin Mary, stale harsh & sterile!" and decreed that "the concept of matriarchal supremacy is as abhorrent as the male patriarchal nonsense promoted by most world religions".[249] This could explain why the magazine maintained a sharply negative stance toward Dianic Wicca, which is criticized for "fear

of the Horned God [,] fear of His image upon earth…men!".[250] The magazine staff spoke of "the feminist threat" and were rather appalled at 'the rise of anarchic feminism' in the United States, where "women ripped up many shrubs & Bushes, in a campaign known as 'Reclaim the Night' – the Reason – because men hide behind bushes at night to attack women!".[251] Barbara G. Walker's *Women's Rituals* was thus given a negative review due to its "dianic orientation" and "hypocrisy" in excluding men and the male aspect in women.[252] On the other hand, in 1990, when the magazine's editor first encountered Starhawk's male-inclusive *Dreaming the Dark*, she noted that the book was "certainly recommended".[253]

John Rowan

As I shall further demonstrate below, the late 1970s and particularly the 1980s were a time in which some Wiccans and Pagans felt that the Horned God has been relegated to the sidelines in the new feminist influenced cosmology and ritual practice. John Rowan, a transpersonal and humanist therapist—was not one of them, though. In a 1984 article published in *The Pipes of PAN*, Rowan presented himself as "a man who has accepted the feminist critique and found the whole feminist analysis of patriarchy very convincing".[254] Rowan began to read feminist literature after his wife began to attend and organize feminist events, and eventually, in 1972, he joined a men's group in London.[255] According to Rowan, this specific group "was very strong on theory. We all knew the theory of feminism as it had emerged up to that point. We read our Friedan and our Greer, our de Beauvoir and our Firestone, …our Koedt and our Millett, our Mitchell and our Morgan".[256] In 1975, he joined a new mixed organization called Alternative Socialism (which included, among others, Daniel Cohen, Pauline 'Asphodel' Long, Mary Coghill and Monica Sjöö), which held a large meeting in York that year, as well as in London and at Lauriston Hall in August 1976. The organization had its own newsletter and had close links with the more established *Peace News*, but eventually collapsed due to the tensions which arose out of its mixed nature.[257]

Rowan knew about Sjöö's Goddess art and writing during the latter half of the 1970s, but "had not taken much notice of this, because it seemed to be all about women; useful for them, no doubt, but not much use to me [as a man]". By the spring of 1981, he embarked upon

a spiritual quest, reading anything he could find, and in December of that year, he came across Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance*. This encounter instilled in Rowan "[t]he shock of recognition" of feminist-inclined men's need to work on the spiritual as well as the political level, and find the deities and archetypes that can inspire and guide *them* in the fight against patriarchy. By that time he also noticed Sjöö 1981 "much improved, properly printed, well illustrated version of her earlier pamphlet".[258] He soon discovered Charlene Spretnak's 1982 anthology, *The Politics of Spirituality*, "with chapters by Merlin Stone, Marija Gimbutas, Adrianne Rich, Starhawk, Carol Christ, Robin Morgan…., Margot Adler…, Mary Daly, Naomi Goldenberg… and many others".[259] Rowan "felt inspired to tune in deliberately to the energies [of the Goddess of] which Monica Sjöö and Starhawk had spoken of" and argued that "because I had learned about her from feminist women, it was not a male and flattering image of the Goddess that I had, but a strong female vision", presented in lengthy quotes from Sjöö in his book.[260] He accepted the feminist argument—presented most thoroughly by Daly—regarding men's vampiric drainage of women's energy in favor of their own quest for power and suggested that men should 'plug in' to the Goddess instead: "by acknowledging that they do really need that female power and strength, men can get it direct from the source, so to speak, and gain immensely from doing so, in such a way that the women around them can gain immensely too".[261]

In Sjöö's 1981 book, Rowan found that "there is a place for the male, so long as he depends on the Goddess and recognizes her authority and power. But again he has to be prepared to die".[262] Several years later, in 1985, Rowan "acquired a deep sense of the downward direction as spiritual, with the help of the writings and paintings of Monica Sjöö".[263] It was Starhawk's treatment of the Horned God figure, however, which Rowan found most inspiring and productive as a man: "here was a declared feminist actually putting forward a vision of the male which she can accept and approve of. Here there is no sense that masculinity is something to be disposed of or set aside or replaced. … Here was the key. The male was safe, positive, so long as it was in the service of the Goddess. …But this relationship was not easy", added Rowan, "it had to be won by an intense experience of humility and sacrifice".[264] Inspired by the writings of Starhawk and Sjöö, Rowan joined "a moon group, organized along Wiccan lines, but not actually calling it that". Group members celebrated the full moons and the eight yearly festivals.[265]

Rowan might have been referring here to the group Cohen, Liebling, 'Neilson' and Podos were part of, but even if he did not, what is clear is that he sometimes attended its rituals as a guest, and that it was the American Podos who supplied "a great deal of practical help and encouragement" during the writing process of his book, *The Horned God*, and even initiated him into Wicca.[266] Rowan, however, was also critical of 'mainstream' (i.e., established Gardnerian and Alexandrian) British Wicca and stated that "[w]hen it comes to the Horned God, we cannot simply rely on the established forms of Wicca. The Craft was not designed to overthrow patriarchy, it was designed to ignore patriarchy. …we have to be much more conscious than Craft people usually are of the possibilities of patriarchal subversion within witchcraft".[267]

In 1987, Rowan published his ideas in book form as *The Horned God: Feminism and Men as Wounding and Healing*—a "book… written by a man for other men…[,] intended to help in starting to fill various enormous gaps in the[ir] education".[268] As a veteran of the growth movement Rowan called upon men "to allow themselves to be wounded [by feminism, as this]… wound is necessary before any healing can happen".[269] When referring his readers to 'the classics of feminism', Rowan mentioned six works by name, five of which—Brownmiller's *Against Our Will*, Chicago's *The Dinner Party*, Daly's *Gyn/Ecology*, Dworkin's *Woman Hating* and Lederer's *Take Back the Night*—were American, and only one—Rodes and McNeill's revolutionary feminist *Women Against Violence Against Women*—was of British origin.[270]

Quoting American feminist Donna Warnock, Rowan urged men to come to terms with the power of patriarchy by "'thinking across boundaries', as Mary Daly says".[271] Unlike certain elements in Daly's writing (especially in *Gyn/Ecology*), Rowan took care to characterize patriarchy as "an historical structure [having]… nothing to do with biological determinism".[272] *Gyn/Ecology* was however influential in other ways on Rowan, who referred his readers to Daly's treatment of "[t]he history of *suttee* [sic] in India, of footbinding in China, of genital mutilation in Africa, of witch-hunts in Europe, [and] of gynecology in the USA".[273] He also quoted from Daly's discussion on androgyny in *Beyond God the Father* and her eventual rejection of the term in *Gyn/Ecology* in the context of his own treatment of it.[274] Building on Daly, Rowan then concluded that "masculinity and femininity are fatally flawed concepts, culturally loaded, patriarchally based, unusable except as names of

harmful stereotypes".[275] Laura Lederer's anti-pornographic and anti-rape anthology—*Take Back the Night* (1980)—was noted by Rowan as well, who concluded—following the line set out by Brownmiller, Griffin and Daly (as well as British Revolutionary feminist Sandra McNeill)—that "[r]ape is the end logic of male sexuality under patriarchy".[276] Rowan first began to seriously tackle the issue of male sexual violence around 1978 (when, incidentally, Revolutionary Feminism was being formed in the UK), and recalled how Brownmiller's work, and especially Daly's *Beyond God the Father* shaped his feelings on the matter. As early as in a 1984 article Rowan quoted from and referred to Mary Daly's *Beyond God the Father* and *Gyn/Ecology* on the castration of patriarchal language and images, the "cutting away [of] the phallocentric value system", and commented that while such discourse "may inspire some women, … it cannot be accepted by men. It is too close and too personal, and much too threatening".[277]

This article—titled "Penis, Power and Patriarchy"—was published in *The Pipes of PAN* and developed further in *The Horned God*. In an effort to find a place for men in the feminist world, Rowan first constructed a model which placed the 'bad penis' and 'nicey-nicey penis' at opposite sides of the pendulum and attempted to find a middle ground between the two. His conclusion, however, was that such an attempt was not the way to go, and he opted for the 'good penis' instead—a model of masculinity which could be "strong and powerful, but non-oppressive. … a good way of being a man, an OK way of having genuine male power" which is not domineering.[278] Rowan equated this sort of 'good penis' with Starhawk's 'power-with' and combined it with both Sjöö's and Starhawk's varying visions of the Horned God as the untamed yet gentle son the Mother Goddess.[279] To Rowan, these authors "both seem to be talking about a process of integration, whereby a man has to go through a process of questioning and bringing-together, losing old assumptions of staying cool and getting ahead, and acquiring a deep respect for the strong female qualities of the Goddess and the deeply male qualities of the God. As a true Son of the Mother, he can serve her fully, not by denying his masculinity, but by throwing it into the melting-pot and allowing it to come out renewed and reborn".[280] The God, he emphasized, "is never self-sufficient. At the moment that he tries to be self-sufficient, the Goddess will drag him down… . He must be connected to the Goddess".[281]

Admittedly drawing a lot of inspiration from Starhawk's treatment of the Horned God, Rowan saw in the image of the latter the archetypical figure that could aid men like him in this endeavor:

> …the Horned God is strong and vulnerable at the same time. He is not afraid to die because he knows he will be reborn. He… is the Undivided Self, in which mind is not split from body… . The ordinary way of thinking holds that men are steady and dependable… [,] but the Horned God is all about change. …the standard way of thinking about men is to say that they must be continuously male. If they drop their masculinity even once, and become female even in one way, they are labelled feminine forever, and never respected in the same way. But the Horned God has complete freedom in this respect. As a shape-shifter, he can be male or female, essentially bisexual.[282]

The Changing Status of the Horned God

Rowan's *The Horned God* and the Farrars' 1989 companion volume to *The Witches Goddess*—*The Witches God*—were the only books to focus of the God aspect in Wicca to have been produced by the local Wiccanate milieu during the 1970s and 1980s, but as already alluded to above—the discussion regarding the place of the Horned God in Wiccan and Pagan cosmology and ritual practice was a lively one throughout this period and intensified as the 1980s drew to a close.

