

## A COUNTER-CULTURE RELIGIOUS LEGACY

**Genevieve G. E. Petty**

Today Neo-Paganism is an umbrella term that includes all Earth-based spiritual approaches, including the tribal traditions of Native Americans and other indigenous peoples.<sup>1</sup> However, one of its forms, Wicca, achieved this diversity in America through changes wrought by responses to the movements of the Sixties and Seventies. This shaping by the Counter-Culture particularly has left an indelible imprint on all practitioners of Neo-Paganism.

According to Wade Clark Roof, the Counter-Culture had an influence on the whole generation of “boomers”: those who embraced the values and practices of the Counter-Culture experimented liberally with different religious concepts and were willing to mix concepts from various sources while those who were sheltered from contact with the Counter-Culture moved towards fundamentalist versions of religion.<sup>2</sup>

Cynthia Eller, Marilyn Gottschall and Susan Greenwood all assert that changes in Neo-Paganism were due more to feminist influences than the Counter-Culture.<sup>3</sup> Ronald Hutton, while he mentions the importance of the Environmental Movement on Neo-Paganism,<sup>4</sup> and Margot Adler, who credits both the Environmental Movement and the Feminist Movement with heavy influences,<sup>5</sup> are more interested in delineating the history of Neo-Paganism than in tracing any evidence of the Counter-Culture’s, or any other social movement’s, impact.

Historian Ronald Hutton has successfully traced the elements found in Wicca back to contacts with indigenous peoples,<sup>6</sup> theories of a Great Mother Goddess proposed by Eduard Gerhard in 1849,<sup>7</sup> classical education in Britain,<sup>8</sup> the Romantic Movement in

the late Eighteenth Century,<sup>9</sup> freemasonry,<sup>10</sup> and the traditions of “cunning folk.”<sup>11</sup> Thus, he established that Wicca cannot be a religion handed down intact from prehistoric Europe as Gerald Gardner claimed.<sup>12</sup> However, Gerald Gardner can be credited with the inauguration of modern Wicca in Britain after the repeal of the Witch Laws in 1951.<sup>13</sup>

Gardner claimed that he had been initiated as a witch in 1939 into a coven that met in the New Forest. He claimed that all the rituals he wrote in his *Book of Shadows* were traditional; they had been passed down orally in his coven since the days of pre-Christian Britain. Hutton’s research revealed that no coven operated in the vicinity of the New Forest during the years when Gardner lived nearby.<sup>14</sup> But Hutton’s research did uncover that it was highly likely that Gardner had been initiated as a witch by the leading lady/stage director of the Rosicrucian Theatre near Christchurch in 1939, with whom Gardner subsequently shared leadership of a coven until 1952, when she withdrew.<sup>15</sup>

Considering that whole sections of Gardner’s witchcraft rituals correspond exactly to rituals developed by ceremonial magician Aleister Crowley that can be found in Crowley’s published works suggests plagiarism rather than any co-authorship as Gardner defended.<sup>16</sup> That Gardner and Crowley met on four occasions in 1947 shortly before Crowley’s death has been verified.<sup>17</sup> Yet, in his diaries, which he recorded daily and in immense detail, Crowley never refers to Gardner’s Witchcraft Religion.<sup>18</sup> Hutton concludes that Gardner fabricated Wicca from a medley of sources in British culture.<sup>19</sup>

Gardner propagated his religion with the publication of *Witchcraft Today* in 1954.<sup>20</sup> He had previously published a novel that included descriptions of magical rituals as *High Magic’s Aid* in 1949.<sup>21</sup> But Gardner’s *Book of Shadows* which represented the sacred text for his coven which he led as High Priest throughout the Fifties was published

by him as extracts only. Only after 1964 did pirated versions of the entire text begin appearing in print. Not until 1981 did Janet and Stewart Farrar and Doreen Valiente purge these versions of inclusions by other Fifties' authors to define an "original" text.<sup>22</sup> However, when asked about an authentic *Book of Shadows*, one Wiccan priestess confessed to Margot Adler: "I've never seen a really old *Book of Shadows*. I'm not saying they don't exist ... but like unicorns and hippogryphs, I've never seen one!"<sup>23</sup>

Gardner also used Cecil Williamson's Folklore Centre of Superstition and Witchcraft at Castletown on the Isle of Man as a forum to publicly promote his religion.<sup>24</sup> He used every opportunity – magazine articles, radio broadcasts, interviews, television appearances – to promote Wicca to the public.<sup>25</sup>

