

PART EIGHT

A GENERAL
HISTORY OF
REFORMED
DRUIDISM IN
AMERICA

a.k.a
The Gregarious Epistle of
Michael
or
The Adventures of Prolix the
Druid

An unofficial and very controversial attempt by Michael Scharding to provide his own personal overview of the main historical events that he believes has affected the development of the various Reformed Druid movements in North America over the first 34 years of their organizational histories. Best read with the primary materials that are found in the other parts of "A Reformed Druid Anthology" (see next page).

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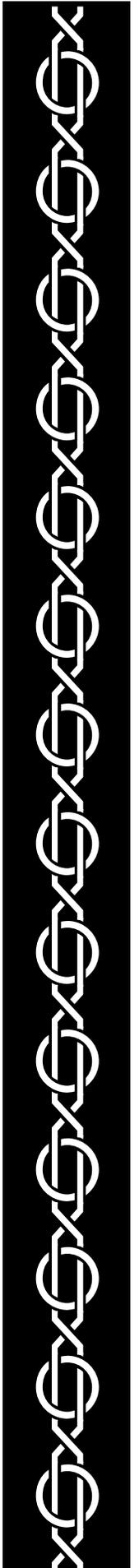


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(You know an Epistle is way too big when it has a table of contents!)

Blessing

May the blessings of the all-surrounding Earth-Mother be upon you, gentle reader. May my words find a welcome home with you. Please excuse the gregarious nature of my ramblings. It is over ten times longer than any other epistle in Druidic history, but probably of less value than their compact wisdom. Read it at a slow pace, ponder it, and then tell me what you think of it. Please, do not consider it dogma and try to forgive my errors and biases. If you do this, you may receive the greatest blessing of all.

Dedication

I'd like to dedicate this paper in the memory of my grandparents, Emmet Gerald Scharding and Billie Johnston Scharding, without whose love and funding I would not have been able to attend Carleton or to write this epistle.

Acknowledgements

Special Thanks goes to Eric Hilleman for helping me to gather, organize and interpret the International Druid Archives. I'd also like to thank all the people whom I have interviewed to write this paper, especially the Frangquists, the Sheltons, Norman Nelson, Robert Larson and Isaac Bonewits. Mark Heiman is to be thanked for the final visual format.

It would be remiss not to thank Professor Phillip Niles for his superhuman patience with my first 10 proposals and innumerable redrafts. Without his help, I wouldn't have ever come even close to the dubious quality of this paper.

YO!

BIG, PROMINENT DISCLAIMER TO OTHER DRUIDS

This work is **not** to be assumed to be THE definitive, nor official, statement of the history of Reformed Druidism, regardless of my previous position as ArchDruid of Carleton. This paper is a composite of conversations and documents from past Druids that has been molded by the imposition of my personal thinking processes. It is one history, yea, *one history among many* of what was and is and may be Reformed Druidism. I disagree with some of the trends, but I will try my best to be objective in my presentation. Read this paper with caution, because it will be filled with my biases.

Another note, the RDNA tradition of Carleton has been to call both male and female members, "Druids." I will specifically refer to gender of members if it is necessary. I've also been lazy and used "Neo-Pagan" when I should have put "Neo-Pagan, Wiccan, Followers of the Old Way, Crafters, Worshipers of the Goddess, practitioners of personal spirituality, Polytheists/Pantheists/Duotheist, etc." But that would have eaten up alot of time, and you know what I mean. Also please insert c.e. after all dates.

NOTE: This epistle has little to do with British, Neo-Paganistic, Masonic or other forms of Druidism now in America. We welcome any scholarly comparisons with your groups and we offer the use of our archived materials stored at Carleton.

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FOREWARD BY THE AUTHOR

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The Importance of Origin Stories

Why does a history of Reformed Druidism matter to other modern Druid groups in America? Probably for the same reasons that the study of Judaism is important for studying Christianity. Few religious movements, even spontaneous ones, can resist the temptation to borrow material from other groups. Often this borrowing is never explicitly acknowledged and scholars are forever doomed to waste many precious hours debating where every idea came from, rather than debating what was the importance of the idea. I hope that this history of the RDNA, in some small way, may serve as an origin-story for the other modern Druid movements in America. I certainly hope that other stories will follow and expand the discussions on the influences that I was unable to adequately discuss; for example the full extent of the Neo-Pagan/New Age or Environmental influences upon Reformed Druidism.