In Chapter 6, I have shown that Doreen Valiente had a 'soft spot' for 'Old Horny', but another veteran Gardnerian High Priestess, Lois Bourne wrote that "[t]he God of the witches is less real to me, he who is the Lord of Death and Resurrection is a shadowy figure, her consort, who seldom appears to me in dreams or visions".[283] Writing in 1990, the feminist Rae beth—who developed heterosexually-based Hedge Witchcraft—claimed that "[a]s present-day witches, I think our understanding of the God still lags behind our understanding of the Goddess. She has to come first, after thousands of years of suppression of all Goddess worship".[284] That same year, *Dragon's Brew* —the house magazine of the Silver Wheel Coven—initiated a questionnaire meant to "collect together some of the different ideas and practices of modern day Pagans and Wiccans concerning the horned God" due to "the need today to more or less re-introduce the God's presence". *Dragon Brew*'s editor felt that "[s]adly, he has been pushed to one side because of the

amount of books available that center on the Goddess" and stressed the need for "maintain[ing] the balance which is central to the Thea/Theology of Wiccan and Pagan practice".[285]

Indeed as early as 1976, Michael Howard felt that the Horned God was "largely ignored by many covens". For Howard, this was "a negative and destructive action", as "[l]ife cannot begin without impregnation of the seed by the male and this initiation of new stirrings is brought into manifestation by the female".[286] In early 1977, Christine Ogden added in Howard's *The Cauldron* in that "[t]he God, when He is mentioned at all, seems to be regarded as an unfortunate necessity too complex for us even to understand".[287] She added that males in the Craft were mostly content with praising the Goddess (in the aspects they find desirable) "forever and will find it difficult to understand the need for change – it is up to us women who must help the God image to grow again for we need Him as does our Lady".[288] More than a decade later Howard conceded that "in this historical period [the God] has to take a lesser role in relation to the feminine until the balance can be restored". He added though that "[d]espite this, if we ignore or repress the masculine principle then serious and dangerous psychological and spiritual problems will be created to blight future generations".[289] In a letter written during March 1985, Leonora James likewise commented that "[t]oo much Goddess-worship may have resulted in a weakening of the sheer power and directionality of the Horned One".[290]

John Walbridge, who wrote several articles for the feminist-inclined *Moonshine* magazine, chose to take issue with the "growing tendency to question the traditional pagan emphasis upon the Goddess", and claimed that the long age of patriarchy instilled a "sickness deep within" men and women. Therefore, concluded Walbridge, "until the day when we are free of all patriarchal conditioning we desperately need the influence of the Goddess to protect us from our own baser nature".[291] Fears of a backlash carried against the feminist influences on Wicca and Paganism continued into the early 1990s. Kath, a columnist for the *Manchester Pagan wheel* and a member of a mixed-gender Goddess group (and influenced by the writings of Starhawk, Budapest, Stone and Daly, as well as by *Womanspirit* magazine), wrote of the hostile response of some British Pagans toward Goddess women, as the former felt that these women "concentrated solely on the Goddess for long enough" and should therefore "give some… attention to the 'Male principle', to 'polarity' and 'balance'".[292]

Indeed even the feminist-inclined Rich Westwood, co-editor of *Moonshine* magazine, who called for an over-emphasis on the Goddess and matriarchy as a countermeasure against the "primarily patriarchal, God based" nature of Western society, simultaneously added that such an emphasis must be "very short term, and… if prolonged, will need to be counteracted by an emphasis on the God".[293] In an article published during the summer of 1986 in *The Pipes of PAN*, Greg Hill provided an emic view of the feminist-inclined Pagan scene at the time: "It appears to be fashionable to identify the Horned God with the acceptable male attributes, and project the unacceptable ones on to the transcendent God of judeo-christianity [sic]… a development of the middle-eastern Sun God, or Sky Father". This, added Hill, was further complicated by "the desire of some of us to see the Sun as female".[294] Hill, on the other hand, stressed that "[t]he nature of the gods depends to a large extent on the peoples who worship them", and in an attempt to legitimize the interpretation of the male deity as Sky Father as valid for modern Pagans, he made the point that an aggressive people would view Pan as a "mascot in war as he is likely to be a protector of peace-loving peoples", yet both could not deny Pan as deity.[295] By the start of the next decade, an anonymous piece which appeared in *Greenleaf* concluded that a Neopagan's male deity "cannot be the god of patriarchal tyranny… [n]or will a god who is just a helpful appendage to the goddess impress at all. This mirrors the big cultural difficulty men have trying to be neither an oppressive bastard… nor the submissive little helpmate many find themselves encouraged to be".[296]

Changes in Gender Relations During the 1980s

This brings us to consider another important issue—gender relations within British Wiccan and Pagan groups during the 1980s, set against the background of the varied penetration and influence of feminist literature and ideas on said groups, as described above. In an interview conducted in November 1989, Patricia Crowther recalled that the majority of initiates to her Sheffield coven during the 1960s were men, and it was only by the early 1970s that the tables have turned and women seekers outnumbered the men.[297] This was undoubtedly the effect of the advent of the Women's Liberation Movement.

It is clear that this reflected a wider change, and this seems to have effected gender relations within some covens as well. In the eyes of

Christine Ogden, writing during early 1977, the Horned God's "would be representative, the High Priest, is little more than a lackey to the High Priestess".[298] This view seems to have intensified during the following decade: Writing shortly after the 1980s drew to a close, Michael Howard looked back upon the decade as a time that

> …saw the birth of that rare and exotic breed, the New Man – the sensitive guy who can change nappies, eat quiche and cry and the same time! In retrospect he seems to have been the artificial product of the advertising industry, women's magazines and feminist wish-fulfillment…. Emotionally women seem to be searching for an ideal partner who can be both strong and gentle and who transcends the male stereotypes of Rambo and the New Age Wimp.[299]

Not all 'mainstream' Wiccans and Witches saw it exactly the same, though. In 1992, a Wiccan named Phil Power protested that

> There is still an undercurrent of sexism in many traditions of Wicca, in particular the more middleclass pedestrian ones where men, whilst recognizing that negative stereotypes are really 'un-right-on' still tend to put their priestesses on pedestals. Also in defining 'masculine' and 'feminine' attributes, they make it pretty clear that men are still superior where it matters. For example: feminine-passive = intuitive, and masculine = active = logical.[300]

In a piece published in *Moonshine*'s 1987 Summer solstice issue, Robin Freman crystallized the confusion felt by many within the British Pagan community during the latter half of the 1980s at the face of feminism:

> We have been brought up to believe in the active male, but can see the destruction it causes when unbalanced. We still deny the material feminine, and cannot handle yet the spiritual feminine. We try and compensate by creating artificial 'equalities', wymn, wimmin…
>
> Men trying to do least harm refute their maleness, women seeking equality deny their femininity and seek maleness. But it is all done on a material level. The men turn out wimps, frightened to make a decision or to upset anyone, and the women take those aspects of masculinity which men are trying to get rid of. But without understanding their own basic feminine-ness.[301]

'Tom O' the Ring', a contributor to *The Pipes of PAN* who seem to have been an avid matriarchalist, may serve to illustrate what Freman was reacting to. According to him, while as a result of the advent of the Women's Liberation Movement "[t]he Father is dead and the sons are confused, even if not exactly mourning His passing", not many Pagan men were actually prepared to play the part of Son of the Mother, consort and junior partner, which he happily adopted. Yet even he saw fit to stress that while "[w]omen, as mothers themselves, are indeed the Mother's embodiment upon earth… [, t]he ruling woman on earth is the collective woman; the rest are sisters to their brothers and daughters still to their fathers".[302] Several months later he credited the WLM with the revival of Contemporary Paganism, ignoring Gardner's position as the popularizer of Wicca, and identified himself as a man who "acknowledge[d] woman's authority in … [the creation of mythic understanding of the matriarchal past] and other matters". In his view, only "men [who] *voluntarily* [sic] accepting that shame [i.e. their responsibility for patriarchy], and living through it by living with it, may speak [in dialogue with women]… on the shared understanding that if they step out of line they can always be *returned* [sic] to… silence. A man once made silent knows thereafter where the collective authority lies".[303] His take on the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy was that

> the powerful, mothering matriarchs registered man's dependency and, voluntarily, and with typical self-sacrifice, 'decided' to 'step down'; …[so that] men [could] come into their own 'manly' maturity, and serve as fit and supportive partners to the women which women were. …the 'experiment' went somewhat awry… [when] 'released' from the matriarch's mothering protection…[and] denied woman-reference, …man [began t]urning inward in search of his own profundity, then there cannot be much doubt that he encountered an 'inner spirt' vastly different to that which women met when they did as much.