However, the Fifties public mindset was hostile to his ideas. People who were interested in Wicca kept quiet about it – unlike Gardner himself. Covens which formed swore initiates to oaths of secrecy about membership.<sup>26</sup> People in America read Gardner's book. Adler interviewed a male witch from Oregon and asked him, "When did you decide to form a coven?" His reply: "It was when Gerald Gardner put out this book of his, *Witchcraft Today*. I thought to myself, 'Well, if that much is known ... it all fits together.'<sup>27</sup> Other Americans practiced as solitaries. But, owing to their secrecy, accurate demographics for the Fifties would be difficult to determine. In *Real Magic* published 1971, Isaac Bonewits wrote:

"Some of the witch groups claim to be Christian, and except for the fact that they often do their rites in the nude, you could find more paganism and witchcraft at a Baptist prayer meeting."<sup>28</sup>

Margot Adler in *Drawing Down the Moon* interviewed a Wisconsin witch who told her that Wicca was more a practice than a religion:

“I was shown how to do certain things, practical things. How do you make your garden grow? You talk to your plants. You enter into a mental rapport with them. How do you call fish to you?”<sup>29</sup>

Another interviewee described her grandmother to Adler:

“Her beliefs were Pagan, although her room was full of Roman Catholic statues and pictures. She never used the terminology that’s used in the Craft today. She called a pentagram a ‘star.’ If you had the ability, she referred to it as ‘the power.’ She did not use the term ‘aura,’ she would say ‘light.’ She never called it ‘Witchcraft,’ but simply ‘having the power.’ She called the summer solstice ‘the Middle of Summer,’ and Beltane [May 1<sup>st</sup>] was ‘May Basket Day.’ Yule was ‘Yule’ and Samhain was ‘Hallows-eeen.’ She made incense from ground cinnamon in the pantry and pine needles. I learned from her that the Craft is a religion of hearth and fireside. The tools of the Craft are kitchen utensils in disguise. It’s a religion of domesticity and the celebration of life.”<sup>30</sup>

Therefore, witches and covens in America could go unrecognized.

Gardnerian Wicca does have specific features that need to be described in order to appreciate the changes which occurred during the Sixties and Seventies. Each coven is organized around a High Priest and High Priestess, who embody the essential duality of male and female in the universe which is an undergirding belief. Only thirteen members are allowed; there can be less but never more. The number of male and female members should also be equal in order to balance the duality principle. Of course, a full thirteen would be unbalanced, but the extra person must always be female. Continuing in this vein, Deity is worshipped in both male and female aspects at all rites.<sup>31</sup>

Gardner recommended conducting rituals in the nude or “skyclad” as witches refer to it. However, some covens were uncomfortable with this dictum and took their cue from ceremonial magicians and adopted robes.<sup>32</sup> Under Gardner’s advice, rituals

were highly structured with set roles and duties assigned to each member, memorized invocations and responses, requisite tools and symbols.<sup>33</sup> Every aspect had to be planned, even to precise locations for each candle. The athame or magical knife is considered the most potent tool for magic.<sup>34</sup>

In Gardnerian Wicca, candidates must always be sponsored by members already within the coven. Each candidate must undergo an initiation which involves testing of her or his knowledge and courage. (However, solitaries are permitted to self-initiate.<sup>35</sup>) To rise within coven hierarchy, members are required to pass through five degrees of increasing responsibility.<sup>36</sup> The authority exercised over a coven by a High Priest and High Priestess is absolute. But members are always free to break from any coven, join another coven, found their own coven, or practice solitary as they choose.<sup>37</sup>

Then the Sixties ushered in changes. In 1960 the only Catholic president of America was elected. Pope John called for Vatican II. The Civil Rights Movement picked up momentum with Freedom Rides and Voter Registration Drives through the Deep South. Bob Dylan began singing “Blowin in the Wind” and Peter, Paul and Mary began singing “This Land is Our Land.” A surge of optimism and idealism infected Americans, especially the first wave of the “baby boomers” who were born between 1946 and 1962.<sup>38</sup> Then optimism soured. Violence erupted against Civil Rights activists like Medgar Evers. Vatican II failed to address issues of female ordination and population control with its consequent poverty. The Cuban Missile Crisis was followed by the Bay of Pigs fiasco which was followed by JFK’s assassination, Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assassination, RFK’s assassination. The televised War in Vietnam became gorier and gorier as more and more coffins of American soldiers returned home.