All religious movements have a need for origin-stories; i.e. what year did they begin, how did they begin, who started the traditions and (of course) who's to blame for all the crap that has happened since the Golden Age of Founding. These origin-stories help to define whence we came from, to notice how much we've changed, and to help us to decide where we may wish to go. Most religious movements keep rather spotty records in their beginnings, mainly because they are too busy establishing the group. By the time that most origin stories are written down, the Founder(s) are long dead and multifarious myths have obscured much of the truth. Sometimes, as with the ancient Druids, the people never got around to writing down the thoughts, lore & history, and their wisdom has thus vanished into the mists of time.

Not so with the Reformed Druids of North America. Within 2 years of the Founding of Reformed Druidism, a history was written by David Frangquist and efforts were made to preserve early documents and paraphernalia for the edification of future Arch-Druids. Primarily, this was done because of the high turn-over rate that is inherent with a college-based group; a system that precluded the establishment of a resident-elder & made oral-based transmission of stories an uncertain risk. From our copious records, and interviews with living members, it is still possible to reconstruct a (overly) detailed history of Reformed Druidism in America.

Although it is *possible* to make such a history, I sometimes have wondered if a history *should* even be published. In many ways, Reformed Druidism is far too simple a subject to be written about, for Awareness must be experienced. Even the most complicated explanation cannot contain the complexities of the simplicity that is Reformed Druidism. By even writing a history of Reformed Druidism, I fear that I may lead hasty scholars even further away from the truths of Reformed Druidism. If I should do so, I apologize and I hope that further careful cross-study & comparison will lead you back to the true purposes and truths of Reformed Druidism. Even worse, I would be terribly saddened if a Reformed Druid, amidst their struggle for awareness, should begin insisting that the "only true" Druidism lies in repeating the ways of the past Reformed Druids. That would be a tragic waste of time on their part and for those who must listen to such rantings.

So why am I writing this?

In the spring of 1993, my grove members and previous leaders knew little of our RDNA history. Much of the heritage of the Reformed Druids had been forgotten by the Carleton Grove by the late

1980s, not that this had inhibited their Druidism by the slightest bit. We knew that the RDNA began as a protest movement in 1963, that we supposedly had three orders of membership, that we should be wary of Isaac Bonewits, that we should allow anybody to participate irregardless of their religion and that the RDNA was the ancestral-origin of many modern Druid movements in the United States. Some Druids would have been content with the freedom of ideas that come out of a vague background, but I stubbornly wished to know what my predecessors had done so as to augment the possibilities of grove activities and to predict the long-term effects and cycles of Druidism on my fellow grove-members and myself.

As a result of this research, I've probably collected and read more Reformed Druid material and talked with more Druids from the different factions than any other Reformed Druid (except possibly Isaac Bonewits). This means that I'm either an "expert" or I am now more irreparably confused in my Druidism than ever as a result. (More than likely it means that three precious years have passed from my youth.) I have always enjoyed reading the "small scale" history of communities and items of local interest, and this is shown in my choice of studying the Reformed Druids. As a result of my research, I firmly believe that the simple lessons that can be learned from Reformed Druidism are just as valid as those from big, "mainstream" religions with millions of members. Perhaps the Reform's lessons are easier to understand since Druidism doesn't require too many presuppositions. The archived discussions that I have read about the simplicity, honesty and omni-compatibility of basic Reformed Druidism have made my "tidying up" of its history a real labor of love and sorrow. I have watched the dramas unfold, both the touching loyalty to ideals and the disappointing misunderstandings between members. Indeed, each and every Reformed Druid has an interpretation and a history that are just as valid and important as this lowly epistle. I now wish to share my insights with others to heal some of the wounds that have festered from the frequent misunderstandings and to enlighten others with a few thoughts that might be applicable to their lives.

As a historian, I have often bewailed & cursed the dead of past ages for not writing down their thoughts and stories for the future generations to read & cherish. In some way, I hope that this book will set a precedent for members of other nascent religious movements to write down their own religious histories, while the details are fresh in their minds (and make frequent updated versions available). I only wish that those groups will not forget to be spontaneous and willing to discard the past when it is no longer helpful.

Final Thoughts

During this era of unending questioning, I feel most at home with calling myself a Reformed Druid. I am tied to no religious dogma or creed by my association with the RDNA, beyond the two Basic Tenets. The vagueness of Druidism has ironically proved itself to be a sure anchor in my personal search for religious truths in this chaotic world. I am currently studying the teachings of many religious organizations and individuals, with occasional successes and failures here and there. I doubt that I will find any one system capable of answering all my questions; although I'm interested in Zen, Tao and Christianity. Perhaps no religion is perfectly fitted for me, or perhaps I can not bring myself to fit in any one religion. If so, then I may have to create a religion for myself, or perhaps even create/modify one for every passing moment... Who knows?, I may find truth in a few years and then look back on all this as a silly moment of confusion. Yet if I find my true faith, I'm sure it will be far richer and more fervent because of the long study and search that I have made for it. In the meantime, Druidism will be my haven during a storm.