He concluded that "the first women were first, and no man may usurp that place".[304] His hope for a future society, still, was not a return to matriarchy but—influenced by Riane Eisler's discourse—the creation of a new gynandry made out of the cooperation between women and new "other-responsive, other-caring" men.[305]

The challenges posed on men within British Neopaganism by the rise of the Women's Liberation Movement and the primacy of both

the Goddess and her high priestesses in theology and ritual were not limited to feminist-inclined male Pagans, but to Wiccans as well: In 1990, a female (non-feminist) Wiccan contributor to the *Deosil Dance* bemoaned that "[t]he male species are fading fast… from our religion & and men are getting a bad deal. If we are not careful, the Old Religion will be a totally Matriarchal religion, & will be just as bad as the Patriarchal religions it will be eventually replacing".[306] In a 1985 letter, a priestess who was strategically placed within the British Gardnerian network bemoaned that

> Although High Priestesses in all strains of the Craft seem on the whole to be well-balanced between Goddess and God principles, they are not matched by High Priests with an equal balance, but either by subservient yes-men, or by more virile characters who nevertheless expect their women to identify with the yin principle, rather than incorporating this within their own psyche, as the HPSs have usually done with the yang principle. The only difference between such HPs and the sex-role-stereotyped males outside the Craft is that the former actually respect women and the Goddess principle. This is a welcome difference, but frankly it is not enough at this point in history.[307]

The analysis of the Pagan magazine scene in 1970s–1980s Britain presented above aimed at exploring the shaping of the discourse on women and gender issues at the grassroots level, set against the rise of radical and cultural feminisms in North America and the UK, the arrival of Dianic and feminist Witchcraft texts from across the Atlantic, as well as the development of homegrown Matriarchal Study groups. While on the whole the movement shifted toward women's issues when confronted with the growing feminist movement, the materials presented here show that the adaptation of feminist discourse and ideas by British Wiccan and Wiccan-derived Pagans was by no means uniform. Some British Wiccans, such as John Score of *The Wiccan* and Keith Morgan of *Deosil Dance* objected on the whole to radical and cultural feminist discourses and to separatist Dianic Witchcraft. Others, like Leonora James and Michael Howard, engaged and adopted feminist constructs to a higher degree. Yet others, such as Jo O'Cleirigh and Phillip Cozens, adopted the ideas prompted by British matriarchalists and—especially—American feminist Witches such as Starhawk wholesale and participated in feminist-inclined networks like PAN and *Wood*

and Water which were mostly composed out of Wiccan-derived—yet non-initiate—British Pagans. Such disparities did cause, of course, highly charged debates among British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans, as the disputes around gender relations and the status of the Horned God show.

Notes

1. See Boxes No. 184, 271, 273, and 274 in *Ace of Rods* 26 (Imbolc 1989): 4, 6, 7; Boxes No. 274 and 313 in *Ace of Rods* 28 (Lammas 1989): 2, 4; *Ace of Rods* 29 (Autumn Equinox 1989).
2. Duncombe, *Notes from the Underground*, 6.
3. Ibid., 10.
4. Ibid., 12.
5. Ibid., 2.
6. Ibid., 48.
7. Holmes and Bentley, "Specialist Magazines as Communities of Taste," 276.
8. Greer, "Occult Origins," 170.
9. Ibid., 171. For Greer's Ph.D. dissertation, which is still under embargo, See J.C. Greer, Angel-Headed Hipsters: Psychedelic Militancy in Nineteen-Eighties North America (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2020).
10. Christian Greer and Colin Duggan, "Anatomy of a Paper Tiger: Chaos Magick Zines as Esoteric Practice," paper presented at the Fifth International Conference of the Association for the Study of Esotericism, Colgate University, 23 July 2014. Available at https://www.academia.edu/9305789/_Anatomy_of_a_Paper_Tiger_Chaos_Magick_Zines_as_Esoteric_Practice_Association_for_the_Study_of_Esotericism_Colgate_University_Hamilton_NY_July_23rd_2014, accessed 6 October 2015.
11. See Christina Oakley Harrington's recollections in Taylor, *Londoners*, 170.
12. So named after the road in Beckenham, Kent, where her High Priest, the late Arthur Eaglen lived.
13. Howard, *Modern Wicca*, 210, 242–243.
14. Ibid., 246.
15. Pengelly, Hall, and Dowse, *We Emerge*, 15.
16. Ibid., 21, 49; Oakley, "The Pagan Federation (PF)," 4–5. Following Score's death in late 1979 editorship of the magazine passed to Leonora James,who also took over the Pagan Front). Adrian Green edited the ninetieth (Samhain 1988) issue of *The Wiccan*, and Harry Field took over a year later. Pengelly, Hall, and Dowse, *We Emerge*, 49.

17. "We Emerge: The Mother Principle and a Practical Problem," *The Wiccan* 1 (1968): 1.
18. Ibid. See also *The Wiccan* 11 (8.6.1970): 1–2.
19. *The Wiccan* 1 (1968): 2.
20. Howard, *Modern Wicca*, 244.
21. *The Wiccan* 8 (26.3.1970): 1–2.
22. Pengelly, Hall, and Dowse, *We Emerge*, 15.
23. *The Wiccan* 15 (5.10.1970): 1; *The Pagan Front Manifesto, Rev: Jan: 1973*, 1973.
24. *The Wiccan* 11 (8.6.1970): 1.
25. *The Wiccan* 12 (16.7.1970): 2.
26. *The Wiccan* 27 (28.9.1972): 1.
27. *The Wiccan* 29 (27.11.1972): 1–2.
28. *The Wiccan* 33 (15.9.1973): 3.
29. *The Wiccan* 29 (27.11.1972): 4.
30. Letter from John Score to Dr. Leo Martello, 26 June 1970, Museum of Witchcraft Library Archive. Quoted in Howard, *Modern Wicca*, 250. As Michael Howard notes, Martello's homosexuality did not seem to stop Patricia Crowther from initiating him into Wicca when he visited the UK, and it would be incorrect to see Score and *The Wiccan* as necessarily the mouthpiece of senior Gardnerians in all matters. Ibid., 244, 251.
31. *The Wiccan* 19 (1.3.1971): 4.
32. See her memoir of John Score in Pengelly, Hall, and Dowse, *We Emerge*, 21.
33. Ibid., 19, 20.
34. Harvey and Hardman, *Paganism Today*, vii.
35. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 36, 108–110. According to Ronald Hutton, Vivianne Crowley and Leonora James "were to operate the as moon and sun of the British Wiccan world (respectively) in the 1990s". Hutton, *Triumph*, 386.
36. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 108–110.
37. See her letter to Janet, 23 September 1985. Museum of Witchcraft Library/Pagan Federation Archive/Mail Answered.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Personal Interview with Leonora James, 9 February 2011. This is probably why Anthony Roberts, whose animosity toward both Glastonbury Goddess women and "mad matriarch Szöö [sic]" was described above, tried to defend himself from accusations of misogyny by noting James as an example for several "committed 'normal' feminists he maintained friendships with. Anthony Roberts, Letter to the Editors of *The Pipes of PAN*, 23 January 1987, 3, 9. Bristol Feminist Archive/Monica Sjöö Papers/FA/Arch/85/1.

41. Personal Interview with Leonora James.
42. *The Wiccan* 70 (February 1981): 5.
43. Located in the Museum of Witchcraft/Pagan Federation Archive/Pagan Networking/UK; See Flyer titled 'Listen to the Earth: You and the Mother are One' in the Museum of Witchcraft Library/Pagan Federation Archive.
44. See letter from Shan to Pru, Beltaine 1989. Museum of Witchcraft Library/Pagan Federation Archive.
45. Daniel Cohen, Letter to Leonora [James], 10 April 1990. Located in the Museum of Witchcraft/Pagan Federation Archive/Mail Answered.
46. Jones, "Dianic Witchcraft," 3. The ritual itself was organized by Pagans Against Nukes, who invited Leonora James to help in its facilitation. "Paganism Return to Summer Festivals," 1.
47. B., Letter to Ms. J. Hampson, 29 September 1981; B., Mr. C.P.T. Walker, 2 October 1981. Both letters located in the Museum of Witchcraft Library/Pagan Federation Archive/Mail Answered.
48. B., Letter to Mark Irving, 22 August, 1983; B., Letter to Mr. M. Szalay, 22 August 1983; B., Letter to Mr. P.A. Hockey, 15 September 1983; B., Letter to Diana Allen, 12 April 1984; Prudence Jones, Letter to Mr. S. Mee, 17 September 1985; B., Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Redpath, 25 September 1985; Prudence Jones, Letter to Nigel, 13 January 1987; B., Letter to Stephen Strong, n.d. all letters located in the Museum of Witchcraft Library/Pagan Federation Archive/Mail Answered.
49. "Drawing Down the Moon," 6.
50. "Dreaming the Dark," 7. Tanya Luhrmann eventually reviewed the book for *The Wiccan* as "a pleasure to read" in February 1984. T.L. "Review," 2.
51. See B., Letter to Paul, 26 October 1983, which was quoted in Chapter 5 as it also referred Paul to Monica Sjöö's *The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All*.
52. B., Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Redpath, 25 September 1985.
53. As presented in an earlier issue of *The Cauldron* that year and as will be discussed below.
54. See Jones, "Spirituality & Politics," 2–3.
55. Email correspondence with Michael Howard, 13 January 2011. Michael Howard, *Modern Wicca*, 4, 210. According to Howard, Bishop "could trace her Craft lineage back to one of Gardner's last priestesses, Celia Penny", although it should be noted that he also accredited two different 'witch names' to her—'Florannis' and 'Francesca'. Ibid., 4, 209.
56. Email correspondence with Michael Howard, 13 January 2011. In 1999, Howard was initiated into a branch of traditional witchcraft known publicly as the Cultus Sabbati. Ibid.
57. Howard, *Modern Wicca*, 253.