Under the stresses of the Sixties, many “boomers” experienced disappointment with mainstream religions. Judaism and Christianity felt hollow. One “boomer” expressed his teenage reaction as “Where is God? This world is really screwed up!”<sup>39</sup> The growing Feminist Movement particularly encouraged women and girls to acknowledge their discomfort within patriarchal religions. During the Sixties feminists like Mary Daly, Rosemary Radford Ruether, Judith Plaskow and others concentrated on critiquing the sexism in their religions.<sup>40</sup> However, other women fled religion altogether. Nuns left convents by the thousands during the Sixties and Seventies. Wade Clark Roof in his study of “baby boomers” and religion in *A Generation of Seekers* discovered that, if “boomers” had dropped an institutionalized religion before age twenty, “they were twice as likely never to return to active involvement again.”<sup>41</sup>

Some girls found the Witchcraft Religion of Gardner, either through books or more likely through friends, and changed it. Having experienced inferiority under the Male-only concept of Deity in Judaism and Christianity, these new witches discovered particular comfort and identity with the Feminine concept of Deity. One woman described her first encounter with the Goddess:

“It was Christmas Eve and I was singing in the choir of a lovely church at the edge of a lake, and the church was filled with beautiful decorations. It was full moon, and the moon was shining right through the glass windows of the church. I looked out and felt something very special happening, but it didn’t seem to be happening inside the church.  
After the Midnight Mass was over and everyone adjourned to the parish house for coffee, I knew I needed to be alone for a minute, so I left my husband and climbed up the hill behind the church. I sat on this hill looking at the full moon, and I could hear the sound of coffee cups clinking and the murmur of conversation from the parish house.  
I was looking down on all this, when suddenly I felt a

‘presence.’ It seemed very ancient and wise and definitely female. I can’t describe it any closer than that, but I felt that this presence, this being, was looking down on me, on this church and these people and saying, ‘The poor little ones! They mean so well and they understand so little.’

I felt that whoever ‘she’ was, she was incredibly old and patient; she was exasperated with the way things were going on this planet, but she hadn’t given up hope that we would start making some sense of the world. So, after that, I knew I had to find out more about her.”<sup>42</sup>

She eventually became a priestess working with a group of women.<sup>43</sup>

Responding to an influx of women, covens shifted membership towards an imbalance between the sexes that has persisted. Of course, some witches decided to be solitary. But, whether solitary or in covens, the Feminine Aspect of Deity appealed to these women and was celebrated by them in preference to the Masculine Aspect<sup>44</sup>

Other dissatisfied Sixties youth formed the Counter-Culture in a spirit of experimentation combined with rebellion. Sex, drugs and Rock’n’Roll may have been the popular gospel, but the Counter-Culture had its deeper side. One fundamental tenet of this group was the need for individual freedom. Authority as any kind of guide was rejected. Experience was believed to be the best teacher of values. Thus, the Counter Culture investigated: relationships, hallucinogens, meditation techniques, esoteric tomes, plotless cinematography, outdoor lifestyles, Wicca, Buddhism, tarot cards – anything and everything – with a kind of reckless abandon to the moment.

In *A Generation of Seekers*, Wade Clark Roof finds a correlation between “boomers” ‘ levels of exposure to the Counter-Culture and their religious orientations. The higher the degree of “boomer” involvement with drugs, music and political activism, according to Roof’s figures, the more “mystical” will be their spiritual paths.<sup>45</sup> Eighty-

four per cent of members of the Counter-Culture dropped out of mainstream religions as teenagers or young adults compared with 56 per cent of youngsters who were sheltered from the Counter-Culture's influences.<sup>46</sup> Roof argues that Counter-Culture youth embarked on a spiritual quest in the Sixties that has never ended. His prime example of a flower child is Mollie Stone, who spent the Sixties smoking marijuana and listening to Rock while lounging in New York's Central Park. Today she is divorced and rearing two daughters. But she is still engaged in her own personal amalgam of macrobiotics, Native American shamanistic symbols and practices, and ecofeminism.<sup>47</sup> She qualifies as a Neo-Pagan although she does not identify herself as one.

One motivation why Counter-Culture members would have been attracted towards Wicca is that sexuality is not taboo therein. While the New Left coined the phrase, "Make Love, Not War," the Counter-Culture adopted and practiced it. Sexual activities became more frequent features at Wiccan gatherings during the Sixties than before then.<sup>48</sup> Since the Sixties, while actual sexual engagements during rituals have lessened, sexuality has become increasingly sacramentalized.<sup>49</sup> Eroticism is viewed as sinless by all Neo-Pagans.