-Mike Scharding
Goodhue Hall 310

April 1994, revised April 1996

INTRODUCTION

(Please, feel free to skip to the first chapter)

The purpose of this paper is to drastically re-interpret and provide a general historical overview of a nation-wide movement known as the Reformed Druids of North America and the origins of its various offshoot branches, up to 1996.¹ With the help of newly collected and mostly un-published resources, I will provide a new perspective on the role of Reformed Druidism² in spawning the American Druid Neo-Pagan movement, including the founding of “Ár nDraiocht Féin” in 1982 and the Henge of Keltria in 1986. In addition to influencing Neo-Paganism, Reformed Druidism has played a small role in shaping the atmosphere & character of Carleton College.

I hope that this paper will provide better chronological and organizational understanding to future researchers after which they can conduct further studies on the RDNA. A good researcher must use more than one source in order to gain a balanced perspective. The biases of earlier researchers are the result of an over-reliance upon interviews taken solely with Isaac Bonewits (or Fisher) or by a primarily exclusive reliance upon his writings. There are no experts in Reformed Druidism, merely voices who can provide personal definitions. Therefore, I hope that future studies do not use my study as their sole source either. If they do write reports, I hope that they will mail a complementary copy of the document to: Carleton College Archives, 300 North College Street, Northfield, MN, 55057, USA.

For those unacquainted with Reformed Druidism, I will now provide this introductory synopsis to prepare you for a more detailed history of Reformed Druidism and perhaps foreshadow the debates of this paper. I hope that you will find Reformed Druidism to be an attractive case model for use in your future studies.³ By the end of this epistle, I hope that you'll know more about the overall history of Reformed Druidism than most present, past & future members. As for our theology or philosophy, it's relatively simple, and you'll be a master of it by the end (as far as any of us ever will be).

Why Reformed Druidism is important to Carleton College:

Reformed Druidism has a special place in the modern history of Carleton College. Originally conceived as a student protest against mandatory attendance of religious services, the RDNA rapidly became a powerful and personal tool for individuals at Carleton to explore the depths of religious truths and comprehend the religious & cultural diversity of the increasingly pluralistic United States.

Over 33 years old, the Carleton Grove of the RDNA was by far the longest running, largest, extant, *unofficial* student-run organization at Carleton.⁴ It is now an official organization as of May 1995. Probably only 2% of past Carleton students since 1963 have directly participated in at least one RDNA service or have received it's mailings. But, it is likely that a greater number of Carleton students have interacted with Druids (knowingly or unknowingly) or been introduced to an RDNA member's religious/philosophical curiosity over the last 33 or so years. If nothing else, the Druids have become another nostalgic background ornament contributing to Carleton's mystique; joining the ranks of Rott-blatt, Schiller and the Tunnel Graffiti.⁵ The RDNA has also produced a rare, very personal, and unrivaled amount of alumni-student inter-communication and assistance, which alone should attract closer study by Carleton historians.

The RDNA is the only known religion or, if you prefer, group-philosophy, to have indisputably originated at Carleton College (& perhaps in Northfield or south Minnesota) and spread so far from home; being a recognizable extension of a Carleton-wide attribute of respectful skepticism towards all matters. As local chapters of the

RDNA, called “groves,” were established across the nation (at first mostly at colleges), a renaissance of religious exploration and correspondence developed within the RDNA's nurturing anti-dogmatic structure. Importantly, this expansion also brought ideas back to isolated midwestern Carleton students and alumni from Druids experiencing different environments.

I might add that I am not alone in my respect for the importance of the Reformed Druid debates and their impact on Carleton College. The RDNA has probably not had much more than 1,000 total members at Carleton,⁶ but the previous College Archivist, Mark Greene and the current Archivist Eric Hilleman feel that:

“The Druids are one of Carleton's most interesting, long-lived, and (in terms of national following) most influential traditions. As time passes, I hope that their history will receive some scholarly attention—either within or from outside of Carleton.”⁷

Why Reformed Druidism is important in the Neo-Pagan movement:

Upon entering the catalytic environment of the Bay Area and urban Universities in the late 60s/early 70s, some RDNA members quickly allied themselves with the nascent Neo-Pagan movement which was concentrated there. This quick allegiance was made possible by the RDNA's amazing coincidental similarity of liturgy, organization, and doctrine of religious searching, as will be discussed later.