58. Michael Howard, "One Pagan's View," *Quest* 17 (March 1974), 8, 9.
59. As late as 1987 he maintained that "[w]ith regard to feminism I personally support sexual equality and the polarity between the male and the female energies on an esoteric level". Howard, "Caring for Mother Earth," 26.
60. Howard, "One Pagan's View," 8.
61. "Sacred Glastonbury," 6; "No Sex Equality Please—We Are Leyhunters," 6–7.
62. "No Sex Equality Please—We Are Leyhunters," 6. Similar views were voiced by Ken Hale in the next issue of *The Cauldron*: "Patriarchy… does not work! Nor would a turn about to a reverse, a totally matriarchaly society. Anyone who has read Valerie Solina's [sic] 'The Scum Manifesto' would run screaming from the … female dominated world envisaged there. …as pagans… we need to get a balanced view. …It is time that women reassumed their rightful place as co-equal partners with men". Hale, "Pagans & Feminism," 3–4.
63. Howard, "The New Age Dawns," 2.
64. Email correspondence with Michael Howard, 13 January 2011.
65. "Magazines and Publications," 6. Howard included a small informative paragraph on the group and their contact information in early 1981 as well. "Matriarchy Study Group," 4.
66. See letter from Hilary Llewellyn-Williams to Sjöödated 16 February 1981. I am grateful to Rupert White for sending me a scan of the letter, which is preserved in Sjöö's personal archive.
67. "Pagan Philosophers," 2. In early 1981, he also recommended to his readers to purchase Charlene Spretnak's "beautifully written" *Lost Goddesses of Early Greece*. M.H., "Lost Goddesses of Ancient Greece," 5. In the spring of 1986, Howard reviewed Diane Stein's *The Kwan Yin Book of Changes* and concluded that "[i]ts feminist radicalism may upset some people but no doubt it will be warmly welcomed by those who find the overtly patriarchal nature of the I Ching difficult to handle". See "New Books," 8.
68. "Goddess Rising," 7.
69. In an article published by Howard in *The Pipes of PAN*'s sixth issue, he referred to a piece published in its preceding Samhain 1981 issue. We can therefore verify that Howard read that issue and was consequently exposed to Ken Rees' review of Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* by late 1981. Howard, "The Grand Illusion," 8.
70. "Think About It," 6. He was unimpressed, however, with American separatist Dianics of the Z Budapest style, and elsewhere accused them of 'hijacking' Murray's theories on the Dianic cult to suite their own matrifocal aims. Howard, "Dianic Worship in Medieval Spain," 1. It was

only in the autumn of 1990 that he reviewed *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries* (in its 1989 edition), and even then described it as containing "several classic conversation stoppers… an entertaining read and… sometimes (unintentionally) quite funny". "The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries," 9.

71. "Dreaming the Dark," *The Cauldron* 31 (Lammas 1983): 7.
72. "Think About It," *The Cauldron* 35 (Lammas 1984): 8.
73. Starhawk, "A Set of Values Not Beliefs," 4–5.
74. Howard, "One Pagan's View," 7, 8. Such emphasis can be found, for instance in Fae, "Aspects of Polarity," 2.
75. Howard, "Caring for Mother Earth," 7.
76. "Econews," *The Cauldron* 29 (Imbolc 1983): 5.
77. "The Women's Ecology Group," 3. A notice was also posted in *Wood and Water* 1:6 (Lammas 1980): 4. Maureen Ballard was one of the group's members and published it organ, *Clarion*. See Green, *Quest List of Esoteric Sources*, 34.
78. "Econews," *The Cauldron* 21 (Candlemass 1981): 3. See also "Pagans Against Nukes," 3; Howard, "The Grand Illusion," 8.
79. Email correspondence with Michael Howard, 13 January 2011.
80. Michael Howard, "Econews," *The Cauldron* 26 (1982): 2.
81. Howard, "Anti-Nuke Pagan News," 5.
82. Cox, "Pagans Against Progress?," 30–32.
83. Cox, "Changing of the Gods, By Naomi Goldenberg," 30.
84. Starwing, "The Kwan Yin Book of Changes, By Diane Stein," 27.
85. H.L.W., "Review," 24.
86. Llewelyn Williams and Padfield, "Introduction"; Hilary and Tony, "Wood and Water—Past and Future," 9–11.
87. Llewelyn Williams, "The Goddess and the Well," 7–10.
88. "Editorial," *Wood and Water* 1:5 (Summer 1980): 3.
89. "The Wood & Water Gathering 4–7 April, 1980," 16–17; "Ecopagan Gathering," 5.
90. White, *Monica Sjöö*, 119.
91. See the letter from John Billingsley in the letters section of *Wood and Water* 1:5 (Summer 1980): 21.
92. H & T, "Towards a Network of 'Gaian' Groups?," 6; "Eco News," *The Cauldron* 19 (Lammas 1980): 5.
93. Llewelyn Williams and Padfield, "A Note on Spiral Centre: March 1981".
94. See a brochure for the gathering, found clipped to the second issue of *Wood and Water*, housed in the Museum of Witchcraft's library.
95. See letter from Hilary Llewellyn-Williams and Tony Padfield to Phillip.
96. Personal correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, March 2014.

97. Ibid.
98. See letter from Hilary Llewellyn-Williams and Tony Padfield to Phillip.
99. Hilary and Tony, "Editorial," 1–2.
100. Editorial Collective, "Editorial," 2–3. Two other members of the editorial collective left London, and thereafter the editing was done by Daniel Cohen and Jan Henning. Personal email correspondence with Daniel Cohen, 22 October 2014.
101. Rees, "The Spiral Dance," 23.
102. Llewellyn-Williams, "Poem," 13; *Wood and Water* 1:10 (Lammas 1981): 16. Forfreedom was born Ann Herschfang, but changed her surname to suit her feminist politics.
103. Sjöö, "Challenging New Age Patriarchy".
104. *Wood and Water* 1:7 (Hallowe'en 1980).
105. "Women's Action for Disarmament," 17.
106. See her letter in *Wood and Water* 2:6 (Imbolc 1983): 14.
107. Personal Interview with Daniel Cohen.
108. See Daniel Cohen's website at http://www.decohen.com/articles/chauvinism.htm, accessed 12 October 2014; Interview with Daniel Cohen; Email correspondence with Daniel Cohen, 22 October 2011. He was active in the pro-feminist men's movement in Great Britain from its early beginnings in the early 1970s, and has also participated in conferences of the related American movement. See his website at http://www.decohen.com, accessed 12 October 2014.
109. Letter from Danny Cohen to Starhawk, May Day 1980. In Starhawk Collection/GTU 2002-4-01/Box 5/24.
110. Letter from Danny Cohen to Starhawk, May Day 1980.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Personal Interview with Daniel Cohen.
114. *Wood and Water* 2:3 (Beltane 1982): 13; Starhawk, *Truth or Dare*, 252.
115. Cohen, "Starhawk: Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics," 12.
116. According to Cohen, Asphodel "was my dearest friend and partner for over twenty-five years. We led very independent lives, and I usually visited her about one day a week. Our discussions, theological, spiritual, political, literary, enlivened my life and deepened my thinking". See Daniel Cohen's website at http://www.decohen.com/articles/asphodel.htm, accessed 12 October 2014.
117. Henning, "The Motherpeace Tarot Pack," 16; Catriona, "Books".
118. Personal Interview with Daniel Cohen; Cohen "John Rowan. The Horned God," 5–6.

119. Personal Interview with Daniel Cohen; Direct and indirect email correspondence with Daniel Cohen and 'Beth Neilson', 15 October 2014; Personal email communication with Lauren Liebling, 15 June 2015.
120. According to my indirect correspondence with Neilson (carried through Daniel Cohen), this name was in fact a pseudonym. See email correspondence with Daniel Cohen, 15 October 2014. In this correspondence Neilson maintained that the Beth L. Neilson who wrote in *Arachne* was a different woman. However, it must be stated here that the personal narratives of the two Neilsons (that of *Arachne*'s Neilson presented above in Chapter 5) regarding their occult lineage, date of initiation, the groups they were involved with during the 1980s and their respective cosmologies bear striking similarities. Strengthening this case is the fact that when Daniel Cohen referred Neilson's email to me, he added that he was actually surprised to learn that the Neilson who wrote for *Arachne* wasn't in fact 'his' Neilson. Furthermore, Lauren Liebling wrote to me elsewhere that Neilson knew Asphodel Long and some of the others at the Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network. Direct and indirect email correspondence with Daniel Cohen and 'Beth Neilson', October 15, 2014; Personal email communication with Lauren Liebling, June 15, 2015.
121. In a 1990 article, she mentioned having "over 20 years in the Craft". Neilson, "Is the Great Rite a Little Wrong?," 2–4.
122. Direct and indirect email correspondence with Daniel Cohen and 'Beth Neilson', October 15, 2014.
123. Personal email correspondence with Loren Liebling, 15 June 2015. See Chapter 8 in *Dreaming the Dark*. The apartment in the Mission was Liebling's.
124. Personal email correspondence with Loren Liebling, 15 June 2015. See the Prologue of *Dreaming the Dark*.
125. Personal email correspondence with Loren Liebling, 18 August 2015.
126. Personal email correspondence with Loren Liebling, 15 June 2015; Personal email correspondence with Loren Liebling, 18 June 2015.
127. Personal email correspondence with Batya Podos, 19 August 2015.
128. More than three months after her original letter, Podos still had no reply from Freer regarding the plans for a performance in Glastonbury. See letters from Podos to Freer dated 5 December 1980 and 23 February 1981 in the Jean Freer Papers, located at the Bristol Feminist Archive, DM2123/FA/Arch/41/Jean Freer.
129. See letter from Podos to Freer, 23 February 1981.
130. Personal email correspondence with Batya Podos, 19 August 2015.
131. Jones and Mathews (eds.), *Voices from the Circle*, 195. According to my indirect correspondence with Neilson (carried through Daniel Cohen),

this name too was a pseudonym. See email correspondence with Daniel Cohen, 15 October 2014.