Wiccans also experimented with drugs more because of the Counter-Culture's example. Hallucinogens, whether LSD or peyote or mushrooms, were especially popular in ceremonies to open the third eye to visions or to assist with astral travel. Because Aleister Crowley had acquired a sinister, forbidden aura, Counter-Culture members read his books and some of the ones who were also investigating Wicca read them and discovered his drug usage.<sup>50</sup> Here was a notorious ceremonial magician who was addicted to heroin by his own admission. Some Counter-Culture Wiccans imitated him.

But, just as deaths and bad trips and legal problems educated rockers to the dangers of drugs over time, these also educated Wiccans who became drug-free Neo-Pagans later.

However, the Counter-Culture had two greater impacts on the development of Neo-Paganism. The suspicion of all forms of authority loosened Wiccan coven structures year-by-year. Permanent High Priestess/High Priest leadership frequently dissolved into rotating or elected leadership systems.<sup>51</sup> Or decisions were arrived at by unanimous consensus.<sup>52</sup> Some covens completely dispensed with Priest and Priestess roles. Rules within covens gradually became so flexible that sometimes members asked, “What rules?” The fundamental principle for nearly everyone became that the individual is his own best authority for religious development. This dovetails completely with Roof’s finding that “boomers” as a generation hold individualism as a value extremely dear.<sup>53</sup> It also accounts for the fact that most Neo-Pagans resist institutionalization of their religion along any ecclesiastical lines.

The other change for which the Counter-Culture is especially responsible is the infusion of creativity into Wicca. If the individual is her/his own best authority, then any innovation she/he cares to make is good for her/him. Rituals in the Sixties often became spontaneous affairs. Hymns and activities, spells and meditations, et al got improvised on the spur of the moment. Whatever an individual wanted to do became acceptable. Boundaries dropped as Zen was mixed with frame drumming and tea and crumpets or belly dancing was mixed with poetry to Bridget and poppets. Wicca diversified through eclecticism. Some Wiccans decided to devote themselves to only one tradition like Tibetan tantrism or Norse mythology while others incorporated everything like Isis and Osiris with geomancy. This spirit of inclusion still permeates Neo-Paganism in its

varieties.<sup>54</sup> While a significant number of Counter-Culture members tasted aspects of Neo-Paganism as experiments during the Sixties and then discarded them, a significant number of others remained involved with them (like Mollie Stone) further adapting them into new forms.

Religious feminists were not the only feminists to contribute to the swelling numbers of women involved with Wicca. Spearheaded by NOW, secular feminists rallied during the Sixties to achieve political goals. By the late Sixties, their fight for lifting economic and political barriers had become intense. Also during the late Sixties, consciousness-raising groups began forming within the larger Feminist Movement. These groups were initially labeled “bitch sessions” because they gave women opportunities to voice their frustrations with patriarchal culture. Soon though they evolved into programs focusing upon awakening women’s awareness of their complicity with patriarchy, so that women could change their behaviors. The usual format involved five to fifteen women sitting in a circle and taking turns speaking about a topic. Fairly often, women expressed that they felt a spiritual void at the center of the Feminist Movement, so these consciousness-raising sessions began examining this issue.<sup>55</sup> Some Wiccans were involved in these sessions and introduced ideas to the other women. Gradually, instead of “bitch sessions,” some groups evolved into healing circles guided by emerging Neo-Pagan beliefs.<sup>56</sup> As Carol Christ put it, “consciousness raising can be seen as a ritual in which stories are shared and sisterhood is affirmed.”<sup>57</sup>

During these sessions a significant number of women confessed to alcoholism and drug addiction. Their friends developed rituals to help them stay sober or clean. The women preferred these Neo-Pagan circles to Alcoholics Anonymous meetings for three

major reasons: Neo-Paganism emphasized healing a whole person of her complex of interrelated problems rather than a single-minded dealing with an addiction; the small group situation provided a close-knit community that encouraged an experience of safety through mutual trust; Neo-Paganism celebrated femininity as opposed to the overriding patriarchy of A.A.<sup>58</sup> In Tanice G. Foltz's article, the alcoholic and addicted women declared that their recoveries lasted longer when they worked through the therapeutic covens than when they attended A.A. meetings.<sup>59</sup> Ninety-six percent of these women related the incidence of their alcoholism/addiction to childhood abuse: 63 per cent to sexual abuse; 63 per cent also to physical abuse; and the rest to emotional abuse.<sup>60</sup> In other words, these women had been victimized by patriarchy and its institutions and needed a "gendered" healing that Neo-Paganism was able to provide. Through meeting their needs, some Neo-Pagan circles developed a preoccupation with healing both the self and others which continues into the present. Most of these covens grew into part of the Goddess Spirituality approach under the Neo-Pagan umbrella.