After years of sometimes bitter infighting during the 1970s over how to more “effectively” organize themselves and as a result of a poor economy, a great number of RDNA groves collapsed or went underground. Some members “left” Reformed Druidism to continue the growth of the American Druid Neo-Pagan movement, by founding “Ár nDraiocht Féin,” which possesses few immediately recognizable connections to the RDNA, yet they acknowledge the RDNA as their origin.⁸ Yet we should note that RDNA and NRDNA groves have stubbornly continued to persist alongside with the ADF and with ADF's offshoots such as Keltria & Druidactios.⁹ Put together, these three newer groups have currently under 800 paid members in 20+ groves/henges/toutas and perhaps 2000+ irregular attendees. The American Druids have always been a small, very recognizable and reasonably public group within Neo-Paganism. But, their numbers are not so insignificant when one considers that the Neo-Pagan movement has between 50,000 to 200,000 members in America, depending on your statistics.¹⁰ In fact, many people see Reformed Druidism in America as being defined by its larger, noisier offshoots, ADF & Keltria or even by the unrelated British/European Druid or Masonic Druidical movements. As a result, accounts of Reformed Druidism history could easily be falsely portrayed as being fated into *evolving* towards these more noticeable organizations.

Neo-Paganism is a collective umbrella term for nature-oriented religious movements with an intense interest in borrowing from pre-Christian cultures coupled with modern sensibilities. Neo-Paganism has been expanding geometrically since the early 70s and will become more and more noticeable in the future.¹¹ In the coming years, I predict there will be greater number of scholarly studies upon the artistic, musical, liturgical, scholastic, philosophical and theological accomplishments of these highly creative minority religions.¹² These studies will likely be initiated by Neo-Pagan scholars, from secure Neo-Pagan traditions, who are seeking to unearth and explore their groups' relatively recent historical origins.

Because Reformed Druids have often been playfully pushing the definitional boundaries of “Neo-Paganism” as much as they have with Judeo-Christianity, it will continue to attract some interest. Another attraction with the RDNA for scholars is Isaac Bonewits' prominent presence and activities within Neo-Paganism and Reformed Druidism throughout the 70s, which was prophetic of the progressive Neo-Pagan Druidic religion known as “Ár nDraiocht Féin.”

Finally, the extensively archived history of Reformed Druidism

will provide those scholars with rich comparisomal models and materials when writing the future organizational histories of Neo-Pagan movements (especially Druids¹³). This paper will help them overcome the often treacherous, paltry and deceptive misinformation currently available about the RDNA and may even change preconceptions of what a "Druid" organization has to be.

Why Reformed Druidism is Important for 60's Exploration of Religion:

Finally, as a side note, this study will remind scholars how the multi-faceted influences of local environment can influence the thinking and structures of local chapters of the same religion/philosophy. With the great advantage of hindsight, I will show how the radically different administrative policies of Carleton College and Berkeley College during the 60's & 70's may have well led to the development of different understandings and methods of protest among student populations and in the local communities. This difference in protest methodology has in turn drastically affected the course of the "Carleton" RDNA faction and that of the "Berkeley/Bay-Area" NewRDNA faction.



Chapter One: Methodology & Biases

(Casual readers may skip to Chapter Two, where the fun begins)

Section One: Problems of Researching Recent History & Neo-Paganism

Most Neo-Pagan scholars have never had access to peruse the newly available resources that I have used to write this paper, so I feel it is necessary to explain, at what will seem at an extraordinary length, just what led to my writing this paper. This section may even provide some new research ideas to future scholars of Neo-Pagan history. Non-academics may freely skip ahead to Chapter Two.

Ways of Writing A Neo-Pagan History

I suspect that there will be few groups over ten years old that can resist writing a history. There are a number of important questions that the Neo-Pagan historian should ask themselves while planning the process of writing a history. Let's explore them.

1. Who am I writing for?

This is the crucial question. There are different types of histories for different types of audiences.

Diaries are appropriate for solitaries. While you may pass a diary onto a child or disciple, you want a diary to remind yourself of personally important memories, personal oaths, and to keep track of the effects of spells. Diaries, unlike Shadow Books, often includes the mundane *and* the magical elements of your lives.

If you are writing a history for a handful of close friends or disciples, you may prefer the Book of Shadows format commonly used in Wicca with one large handwritten book being copied by every new member. Such a book contains a brief description of apostolic succession, basic rites and basic organizational rules. What's more since only initiates will be reading it, you can write very personal details and be free about naming people. Since everyone in the group, knows the ins-and-outs of the group, you could avoid explaining the simple things, place descriptions and take a lot of knowledge for granted.