132. Neilson and Cavanagh, "She of Many Names," 112.
133. Ibid., 109, 112.
134. Neilson, "Is the Great Rite a Little Wrong?," 2–4.
135. Liebling, "The Witches Goddess, by Janet and Stewart Farrar," 12.
136. Ibid., 13, 14.
137. Personal email correspondence with Loren Liebling, 18 August 2015.
138. Personal Interview with Daniel Cohen; Neilson and Cavanagh, "She of Many Names," 109–126.
139. Neilson and Cavanagh, "She of Many Names," 109–110. These were "the colours of white, red and black; blue, green and purple; waxing, full and waning moon; the hearth, maze and cross-ways; heaven, earth and underworld; life, power and wisdom". Ibid., 110.
140. Ibid., 110.
141. Ibid., 111.
142. The labrys was featured on the cover of Daly's *Gyn/Ecology*.
143. Neilson and Cavanagh, "She of Many Names," 111.
144. Ibid.
145. Howard, "Interview with Jo O'Cleirigh," 36; Letter from Jo O'Cleirigh to the Author, 24 May 2012. The Pagan Movement in Britain and Ireland was founded by Tony Kelly (d. 1997) and Joe Wilson during late 1970. Meetings were initially held at Wilson's home in Oxfordshire, but after he returned to America these were moved to Kelly's residence in rural Wales. The movement published *The Waxing Moon* (and later *The Heathen*) and included at its height more than 300 members, eighty to ninety percent of them were male. It was comprised out of an open 'outer court' and an inner circle called the 'Ethos Group'. Kelly eventually left the organization, which survived until the mid-1980s. Rhiannon Harrison, "Tony Kelly and the Pagan Movement," *The Cauldron* 113 (August 2004): 23–26; http://paganmovement.weebly.com, accessed 24 February 2015; *The Q Directory 1980–81*, 26.
146. Howard, "Interview with Jo O'Cleirigh," 36, 40, 41; Letter from Jo O'Cleirigh to the Author, 24 May 2012.
147. Howard, "Interview with Jo O'Cleirigh," 42; White, *The Re-enchanted Landscape*, 137; Letter from Jo O'Cleirigh to the Author, 24 May 2012; Letter from Jo O'Cleirigh to the Author, 3 August 2012.
148. O'Cleirigh, "Nemeton and the Sacred Play of the Year".
149. See his concluding remarks in *Wood and Water* 1:6 (Lammas 1980): 15.
150. O'Cleirigh, "Native Peoples, Womanspirit and Neopaganism," 13.

151. Ibid. Using Fellowship of Isis contact lists, O'Cleirigh also corresponded with Adler during the early 1980s. White, *The Re-enchanted Landscape*, 137.
152. O'Cleirigh, "Native Peoples, Womanspirit and Neopaganism," 13. Indeed, in late August 1981 he wrote to Sjöö in the hope to co-found a new movement that would be "pagan, womenspirit, ecological and activist". White, *Monica Sjöö*, 138.
153. White, *The Re-enchanted Landscape*, 136.
154. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014. Matthews spent a brief period in a Gardnerian Wiccan coven, but found that path to be unsatisfactory and later emerged as a leading figure in the British Western Mysteries movement. Hutton, *Witches, Druids and King Arthur*, 244; "Interface With Caitlin & John Matthews," 9–10.
155. *Spare Rib* 54 (January 1977): 30.
156. *Spare Rib* 48 (July 1976): 30; *Spare Rib* 49 (August 1976): 30; *Spare Rib* 50 (September 1976): 31; *Spare Rib* 51 (October 1976): 31.
157. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014; Howard, *Modern Wicca*, 264.
158. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014.
159. *The Pipes of PAN* 2 (Imbolc 1981), 1, 3, 4; *The Pipes of PAN* 3 (Beltane 1982). The founding of PAN can be traced to the time around the festival of Samhain (31st of October) 1980, since the Samhain 1982 issue of *The Pipes of PAN* marked the organization's two-year anniversary. "Two Years of P.A.N.," 1.
160. Ibid., 1; Prafitt, "Pagans Against Nukes," 19–20.
161. Personal Interview with Leonora James; "Five Years of P.A.N.," 2.
162. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014. The Sanders, however, "ignored" it, and Zachary Cox, editor of *Aquarian Arrow* was highly critical. Ibid. Michael Howard also noted visiting Rufus and his partner often, as they lived several miles away from him following his 1982 relocation to Wales. Email correspondence with Michael Howard, 13 January 2011.
163. See letter from Doreen Valiente to Monica Sjöö, dated June 13, 1987. I am grateful to Julie Belham-Payne of the Doreen Valiente Foundation for sending me a scan of the letter.
164. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014; "Five Years of P.A.N.," 2. A report from an early 1983 issue of *The Pipes of PAN* noted the magazine had "several hundred subscribers/readers" at the time. Fr. Prometheus, "The PAN Meet of 21st November 1982," 2. By 1986 *The Pipes of PAN* was exchanging issue copies with

over thirty Pagan magazines from the UK and abroad. See *The Pipes of PAN* 24 (Lughnasadh 1986): 12.

165. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014.
166. Ibid.
167. K.I. Rees, "The Spiral Dance," 23.
168. Rufus, "'Myth'," 3, 10.
169. "Reviews," *The Pipes of PAN* 12 (Lughnasadh 1983): 7–8; *The Pipes of PAN* 16 (Lughnasadh 1984): 1.
170. Starhawk, "Religion and Revolution—Notes From Nicaragua," 10–11.
171. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014.
172. "Women's Peace Camp—Greenham Common," *Pipes of PAN* 5 (1981); "Stop Press!," *Pipes of PAN* 6 (1982), 5; *The Pipes of PAN* 16 (1984): 10; Underwood et al., "10 Million Women—10 Days," 7–8.
173. Underwood et al., "10 Million Women—10 Days," 7–8; Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014; Amanda, "Greenham Festival of Life," 3. According to Rufus Maychild, 'Amanda' was a member of a Gardnerian coven he had been involved in. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014.
174. Ibid.; "News and Views," *Pipes of PAN* 10 (1983), 1.
175. See Ros's report in Underwood et al., "10 Million Women—10 Days," 8. This was probably Ros Briagha, an Alexandrian High Priestess and a PAN supporter, as would be further explained below.
176. "Notice," *Balefire: Journal of the Coven of Rhiannon and Merlin* 4, no. 8 (Beltane 1982), 5; "The PAN Grand Sabbat"; Rufus, "The Sabbat in Retrospective," 2.
177. "Lammas Celebrations". Rufus Maychild recalled recently that several women active in the Matriarchy Study Groups did attend the PAN ritual in a "participatory rather than leading" role. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014.
178. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014.
179. "Paganism Return to Summer Festivals," 1; Rufus, "The Sabbat in Retrospective," 3. Judging from a report in *The Pipes of PAN*, the American Traditional Witches were Ann and Dave Finnin. Ibid.
180. "Ibid.; http://www.oakdragonschool.org/who_are_we.html, accessed 30 May 2015. The two were listed as contacts for PAN in the Dyfed region during early 1983. "PAN Groups and Contacts," 5.
181. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014.

182. Ibid.; Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 17 March 2014; "Green Gathering 1983," 1; "P.A.N. Lughnasadh Sabbat".
183. Wayland, "London P.A.N.—The First Year," 7–8.
184. Ibid., 7.
185. Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 2 March 2014; Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, 80–81; Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 17 March 2014.
186. Ibid.; Persona 1067, "Gas On, E.A.C!,".
187. Ibid.
188. "Earth Awareness Conference—1985," 2; Personal email correspondence with Rufus Brock Maychild, 17 March 2014.
189. Jo O'Clerigh, "Letter," *The Pipes of PAN* 22 (Imbolc 1986): 8–9.
190. Janet and Chris, "From Janet and Chris Skilberk," 8.
191. Womersley, "From Dave Womersley," 10. Later during that year he concluded that it's probably "wisest to *let* women who want to join all-female covens do so if they feel it's right for them, … [as p]robably *most of them will find their way back to mixed covens later when they feel ready to do so* [my emphasis]". Womersley, "A Reply to 'The Politics of Witchcraft'," 21.
192. Lee, "From Ian Lee," 11. Lee's Cruisewatch experiences are detailed in Lee, "Dark Times, Bright Times," 2–6. Judith Noble, who was involved in Cruisewatch (as well as in the activities and demonstrations at Greenham Common, though she did not live on site), recalled that many Cruisewatch activists were interested in Goddess Spirituality and Paganism, and that some were involved in Pagans Against Nukes as well. In fact, it was at Cruisewatch that she had met Wiccans for the first time. Personal Interview with Judith Noble.
193. Tammuz, "From 'Tammuz'," 7.
194. "Editorial Notes," *The Pipes of PAN* 22 (Imbolc 1986): 1; Miles, "Editorial Comment from Nicola," 13; Cozens, "Editorial Comment From Rufus," 14.
195. Miles announced the changing of her surname to 'Beechsquirrel' in August 1986. Nicola Beechsquirrel, "I've Changed My Name," 6.
196. See her comment in "Letters," *Wood and Water* 2:2 (Imbolc 1982): 22.
197. Stone, "United We Stand—A Reply to 'The Dianic Craft'," 18. A year earlier, Stone noted in *Quest* that 'militant feminism' was the political stance she found "most difficult to equate with the Craft", and added that the replacement of patriarchy with "an equally unbalanced matriarchaly society" would gain "nothing useful". Stone, "The Politics of Witchcraft," 27–28.
198. Merlin, "The Dianic Craft—A Reply," 19–20.

199. See the review of the book in *The Pipes of PAN* 27 (Summer/Autumn 1987): 16–17.
200. "Editorial," *The Pipes of PAN* 36 (Yule 1990): 1; *Pandora's Jar* 1 (Spring 1991), 1, 3.
201. Greenwood, *The Nature of Magic*, 52.
202. Letcher, "Raising the Dragon," 183.
203. Ibid.
204. See reference to the 1983 catalogues in "In the Beginning," 3.
205. "Political Ritual," *Moonshine* 5 (September 1987). Reproduced in *The Worst of Moonshine,* Issues 1–5, 65–68. For further usage of 'power-over' vs. 'power from within' terminology by Westwood, see Westwood, "Warriors and Lovers," 5–6.
206. Westwood, "Awakening the Dragon," 21.
207. "Bending the Energy," 29–32.
208. "Use of Power," 38.
209. Letcher, "Raising the Dragon," 183; *Moonshine* 6 (Samhain 1987), 25; "Other Recommended Titles," 23; "Books Available from Moonshine," 14. Jean Shinoda Bolen's *Goddesses in Everywoman* was another American title sold by the Westwoods. Ibid., 13.
210. Letcher, "Raising the Dragon," 183–184.
211. See "Obituary: Rich Westwood," 3.
212. Robin Freman, "Politics and Paganism," *Moonshine* 2 (March 1987). Reproduced in *The Worst of Moonshine*, Issues 1–5, 31; Freman, "An Action and In-Action," 2.
213. "Robin's Rant," *Moonshine* 4 (August 1987). Reproduced in *The Worst of Moonshine*, Issues 1–5, 53–54.
214. John, "Sexism and Specism," 37.
215. "Comment," *Moonshine* 16 (1989?), 38.
216. See *Moonshine* 10 (Beltaine 1988), 20.
217. Ibid.
218. See *Moonshine* 12 (1988), 28.
219. "PaganLink Network," in *The Worst of Moonshine*, Issues 1–5, 55.
220. See interview with Phil Hine, available at http://dreamflesh.com/interviews/philhine, accessed 23 May 2015.
221. Interview with Phil Hine; Hine, "Some Musings on Polarity," 5–6.
222. See interview with Phil Hine, available at http://dreamflesh.com/interviews/philhine, accessed 23 May 2015; "Yorkshire PaganLink Forms Regional Caucus," 1. With the founding of *Pagan News*, Hine decided to entrust the coordination of the PaganLink Yorkshire region to a Regional Caucus made out of area-coordinators and other members in the region. Ibid.