Yet, because they came from political feminism, these women vitalized Neo-Paganism with political concerns it had not had before. Suddenly Neo-Pagans were aware of salary discrepancies based on gender, the Lexan ceiling, subtle discriminations of all types. More Neo-Pagans began joining other activists in causes to push for justice for all at the end of the Sixties than at the beginning.

On Halloween of 1968 a group of feminists who were not Neo-Pagans gave themselves the acronym WITCH, which stood for Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell. It sparked a series of WITCH acronyms in witty imitation. Its aim was never spiritual but political: to crush patriarchy by arousing the public in a

flamboyant way. However, what it accomplished was a rehabilitation of the fairy tale witch image into a feminist icon and great publicity for Neo-Paganism.<sup>61</sup>

In 1965, while in Pasadena, California, a biochemist, James Lovelock, received enlightenment that “life defines and maintains the material conditions needed for its survival ... and the terrestrial ecosystem seemed to exhibit the behavior of a single organism.”<sup>62</sup> He began announcing the Gaia Hypothesis to the public through articles in 1968 and 1971.<sup>63</sup> By the mid-Seventies, other eminent scientists, alarmed at environmental crises their disciplines predicted, joined Lovelock in advocating for planetary stewardship. In 1979, Lovelock’s book, *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*, appeared.<sup>64</sup>

In adjunct with and contributing to such environmental consciousness, the American Indian Movement blossomed in the early Seventies. While the activist Native Americans agitated for political recognition and economic rights in imitation of black Americans, they also attempted to educate the public about their cultures and values.<sup>65</sup> This latter aspect stimulated general interest in shamanism, traditional Native American stories and symbols, and in totems as spiritual guides. Many Counter-Culture participants adopted attire that reflected Native American elements: beads, fringes, braids, totemic effigies. Neo-Pagans at the time began incorporating shamanic techniques such as vision quests and drumming into their rituals as they continued to diverge from Wiccan formulae.<sup>66</sup>

More and more throughout the early Seventies, under the combined influences of science and Native American beliefs, Neo-Pagans developed the concept of the planet itself as being the physical embodiment of the Great Mother Goddess that numerous

groups were worshipping. In turn, this concept stimulated environmental activism from Neo-Pagans to save and to reverence Mother Earth beyond just an appreciation of nature's beauties. Tim Zell from the Church of All Worlds in Missouri established Neo-Paganism's identity as "a response to a planet in crisis" in the periodical *Green Egg* at this time.<sup>67</sup>

These trends that were set in the Sixties and Seventies have continued to escalate as other decades have passed. Neo-Paganism has proliferated into a bewildering diversity that ranges the spectrum from traditional Gardnerian groups to solitaries who meditate whenever they feel an urge, from Dianic covens that exclude all males to two very different versions of Asatru (one with Marxist ideas under the hammer of Thor, God of Justice and poor farmers; the other holding white supremacist views and wearing swastikas<sup>68</sup>), from Voodoo and Brujeria which seamlessly blend Catholic and Native components to Druidism, Tantric practices, New Age aromatherapy and Ayurveda. Each Neo-Pagan weaves his/her spirituality from a global marketplace of concepts and techniques chosen to resonate with her/his own needs because of the experimental attitude of the Counter-Culture that initiated this approach. Neo-Paganism is also just an anti-authoritarian as the Counter-Culture. It has no general dogma although some groups have particular beliefs; it specifies no Deity or Deities although certain groups claim Deity or Deities; it tolerates all differences because it affirms individual rights. Neo-Paganism in America has inherited the geas of the Sixties' Counter-Culture.