If you are writing a history for scholarly study or to enlighten other Neo-Pagan groups, you will probably go into about as much depth as a Book of Shadows, but leaving out any craft-secrets (without hopefully making the history unintelligible). You can expect most Neo-Pagans to understand the Neo-Pagan mindset and opinion background, but the average scholar will require explanation of such simple concepts like "the eight festivals," "sabbats," "cones," "degrees" and "athames."

If you are writing a history for a recruitment flyer or leaflet for mass distribution, you need to condense it drastically and emphasis the drawing points, remove personal details and avoid describing conflicts (acrimony may turn off recruits).

In my case, I'm writing this Epistle & ARDA collection for the scholarly audience and as an public-oriented "book of shadows." The result, I thoroughly explain the terms, introduce all the players, tie events into greater sociological cycles, and avoid extremely intimate goofs.

2. What are my biases and reasons?

This is the hardest thing to do. Writing a history can lead to some deep soul-searching and you should ask yourself some probing questions. Why are you writing a history? Is it to try to build a historical sequences that support your opinion of what the group's true purpose? Is it to show off your knowledge of the trivia? Are there certain

types of people or faction who will resent your history? Is it to cover up a disgrace in your organization? Is it to share joyful stories and helpful hints of group coordination? Most of the time we do not recognize what a small pond a coven or a grove is. Do you really know what the real history of your group is? Do you plan to exclude the input of certain people? Why? Are you the best suited person for the job of writing a history or should you co-author it with other people? If you don't like the answers you get from such questions, then beware starting such a task.

3. How will I distribute my history?

There are a number of ways to distribute histories nowadays. I highly recommend that you do it on a computer, as you will amend it several times, and it will give it a professional appearance. Photocopy shops can print and bind small histories rather cheaply nowadays. An exciting new method, if you (or a friend) has a talent is that you can set up a web-page and allow people to download files containing your history. You can then just release it on to the Internet and let interested people find it and distribute it to their friends, and it won't cost you a cent after the initial set up.

4. What can I include in a history?

Any thing you'd like. Histories are merely records of what is meaningful to a group of people. Kind of like a big scrapbook. A partial list includes; why a group was founded, chronologies, a series of letters, recipes, sets of bylaws, specialized dictionaries, bibliographies, favorite activities, politics of leadership struggles, jokes, meditations, quotes, mythologies, rituals, blessings, artwork, poetry, music, songs, eulogies, favorite meeting sites, or even stories about how popular members came to join the group. You could even make a video tape documentary. Your imagination is your only limitation.

"The Golden Rule" of researching Neo-Paganism

Any researcher of Neo-Paganism will understand when I say that a good rule in reconstructing the history of the RDNA (which many "outsiders" consider to be one of the oldest, identifiable, public Neo-Pagan movements) is that disagreement among RDNA members is the general reality and that agreements are the unusual exception. Each individual Reformed Druid (esp. Californian ones) had a different purpose and view of what Druidism meant to them. Although this diversity could apply to members of many mainstream religions, rarely do we see a group give as much free reign, affirmation and empowerment to the individual's beliefs as we find in Reformed Druidism. With that in mind, it is appropriate to beware rashly accepting any statements in documents claiming to be authoritative upon a Neo-Pagan group's beliefs (especially in Reformed Druidism) and to realize that any such statement may be a disguised personal bias (such as this Epistle, for example). The type of person who leaves written documents may be quite different from the person who does not feel the need to canonize their ideas on paper.

In the case of the RDNA, the "authorities" have tended to be the Third Order Druids who left us the majority of the contemporary written documents and wrote most of the inter-communications on "key" issues. Much of the time, they were also the only ones knowledgeable about the existence & politics of inter-grove communications. Therefore, it is fitting that they should be my primary informants since I am constructing a history on inter-grove activity and organizational change.

However, in future histories about specific groves, there will have to be a great number interviews of 1st and 2nd Order Druid members taken from each grove, something that is difficult to do since few records are kept of non-Third members. Third Order Druids only constituted (at most) 5% of all past Reformed Druid membership, but they are always the easiest to locate because of their prominence and long-term commitments to the group. It is also important

to remember that only a very tiny portion of the activities or attention of most grove members were expended on issues "outside" of their groves. For most members, the local grove and the lives of its own members were all that really mattered and thus documentation of the opinions of non-Thirds on external issues is almost non-existent.