223. Hine, "A Few Thought on Networking," 25; Hine, "Discovering the Goddess," 9–10.
224. Ibid., 9.
225. Beechsquirrel, "Counterpoint: Paganism or Eco-Fundamentalist Rant?," 11.
226. Summers and Vayne, *Seeds of Magick*, 46, 53–54.
227. Vayne, "Pagan Voice—The Dawn of a New Era," 10.
228. Summers, "Editorial," 16. Indeed, their next issue included a piece by Vron McIntyre, the co-editor of *From the Flames*, the 'women-only' journal of radical feminist spirituality, formed during the previous year. McIntyre, "Celebrating the Darkness," 9. The piece appeared next to an ad for *From the Flames*. Ibid.
229. "Course Prospectus," 15.
230. Summers and Vayne, *Seeds of Magick*, 60–63.
231. Ibid., 38–39.
232. Ibid., 63, 64. They were also influenced by Crowley and Fortune, when they spoke of the Goddess-priestess as directing, absorbing, and giving form to the energy generated by the God-priest. Ibid., 64–65.
233. Ibid., 57.
234. Letcher, "Raising the Dragon," 187. It should not be confused with Janet Farrar and Gavin Bone's contemporary brand of Progressive Witchcraft.
235. Terminus, "What Is Progressive Witchcraft?," (2000). Located in http://www.sacred-texts.com/bos/msg0015.htm, accessed 20 July 2015.
236. Ariadne, "Progressive Wicca," 12–16.
237. See the note in "Bits and Pieces," 4.
238. "The Progressive Wiccan Network," 16.
239. See interview with Kimberley Morgan, available at https://freyjafiresprite.wordpress.com/2013/04/14/magical-author-exclusive-with-kimberly-morgan (14 April 2013), accessed 23 May 2015; see also the 'About the Author' page in Morgan, *The Harmonics of Wicca*.
240. Quoted in "Editorial," *Moonshine* 25 (1990?), 2.
241. Morgan, *Traditional Witchcraft*, 22.
242. Ibid., 22–23.
243. I base this hypothesis on very similar descriptions of the Witches God as the spirit or force that moves upon or over the Earth as Goddess, and on the use of the capitalized term 'Ladies' to denote women in both the above piece, signed 'Dynn', and in Keith Morgan's *Wicca Awakens*. See Morgan, *Wicca Awakens*, 10; Dynn, "Pagan Sexuality Today".
244. A statement which would, by the way, could have been easily attributed to many political lesbians in the Women's Liberation Movement and to anti-porn-and-sadomasochism feminists of the late 1970s to early 1980s feminist sex wars era, though Morgan/Dynn was hardly associated with any of the above.

245. Ibid.
246. Morgan, *Wicca Awakens*, 10.
247. Morgan, *Traditional Witchcraft*, 28.
248. "Book Reviews," *The Deosil Dance* 21 (1990?).
249. Morgan, "In Support of Old Horney".
250. Dian, "The Horned God," 10–11.
251. See the review of Elinor Gadon's *The Once and Future Goddess* in Dianne and Keith, "Book Reviews"; Morgan, "In Support of Old Horney".
252. "Reviews," *Deosil Dance* 26 (Yule-Tide 1990).
253. "Book Reviews," *Deosil Dance* 25 (Winter 1990).
254. Rowan, "Penis, Power and Patriarchy," 9.
255. Rowan, *The Horned God*, 6, 16.
256. Ibid., 18. Rowan provides helpful information on the development of the anti-sexist Men's Movement during the 1970s—first in the United States and then in Britain—in ibid., 16–27.
257. Ibid., 26–27. See also Long and Coghill, *Is It Worthwhile Working in a Mixed Group?*
258. Rowan, "Penis, Power and Patriarchy," 19–20; Rowan, *The Horned God*, 72–73, 74.
259. Ibid., 75.
260. Ibid., 76, 77.
261. Ibid., 84.
262. Ibid., 75.
263. The quote is taken from John Rowan's personal website, available at http://www.johnrowan.org.uk/mystical-experiences/, accessed 21 August 2015.
264. Rowan, *The Horned God*, 86.
265. Ibid., 80.
266. Ibid., xi; Personal email correspondence with Batya Podos, 19 August 2015. Rowan later referred to her as his initiator into Wicca and noted that for two years his spiritual quest was aided by a 'Wicca group' which was 'led' by Podos. See the second edition of Rowan, *The Transpersonal*, 107; Rowan, "Dialogical Self Research," 62.
267. Rowan, *The Horned God*, 127.
268. Ibid., ix.
269. Ibid., 1.
270. Ibid., 129. Robin Morgan's *Sisterhood Is Powerful* and Millett's *Sexual Politics* were also referred to throughout the book, though to a lesser degree than Daly. Ibid., 10, 133.
271. Ibid., 3.
272. Ibid., 4.

273. Ibid., 8. He also included Daly's 1984 *Pure Lust* in the bibliography of his book. Ibid., 144.
274. Ibid., 62, 68. He also utilized Goldenberg's rejection of the term, as well as Carol Christ's analysis of Adrianne Rich's objection to androgyny. Ibid., 69–70. Rich's 1978 *The Dream of a Common Language* was further included in Rowan's bibliography. Ibid., 148.
275. Ibid., 71.
276. Ibid., 8, 9. See also pages 10 and 11.
277. Rowan, "Penis, Power and Patriarchy," 9, 10. He also referred to Daly's *Gyn/Ecology*. Rowan, "The Horned God," 19. This was further developed in his 1987 book. Rowan, *The Horned God*, 53, 54. In 1983 Rowan delivered a presentation of sex roles at the Mind-Body-Spirit Festival. Rowan, "The Horned God," 22.
278. Rowan, "Penis, Power and Patriarchy," 9, 10. See also Rowan, *The Horned God*, 55–57.
279. Rowan, "Penis, Power and Patriarchy," 10–11. See also Rowan, *The Horned God*, 58, where he presents this model but does not relate it to Starhawk. He also referred to Starhawk's *Dreaming the Dark* in Rowan, "The Horned God," 22.
280. Rowan, "Penis, Power and Patriarchy," 11.
281. Rowan, *The Horned God*, 138.
282. Rowan, "The Horned God," 20, 22. See also Rowan, *The Horned God*, 92–93, 133, 140.
283. Bourne, *Conversations with a Witch*, 127.
284. Beth, *Hedge Witch*, 152–153.
285. "Questionaire," 14–16.
286. "The Male Principle," 1.
287. Ogeden, "Balance—An Alternative View," 1–2. Ogden was the organizer of the Pagan Moot in Leeds, and at the time also a member of the Pagan Movement. She was an ardent fan of Buckland's *The Tree: The Complete Book of Saxon Witchcraft* (1974), in which he used the Saxon word 'moot' to denote a meeting or gathering.
288. Ibid., 1–2. See http://bonawitch.webs.com/beginnings.htm, accessed 10 July 2015.
289. M.H., "Male Mysteries or the Mysteries of the Male," 6.
290. B., Letter to Sean P. McCabe, 24 March 1985. Museum of Witchcraft Library/Pagan Federation Archive/Prudence's Correspondence.
291. Walbridge, "Concentrating Upon the Goddess," 9
292. Kath, "Backlash?".
293. Westwood, "Warriors and Lovers," 6.
294. Hill, "The Gods," 3.
295. Ibid.

296. Anon., "Becoming a Pagan".
297. Morgan and Crowther, "Profile: Patricia Crowther". It should also be noted, however, that in late 1988 Michael Howard reported that 53% of subscribers to *The Cauldron* were male. "TC Readership Statistics," 3. This could be explained by the relatively wide net cast by the magazine, which dealt not only in Wicca but also in Traditional Witchcraft, magic, etc., which tended to attract more men than women.
298. Ogeden, "Balance—An Alternative View," 2.
299. M.H., "Male Mysteries or the Mysteries of the Male," 6.
300. Power, "Men, Myths & Magick," 6.
301. Freman, "An Action and In-action," 2.
302. Tom O' the Ring, "Paganism Ain't What It Used to Be," 10.
303. Tom O' the Ring, "Pagan Politics," 2–4.
304. Ibid., 4–5.
305. Ibid., 5–6. The latter part was probably influenced by Chodorow and Gilligan's attitudes, as presented above.
306. Morgan, "In Support of Old Horney".
307. As the contents of this private letter are highly sensitive, I have chosen in this case to refrain from revealing the identity of its author.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusions

This book endeavored to analyze the changes in women's involvement in British Paganism during the latter half of the twentieth century, as well as in the attitudes toward women and gender issues within local Pagan groups.

Gerald Gardner—who was deeply imbedded within the London esoteric milieu during Wicca's early years of the 1940s and early 1950s—was definitely influenced by figures such as Aleister Crowley, who thus provided the link between early Wicca and late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries British occultism. Gardner's construction of Wicca was therefore largely inspired by earlier models produced by this occult scene, imbued with his readings of the matriarchal prehistory myth, Margaret Murray's treatment of the European Witch Craze period, and ideas advanced by James George Frazer and Robert Graves. Individuals such as Doreen Valiente and Alex Sanders were likewise profoundly influenced by all of the above. Gardnerian and Alexandrian Wicca represented in many ways a continuation of earlier forms of British occultism. While early Wiccan theology and ritual did present British women with a female deity and a priestessing role which were considered to be of greater importance than that of the male, Chapter 2 of this book shows that during the 1950s and 1960s the various branches of Wicca were in fact led by men, who occasionally tried to make sure that Wiccan gender relations reflect certain aspects of those maintained at the time by British society as a whole.