## ENDNOTES

1. Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*, (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999): 352
2. Wade Clark Roof, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation*, (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993): 34-36
3. Wendy Griffin (editor), *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies of Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000): 25-41, 59-72, 136-150
4. Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*, (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999): 352-355
5. Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1986)
6. Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*, (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999): 5-11
7. Ibid: 35-36
8. Ibid: 32-51
9. Ibid: 33-35
10. Ibid: 52-65
11. Ibid: 84-111
12. Ibid: 205-207
13. Ibid: 206
14. Ibid: 205-206
15. Ibid: 212-214
16. Ibid: 216-223
17. Ibid: 217
18. Ibid
19. Ibid: 232

20. Ibid: 241
21. Ibid: 224
22. Ibid: 226-227
23. Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1986): 67
24. Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*, (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999): 242-244
25. Ibid: 244-252
26. Ibid: 56-57
27. Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1986): 79
28. Ibid: 67
29. Ibid: 73
30. Ibid: 73-74
31. Ibid: 24-38
32. Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*, (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999): 241-242
33. Ibid: 232-236
34. Ibid: 229-230
35. Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1986): 14-23
36. Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*, (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999): 251-252
37. Ibid
38. Wade Clark Roof, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation*, (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993): 1
39. Ibid: 12

40. Cynthia Eller, "The Roots of Feminist Spirituality," *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies of Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, Wendy Griffin (editor), (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000): 29-31
41. Wade Clark Roof, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation*, (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993): 155
42. Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1986): 14-15
43. Ibid
44. Ruth Rhiannon Barrett, "The Power of Ritual," *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies of Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, Wendy Griffin (editor), (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000): 186-190
45. Wade Clark Roof, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation*, (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993): 34-36
46. Ibid: 56-57
47. Ibid: 63-88
48. Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1986): 9-10
49. Marilyn Gottschall, "The Mutable Goddess," *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies of Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, Wendy Griffin (editor), (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000): 59-70
50. Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1986): 160
51. Marilyn Gottschall, "The Mutable Goddess," *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies of Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, Wendy Griffin (editor), (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000): 66-70
52. Ibid
53. Wade Clark Roof, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation*, (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993): 128-133
54. Joanne Pearson, "Introduction," *Belief Beyond Boundaries: Wicca, Celtic Spirituality, and the New Age*, Joanne Pearson (editor), (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2002): 6-7

55. Cynthia Eller, "The Roots of Feminist Spirituality," *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies of Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, Wendy Griffin (editor), (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000): 26-29
56. Ibid
57. Ibid: 27
58. Tanice G. Folz, "Thriving, Not Simply Surviving," *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies in Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, Wendy Griffin (editor), (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000): 122-132
59. Ibid: 125-126
60. Ibid: 127
61. Cynthia Eller, "The Roots of Feminist Spirituality," *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies of Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, Wendy Griffin (editor), (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000): 38
62. Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*, (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999): 352
63. Ibid: 352-355
64. Ibid: 352
65. Susan Mumm, "Aspirational Indians: North American Indigenous Religions and the New Age," *Belief Beyond Boundaries: Wicca, Celtic Spirituality, and the New Age*, Joanne Pearson (editor), (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2002): 106-107
66. Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1986): 430-434
67. Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*, (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999): 352
68. Mattias Gardell, *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1986)
- Ruth Rhiannon Barrett, "The Power of Ritual," *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies of Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, Wendy Griffin (editor), (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000): 185-200
- Helen A. Berger, *A Community of Witches: Contemporary Neo-Paganism and Witchcraft in the United States*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999)
- Helen A. Berger, Evan A. Leach, and Leigh S. Shaffer, *Voices from the Pagan Census: A National Survey of Witches and Neo-Pagans in the United States*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003)
- Cynthia Eller, "The Roots of Feminist Spirituality," *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies of Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, Wendy Griffin (editor), (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000): 25-41
- Tanice G. Folz, "Thriving, Not Simply Surviving," *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies in Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, Wendy Griffin (editor), (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000):
- Mattias Gardell, *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003)
- Marilyn Gottschall, "The Mutable Goddess," *Daughters of the Goddess: Studies of Healing, Identity and Empowerment*, Wendy Griffin (editor), (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, Inc, 2000): 59-72
- Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*, (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Sirona Knight (editor), *A Witch Like Me*, (Franklin Lakes, NJ: The Career Press, Inc, 2002)
- Susan Mumm, "Aspirational Indians: North American Indigenous Religions and the New Age," *Belief Beyond Boundaries: Wicca, Celtic Spirituality, and the New Age*, Joanne Pearson (editor), (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2002): 103-131
- Joanne Pearson, "Introduction," *Belief Beyond Boundaries: Wicca, Celtic Spirituality, and the New Age*, Joanne Pearson (editor), (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2002): 1-12

Wade Clark Roof, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation*, (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993)

Wade Clark Roof, *Spiritual Marketplace: Baby Boomers and the Remaking of American Religion*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999)