Difficulties of recent history for me:

Because I have never academically studied post-1950 history, I adopted some of the research tools of a journalist because I see them as the most ingenious historians of very recent events. Almost all of the major figures in Reformed Druidism are still alive at the time of this writing (1996), but they are still so active in careers that memoirs are not likely to be on their agendas for some years to come. Nor could I use existing research on the RDNA, since most of the other researchers didn't interview many Druids, or probably met with only one Druid. Therefore, I have discarded their work and pursued a very active search and questioning of past and present members. This new research has included a great number of interviews, surveys and document collection from past & present members rather than relying upon poorly researched and published studies.¹⁴

Interviewing

I must tell researchers how important one's choice of relevant resources is when studying "Neo-Paganism" or any other small, modern, religious groups. Because of the richer amounts of material that are often available on recent historical events, students of recent history sometimes have the joy and burden of having too many resources. This problem of apparent "chaos" can be offset by the fact that many of the principal "movers-and-shakers" of recent events in Neo-Paganism are still alive. Interviewing them allows you to supplement contemporary records with the often '20/20' vision of hindsight and maturation. These "live witnesses" can decipher mysteries found in the available texts or make up for the paucity of documentation. Those interviews can often reduce the extraneous background reading needed by the researcher by the interviewees' indications of which aspects of a group were relatively unaffected by contemporary events. Much of what happens in a grove will never be put down by a pen. Mood and environment are difficult to capture in words, especially written words, but are retained in oral stories.

But we will always face the problem that some people are often too close to an event to step back and give us a un-biased interpretation of that situation. To correct the lies, errors, the "purposeful exclusion of pertinent facts" by certain people and to arrive at a more insightful interpretation of past events, one must cross-check their testimonies with those of others (especially their enemies). Fortunately, much of the stressful RDNA history has occurred over 15 years ago and the Druids are getting less uptight about it.

The Necessity and Benefit of Related Background Reading

Idealistically, the researcher of Neo-Paganism should explore the major interests of the people that they are studying, before they begin to study the people directly. It greatly helps when studying "Neo-Pagan" groups to have already acquired a broad background with folk-lore/music/dance (regardless of country), mythology, non-Christian religions and pertinent foreign languages. Such studies limber the mind for exploring new modes of thought, modes which may seem hardly comprehensible to the average Western-trained mind. Many Neo-Pagans are very intelligent, well-read, eclectic and scholastically inclined.¹⁵ If you approach their "official" published materials with little knowledge of the foundational culture and *mentalite* among Neo-Pagan social circles, you are very likely to be over-whelmed or (worse) distracted by the sheer diversity of topics that are being bandied about. I recommend at least a full year's close interaction with a

Neo-Pagan group before claiming to competently understand it.

I possessed certain knowledge and experience which greatly helped to research American Druidisms and to study Celtic Neo-Paganism:

1. A great deal of familiarity with the many reputable (& un reputable) published studies on Ancient Druidism and Celtic Religions. I also have done a great deal of reading of the published materials of modern Druid movements; both those descending from and those independent of RDNA origins. I therefore can better discern which customs & aspects adopted by modern Druid groups are historically valid and which are actually adaptations from newer, more modern sources of inspiration.
2. An understanding of the basics of a few Asian religions, which is particularly crucial to understanding the origins of Carleton Druids of the RDNA. Any understanding of 60/70s mysticism must include a study of the growing interest in Asian religions.
3. I can read the Scots-Gaelic, French and German languages; all important for studying Ancient Druidism and understanding the academic studies, deities & terms referred to by Neo-Pagans/Wiccans; who are reconstructing old religions of Indo-European origin. Another useful language would have been Welsh or Irish Gaelic.
4. A five year background in observing the rites, interactions, world-views and morals of Wiccans, RDNA Druids, non-RDNA Druids, other Neo-Pagan groups and some rather unusually "liberal" Christian groups.¹⁶
5. I am also familiar with the customs, terminology and activities of people belonging to the folklore/music/dance groups, Sci-Fi clubs, Society for Creative Anachronism¹⁷ and role-playing groups. These groups are considered, by many, to be four of the primary organizations (plus the Occult arts) that are very compatible with Neo-Pagan views.
6. Also of great help, of course, was my position as the ArchDruid of a very well known Druid organization. Titles will still open doors in this world, but only knowledge, patience, and personality will keep those doors open. Honesty and respect go a long way when interviewing Neo-Pagans. Most Neo-Pagans will not respond well, if they believe you are a closed-minded Fundamentalist or if you are mocking/belittling their beliefs. Gods help your research project if you should try to "convert" them!

Section Two: New Resources for RDNA Scholars

(Casual readers are encouraged to skip this and continue to Chapter Two)

As stated before, most of the documentation available for this Epistle has been un-accessible, ignored, unknown or misused by previous researchers. As the list of the International Druid Archives shows,¹⁸ there are many types of materials now available. For the instruction of the outsider who will be confused by constant references to strange books in the footnotes, I will describe the disadvantages and characteristics of the various categories of resources that were of primary use in this paper. A copy of the index will be included on Disk versions of this publication.