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By the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, explicitly feminist interpretations of the Wiccan framework began to emerge in the United States, reflected primarily in Z. Budapest's Dianic Wicca and Starhawk's feminist Witchcraft, as well as other proponents of Goddess Spirituality, who were all influenced by radical and cultural 'second-wave' feminisms. During the latter half of the 1970s certain radical and cultural British feminists—strands that were significantly weaker in the UK in comparison with the United States due to the dominance of socialist feminism and the high profile of Revolutionary Feminism in 1970s and 1980s Britain—began to show interest in the study of matriarchy and Goddess Spirituality themselves. The relative lack of original radical and cultural feminist theoretical output in Britain meant that local Matriarchy Study Groups drew heavily on American feminists and matriarchy proponents. While "books were highly important in the [British feminist] movement" due to their function in "disseminating feminist politics and ideas amongst the wider [WLM] membership", British WLM activists—especially of the radical feminist brand—produced relatively few monographs when compared to their North American sisters, and focused instead on anthologies.[1] Furthermore, *Trouble & Strife*, the first British magazine dedicated to radical feminist thought, was launched as late as 1983, and its original editors lamented that the current was "too often silent in print".[2] *T&S*'s radical feminism was in line with the non-essentialist nature of early 1970s American feminists such as Millett and Morgan and was less influenced by late 1970s cultural feminists such as Mary Daly. While committed to the idea of *political* separatism and objecting to mixed-sex activism, *T&S* editors and contributors "consistently… rejected analyses based on the idea of a 'natural' difference between men and women", and featured articles which criticized the phenomenon of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, 'maternal thinking' or matriarchy, and used self-explanatory titles such as 'Against Cultural Separatism'.[3]

The London Matriarchal Study Group's original perception of the concept of the Goddess was rather vague, and relied heavily on the cultural feminist rediscovery of earlier nineteenth and early twentieth-century proponents of the myth of matriarchal prehistory more than on British occultism and early Wicca. It was only around 1980 that ritual-centered subgroups began to emerge within the British Matriarchal network, and to adopt a loose, highly improvised, version of the Wiccan ritual framework. As British matriarchalist Asphodel Long

later recalled, "until American views started becoming important in the British Goddess scene, spiritual feminism and witchcraft or paganism hardly ever met. Spiritual feminists [in Britain] did not identify as witches until the early and mid-eighties and then only a minority did so. The work of Starhawk and Z. Budapest had a startling effect".[4] One of the constructs transmitted via these authors was the myth of the 'Burning Times', which was inspired by Margaret Murray and her portrayal of the European Witch Trials period. Rachel Halsted's criticism in *Trouble & Strife* of the feminist adaptation of the figure of the witch "as a sort of medieval women's health movement" had been extremely marginalized among the contemporary British feminist and Pagan milieus and, as argued by Ronald Hutton, the completely American feminist construct of the 'Burning Times' was thus internalized completely by British feminists, who forgot its origins. Hutton also commented that in talking to many British feminists and witches between 1985 and 1990 he "did not come across a single one who had heard" of Halsted's criticism: "It was not that [her views] … had been read and rejected, but that [they were]… not know[n] to exist".[5]

Yet despite British Matriarchalists' adaptation of the figure of the witch and their reliance on Wiccan theological and ritualistic constructs, they were mostly critical of Wiccans for what they considered to be patriarchally oriented theology and gender relations. Some, however, did read Wiccan literature and kept in contact with certain British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans. Indeed, despite their highly critical and (sometimes) adversarial attitudes toward "male-oriented" esotericism in general and British Wicca in particular, it was these forms of British occultism that nonetheless influenced Goddess women such as Asphodel Long, Kathy Jones, and Monica Sjöö in their initial spiritual progression.

During the latter half of the 1970s and especially throughout the 1980s encounters between British matriarchalists and Dianic and feminist Witches on the one hand, and British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans on the other, occurred in increased frequency and density in key focal points, or arenas, such as Glastonbury, Greenham Common, London, and the festival scene. The importance of the activities that took place at the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp could not be understated, as the preceding chapters have shown. Maggie Parks, who became the co-editor of the *from the flames* Goddess Spirituality magazine during the early 1990s, recalled that "[Greenham] was …[where] my politics, sexuality and spirituality came together and fused. It was

there that I first knew the Goddess… It was at Greenham… where I learnt that we are the witches… and that we must reclaim our power and our magic. … I read books like Monica Sjöö's '*Great Cosmic Mother*', Mary Daly's '*Gyn/Ecology*', Starhawk's '*Dreaming the Dark*', Susan Griffin's '*Woman and Nature*', to name but a few. I became convinced… that the only real hope for the world is a radical feminist vision based on respect and love of our mother, the earth and the goddess in all of us".[6]

Judith Noble, a Goddess feminist who was initiated into a Gardnerian coven during the mid-1980s,[7] recalled the importance of Glastonbury as a focal point during the late 1980s:

> If you lived in the West Country Glastonbury was where you would go to do your shopping… if your wanted to buy Witchcraft implements or books or incense…, and you [would] sort of invite a range – and we were all quite near Exeter, and then we would know people who lived in Somerset, or Bristol, and say – 'why don't we drive to Glastonbury on Saturday and meet for lunch and maybe climb the Tor', and would sometime organize rituals together. … it was certainly where I would meet people who had continued to be part of the Goddess Movement after I kind of moved into Wicca.[8]

As the earlier chapters have shown, her experiences were representative of the period extending from the late 1970s onwards as well. Other arenas, such as London and the festival scene, were strengthened by "a nationwide network of… 'alternative' bookshops, of underground magazines, of communes and community activists" set up by that time by counterculture movement.[9]

Such encounters at the aforementioned arenas in turn forced British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans to react—as well as occasionally to change and adapt—to the feminist challenge. Indeed, contrary to the views of most researchers who dealt with the subject, cross-fertilization between British Wiccans and Goddess feminists did exist during the 1970s–1980s, and greatly contributed to the shaping of contemporary British Paganism. One of the individuals who acted as an agent of such cross-fertilization was Monica Sjöö, who became of special interest throughout the preceding chapters not merely due to the fact that her personal papers survived at the Bristol Feminist Archive, but more so because unlike most local Goddess feminists during the 1970s and 1980s Sjöö was also a published author. Her pamphlet (later enlarged into a

full book), supported by numerous magazine articles, enabled her views on radical and cultural feminisms and Goddess Spirituality to reach many Wiccans in Britain during the latter half of the 1970s and throughout the 1980s. Her writings were initially greeted with ambivalence by male British Wiccans due to her exclusion of the male aspect of the divine, which echoed reports of a "Dianic" brand of Witchcraft emanating from the United States. While rumors of "lesbian covens" operating across the Atlantic were easily brushed of as abominations by male British Wiccans, contact with British-based Goddess feminists like Monica Sjöö during the mid-1970s forced them to engage this challenge more seriously. They contacted Sjöö and corresponded with her, learning more about the differences and commonalities between their ideas regarding "The Old Religion", and those of Goddess feminists and Dianic Witches.

The ideas Starhawk presented in *The Spiral Dance* "deeply permeated the whole radical British counter-culture of the 1980s, and became part of its folklore".[10] While the current study examined the traces this process left on written sources such as books, magazine articles and letters, a few cases even yielded evidence gathered from orally transmitted texts, such as songs and chants used by British Pagans during the 1980s. Ronald Hutton has already stated that "rumor, gossip, and sing-alongs could carry messages further and even more effectively than the original printed texts, and [help] internalize them more rapidly".[11] Indeed, the songs and chants produced in America by women such as Starhawk and Z Budapest were an equally potent "vehicle for conveying ideas and emotions. … [and] spread and internalized [their]… notions of deity, prehistory, history, and contemporary politics".[12] The scattered pieces of evidence presented within the preceding chapters regarding the usage of American Reclaiming and Dianic chants by British Pagans and Goddess feminists complement Hutton's observation that from 1987 and onwards, whenever he "encountered groups of British pagan witches… and heard them perform a song or chant which virtually all in the company knew, it was one that had been composed in either California or Washington State in the years around 1980".[13] It is of further note that in these gatherings Hutton "almost never met somebody… who knew by whom any of these works had been written, and very few, indeed, even realized that they had originated in the United States; they had become part of a timeless and amorphous Pagan culture, already consigned by some simply to 'the oral tradition".[14]

American feminist Witchcraft had a significant yet uneven impact on the British Wiccan scene, as "most of the established covens carried on more or less as before".[15] This observation is neatly reflected in the words of 'Una', a Wiccan High Priestess in her early fifties who was interviewed by British anthropologist Susan Greenwood between 1990 and 1992:

> Woman is the power and creation. Woman creates the life force and man protects so that knowledge and wisdom can go forward. Man is predator, hunter. He has to defend, this is his primeval instinct. The God form is Pan who is the personification of all men. The female creates power in the circle and the man gives the balance of Yang. The role of the High Priestess is totally 100% feminine to call down the Mother, to be the Goddess, her personification. In the proper Craft all are equal. Men will help woman wash pots, hoover, clean the altar, but it is the woman who brings warmth, decorates the alter and brings it alive with femininity. … You can't have all-female groups because you need balance, you need Yin and Yang. Dianic witches are playacting, there is no ultimate balance, so you get 'bitchcraft'. Everything has to balance and produce, this is what it's all about – reproduction. Lesbians are not happy because they are denying the life force; they are aggressive. It is destroying them.[16]

Several themes are visible in this account: the Romantic obsession with the god Pan, who—influenced by Fortune—is considered to be the personification of all men; the myth of matriarchal prehistory, that accords woman with creation, knowledge, and wisdom, which men 'serve and protect'; between Crowley's placing of magical power mostly within the male, and Fortune's claim that it is woman who is active on the inner planes, the idea presented here is that expressed in Gardner's *High Magic's Aid*—and repeated by Lois Pearson in 1967; a Victorian—and not 'second wave' cultural feminist—notion of woman's warmth, femininity and love of decoration, side by side with a liberal feminist view according to which men share cleaning and washing tasks with women; strict adherence to gender polarity and a resulting objection to lesbianism and separatism.