Inspirational Collections (scriptures and collections of sayings)

In addition to the aforementioned *Druid Chronicles (Evolved)*, I have used other unofficial collections to provide a Carleton perspective. *The Druid Chronicles (Reformed)*, a.k.a. DC(R), was first published in 1964 and it is David Frangquist's¹⁹ description of the first year of Reformed Druidism. DC(R) contains the accumulated laws, customs, the basis of liturgy, several meditations, and valuable suggestions for organizing the RDNA groves. While *much* of the *Black Book of Liturgy*,²⁰ *Druid Chronicles (Reformed)* and *the Carleton Apocrypha*²¹ are found in Isaac's compendium, not so with *the Green Book of Meditations*. The Green Book is an optional resource for lazy Arch-Druids to draw Druidic meditations from the many religions in the world. All these sources are merely an alternative resource available for inspiration and story telling. They should not be seen as representing every Druid's viewpoint or personal theology. All of these publications are reprinted in "A Reformed Druid Anthology," often in a their original verbatim format with extensive historiography.

Non-Intramural Letters

These are letters that Reformed Druids have written to newspapers, various institutions, government agencies and encyclopedia researchers. They tend to fall into two main camps: outright deception and careful attempts to convey the "joke."

When vitally necessary, all Reformed Druids would be willing to use their resemblance to a conventional religion to fool and thwart authorities; especially those authorities who have made the false assumption that **they can** actually define what is a religion. When writing to newspapers (after 1964) and magazines, the Reformed Druids try to share the basic joke and the protest that lies at its core in order that prospective members would join in the correct spirit of introspection instead of blind devotion to a set of principles or a *group*.

These letters provide a valuable insight into how contemporary "outsiders" viewed the Druids, depending on the year and location in the US. Common mis-conceptions of contemporaries about "Druidism" are conveniently expressed.

February 1993 Questionnaires²²

As discussed earlier, the responses from 23+ past Carleton members of the years 1963-1986 provided me with a view of how many non-priest druids felt about the Druids and also gave me some Carleton grove statistics. The long years appear to have led most Druids to discard the unimportant trappings of Reformed Druidism, i.e. ritual, leaving the essential freedom of everyone to their own religious belief at the core of their Druidism.

Oral History Tapes²³

Unexpectedly, this has turned out to be the greatest research tool. As stated before, the researcher gains the apparently 20/20 hindsight to supplement the contemporary documents of the past. These oral discussions fleshed out the history of RDNA, NRDNA, SDNA (and ADF) groups that possessed only a skeletal description when viewed from written documents. Some of the tapes were recorded by Carleton's Oral History project, but most were done by myself with the questions oriented towards writing this Epistle.

These interviews are especially valuable for understanding the in-fighting and troubles of the NRDNA and SDNA which, up to now, have often only been alluded to in materials relying on Isaac's writings. Interesting to this study is the lack of concern that is orally expressed by most of these people towards the politics that seemed to dominate the collection of **written** documents, although they are often the very people who wrote the documents. There is a tendency among researchers to assume that any written document, in the absence of other background material, automatically contains the most important issues of the day. Sometimes it is only the minutiae & trivia that gets written down. Any future *local* grove histories except Carleton & Berkeley & Live Oak, will probably have to rely exclusively on oral interviews.

Internal Correspondence (Int. Corr.)²⁴

This category was previously known as the "Records of the Council of Dalon ap Landu," which was appropriate, but it now includes all unofficial correspondence between Reformed Druid members (whether priests or not). This collection consists of a sizable portion of the networking that went on between the priests and arch-druids, with a current quantitative bias of authors coming from Carleton students/alumni.²⁵ An early voting tradition arose that any attempt to impose a new doctrine upon the entire Reformed Druids must get a consensus of acquiescence of all returned replies that had been sent out to **all the known** Reformed Druids priests on this Council. But since most of the Carleton priests didn't want Reformed Druidism to get too complicated, and this was always a sizable if not dominant block of Council members, correspondence ended up being primarily a vehicle for debating and exchanging gossip, not deciding on new laws. The Council also became a means to frustrate anyone from seriously considering that they had finally figured out how to "save" Druidism from itself.

The private internal correspondence also shows the elaborate and humorous back-stage preparations for devising a public front of being a "real, organized religion" when faced against oppressive institutions; such as Carleton College, the Draft Boards (and Isaac Bonewits to some extent).