Una's criticism of lesbian Dianic Witches brings us, though, to the reaction of the main notable Wiccan authors, who actually "responded rapidly" to the challenge in books published throughout the 1970s–1980s.[17] As Chapter 6 of this book made clear, each reacted differently to the advent of the Women's Liberation Movement and the

rise of Goddess Feminism and of Dianic and feminist Witchcrafts. Some, like Alex and Maxine Sanders for instance, rejected much of the feminist agenda, and objected to the inclusion of radical and cultural feminist ideas (whether directly, or indirectly through the influence of Goddess Feminism and Dianic or feminist Witchcraft) to their Wiccan practice. Others, such as the Farrars, identified with liberal (instead of radical) feminism yet actually adopted plenty of the latter's suppositions via the writings of Starhawk and Merlin Stone. While separatist Dianic Wicca certainly wasn't their cup of tea, the Farrars (unlike the Sanders) recognized it a legitimate and viable strand of Wicca. Patricia Crowther seems to have supported the Women's Liberation Movement, and this is exemplified both by statements made in her books as well as by drawing inspiration from it—concurrently and in much the same way as other Goddess feminists across the Atlantic—when she jotted down her recollections of her 1960 initiation into Wicca. As a well-known figure in Sheffield, Crowther was probably known to local feminists, and in all likelihood was aware of the city's WLM scene. She seems to have been more of a liberal feminist herself, and like Gardner remained steadfast in her support of strict gender polarity. Lois Bourne, another one of Gardner's high priestesses, likewise showed traces of radical and cultural feminist influences in her writings by the late 1970s and onwards, and Doreen Valiente's publications displayed her admiration of Robin Morgan's combination of radical and cultural feminisms, as well as her endorsement Starhawk, Sjöö, Budapest, and Shan Morgain. The Jungian psychologist Vivianne Crowley—another central Wiccan author—was likewise influenced by Starhawk and her Reclaiming community, but while the inspiration she drew from Jung and Dion Fortune made her feel generally comfortable with cultural feminist ideas, she criticized the Dianic choice to focus solely on the Goddess and the adherence to separatism. Marian Green, who was a central figure in the British occult and Witchcraft scene, began to incorporate elements from Starhawk into her writings only by the late 1980s, while Rae Beth—the main propagator of solitary Hedge Witchcraft—actually first became interested in Wicca and Paganism through her involvement in the Women's Liberation Movement.

By 1991, Ronald Hutton was stating that "[i]n the early decades of Wicca the Horned God was more or less the equal of the Goddess, but by the 1980s he had generally become the junior partner, her 'son and consort'".[18] This observation corresponds neatly with the findings presented in this volume, and it seems that the influence of both the WLM—as a social movement operating generally in British society—and of Goddess

Feminism and Dianic/feminist Witchcraft in particular on British Wiccans has been greater than most of the latter care to admit or remember.

The analysis of the British Pagan magazine scene during 1970s–1980s, as presented in the final chapter of this book, aimed at providing historians with a high-resolution examination of the shaping of the discourse on women and gender issues at the grassroots level as radical and cultural feminisms developed in North America and the UK, as Dianic and feminist Witchcraft texts began to arrive from across the Atlantic and homegrown Matriarchal Study groups all began to appear and interact with British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans.

In addition to confirming the overall adaptation of cultural feminist views by British Goddess feminists, Dianic and feminist Witches, as well as by some Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans, a study of the magazine scene importantly reveals additional, albeit marginalized, voices: In her review of the first issue of the *Crone-icle* magazine of women's spirituality for *Pagan News*, Janet Cliff (the magazine's production manager) described herself as "the kind of woman who prefers Arnic Schwarznegger [sic] movies and science fiction to celebrating my womb", and noted that while "there are lots of women out there for whom Crone-Icle will be a warm uplifting cup of herbal", she was "sadly not one of them".[19] In a later issue of *Pagan News*, she reviewed the *Matriarchy Research & Reclaim Network Newsletter* by noting that its "title says it all, but the contents do it with more grace. …It's the least offensive of the 'period-power' genre that I've seen (and I usually hate them)".[20] Similarly, 'Lilith Babellon', a follower of the 'Egyptian/Babylonian Tradition', identified herself with a breed of women who—liberated in contemporary society from the binding necessity of ensuring the survival of tribal society through procreation—"embody the Lilith psyche" and sees childbirth as "the ultimate clipping of our wings". As a devotee of the dark Goddess, Lilith Babellon and her kind ignored menstruation "as much as possible, rather like a two day second class train journey across China", and regarded their "bodily womanhood as neither sublime or a bind – merely a vehicle to travel within. We shudder at the rites of the earthly goddess, with their emphasis on fertility and other binding rituals. For we belong to the spirits of Air – the intellectual nature of the Great Goddess, which flies above earthly matters". Therefore, while maintaining "a deep respect for those men and women who choose to devote the larger portion of their freedom to raising children", Lilith women "take a personal pleasure in strangling

the rare maternal instincts which have occured [sic] when in the beloved company of a consort".[21]

Indeed, while a general shift toward women's issues at the face of the growing feminist movement was noted in the movement as a whole, the adaptation of feminist discourse and ideas by British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans was highly uneven. Some British Wiccans, such as John Score of *The Wiccan* and Keith Morgan of *Deosil Dance*, mostly objected to radical and cultural feminist discourses and to separatist Dianic Witchcraft, while others, like Leonora James and Michael Howard, engaged with and adopted feminist constructs to a higher degree. Howard's emic analysis of the early 1980s British Pagan scene (written during mid-1990) maintains that "[t]he publication… of Starhawk's 'The Spiral Dance' and the work of Monica Sjöö helped influence a new generation of neo-pagan revivalists who either had no access to the Gardnerian Craft or rejected its perceived fuddy duddy image".[22] Indeed, individuals such as Jo O'Cleirigh and Phillip Cozens adopted the ideas prompted by British matriarchalists and—especially—American feminist Witches such as Starhawk wholesale, and participated in feminist-inclined networks like PAN and *Wood and Water* which were mostly composed out of Wiccan-derived—yet non-initiate—British Pagans. Such disparities did cause, of course, highly charged debates among British Wiccans and Wiccan-derived Pagans, as the disputes around gender relations and the status of the Horned God show.

By illustrating the ways in which the flow of political and religious ideas back and forth across the Atlantic between the Anglophone centers of Britain and the United States influenced the development of British Paganism in terms of both its primary exponents as well as at the grassroots level, this study will hopefully inspire new lines of historical inquiry into the formation processes of new religions and alternative spiritualities that have evolved in late modernity and contribute to broader explorations of the interplay between gender and religion during said period.

Notes

1. Browne, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Scotland*, 51; Bouchier, *The Feminist Challenge*, 237. According to David Bouchier, "[t]he prevalence of collections of writings reflects the preference in the British movement for collective rather than individual presentations of feminist thought". Ibid.
2. Quoted in Cameron and Scanlon, "Introduction," 5.

3. Ibid, 8.
4. Long, "The Goddess Movement in Britain Today," 23.
5. Halsted, "The New Myth of the Witch," 10–17; Hutton, *Triumph*, 377. This seems mainly to have been the case, but it is worth mentioning that Halsted's article did attract a response from Dianic Witch Jean Freer, who while agreeing with some of the author's recommendations also deplored the fact that the witches' supposed belief in a *Goddess* was not acknowledged. Freer then proceeded to criticize feminists who identified with the symbol of the witch but 'failed' to adopt Paganism as their faith and world view. Lee/Jean Freer, "Clearing the Mists," 4.
6. Parks, "Despair and Empowerment," 3.
7. By the mid-1980s, Noble became involved in a Wiccan group in the Exeter that was ran by George Harrowood Wake, an initiate of Madge Worthington. She found herself more content within the Wiccan spiritual framework, which focused on both male and female aspects of the divine. Noble formed a close friendship with Vivianne Crowley and Rae Beth, and participated in—and sometime organized—activities relating to Paganism and Goddess Spirituality in the Devonshire area, as well as in Bristol and Glastonbury (those were held during the late 1980s), in which individuals from various traditions would meet, exchange views, as well as the occasional arguments. Personal Interview with Judith Noble, May 2014.
8. Ibid.
9. Savage, "Seventies: London Subversive," 20.
10. Hutton, *Triumph*, 379.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 373.
13. Ibid., 379–380.
14. Ibid., 380. Hutton's claims correspond perfectly to an emic recollection written in 1992 by 'Cath', a Goddess-oriented columnist for the Manchester Pagan Wheel, who argued that "[m]uch of the material which is used in all forms of Paganism was originally used within the feminist traditions or was written by people who had their grounding there". She supplied several examples for these, such as the chants 'Isis, Astarte, Diana, Hecate, Demeter, Kali, Inanna', and 'We are the weavers, we are the web, We are the flow and we are the ebb'. She stated "see[ing] them written down on chant sheets or in books and there is never any recognition of their origin or authors. They are always 'Traditional' or 'Neopagan'". Cath, "Backlash?".
15. Hutton, *Triumph*, 378.
16. Greenwood, "The British Occult Subculture," 290–291, 294.
17. Hutton, *Triumph*, 379.

18. Hutton, *The Pagan Religions of the British Isles*, 338.
19. Cliff, "Crone-icle Issue 1," 6.
20. Cliff, "Matriarchy Research & Reclaim Network Newsletter," 8.
21. See letter from Lilith Babellon in the "Link Letters" section of *Moonshine* 7 (Winter Equinox 1987), 33.
22. Howard, "Crafty Talk," 9.

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