One of the curious notes about Internal Correspondence (and the oral interviews) is that of Isaac (nearly) alone writing to the "Carleton Faction" until 1978. The "Carleton Faction" wrote to many members of the vague "Isaac" & NRDNA factions, asking them not to exclude non-Pagans. However, we only hear replies from one or two NRDNA members in response, besides Isaac. Besides Isaac Bonewits & Larson & Sherbak, we have no written documents from other NRDNA members writing to RDNA members until 1979. Larson, himself, usually only steps in to soften & correct some of Isaac's ruder letters to the RDNA. Otherwise we have only silence from all the "Neo-Pagan" Reformed Druid priests in the NRDNA on all the debates. This silence could indicate two likely conclusions:

1. The other Reformed Druids, not from Carleton, only wrote or talked amongst themselves on Isaac's "reforms."
and/or
2. Isaac (& occasionally Larson) was the only one, at that time, who really wanted to fight about the issues.

It is possible that the more extended periods of grove membership in the NRDNA groves allowed deeper discussions of issues exclusively by oral communication. However, except for Larson & Sherbak, no other communications are on record from the "NRDNA" & SDNA to the "RDNA" members until 1979, long after any reputed splits would have taken place. Surely if the NRDNA & SDNA (besides Isaac) were litigious for official reform, more of them would have written to Carleton alumni?

Resources Regarding Carleton's Administration²⁶

A good study of the "Carleton Experience" will aid in the study of Carleton Druidism, which is inseparable for many Druids. The Carleton College Archivist has shown me the best selections now available in the very valuable "Oral History Project." I have relied upon the Oral Histories of administrators, faculty and (Druid & non-Druid) students from the 60s and 70s to synthesize a view of the many factors influencing the Carleton environment (and therefore the Druids).

Resources Regarding Berkeley²⁷

Berkeley Druids & Druids from the Bay-Area were the backbone of the NRDNA movement, and therefore an understanding of Berkeley atmosphere is necessary to contrast with Carleton. Any research on the NRDNA should include some study of not only the history of the University at Berkeley, but it should also include a study of the "Berkeley Community." As I mentioned before, I knew nothing of the Sixties before starting this research and I still know but a little. I have relied on the general overviews of Berkeley provided in the excellent books and videos mentioned in the bibliography. Researchers should pay special attention to *Experimentation in American Religion* because it provides valuable statistics on the religious scene in Berkeley in 1970; which would be valuable for further studies. Interviews with Berkeleyites and the NRDNA are supplementary and provide first-hand accounts.

Resources Regarding Neo-Paganism

Of course, the best book to start with is Margot Adler's *Drawing Down the Moon*. The book is a result of the skills of Adler's long journalistic career being applied towards the study of Neo-Paganism/Wicca. It is by far the most liked and comprehensive survey of the Neo-Pagan and Wiccan movements in America. It is invaluable in its detailed study of many forms of Neo-Paganism and its provision of contact addresses & resources for the scholar. Most people usually regard Gardner (founder of Modern Wicca), Margaret Murray and Starhawk as prominent writers in the field at the beginning, but there are lot more modern authors out there. Each offers a different view that is valuable, but scholarly works are rare and often denigrated by academics. Future scholars should note that I lack familiarity with the subjects of astrology, kaballa, ceremonial magick and deep theological works by Neo-Pagans and Wiccans. I have relied on personal observation & conversations, Isaac Bonewit's letters and *Drawing Down the Moon* for most of my understanding of Neo-Paganism & Wicca

As I mentioned, there are an increasing number of encyclopedias in the reference section of libraries that deal with Occultism and Neo-Paganism/Wicca.²⁸ Magazines & newsletters, although the best sources of information, are not so difficult to obtain anymore, even if you're not already in such circles. I recommend going to a Sci-Fi convention or spirituality lecture series in order to start finding these periodicals and then order back issues.

Chapter Two: Reform Druidism from 1963 to 1973

The Influences of Carleton College

I would like to begin this paper with an appropriately Zen-ish koan (an especially ancient one that I just made up) to reflect the unusual mentality of the early Founders of Reformed Druidism at Carleton College.

The Three Water Bowls

Master Druid and his clueless disciple, Dumb-one, were strolling in the garden on a very hot day and Master Druid decided to test his pupil's wisdom. It was a warm Thursday.

Master Druid: You!, imagine that you are terribly thirsty and that resting before you are three clear glass bowls filled with red, blue & green colored water. Each bowl is three inches deep, with a wooden base of identical design. Now, imagine that I ask you to tell me what colors are the bowls are in front of you? What would you do?

Dumb One: I would say; "Red, blue & green, Master."

Master Druid: The bowls themselves are clear and without colour! But that was the first of your errors.

Dumb One: Sorry, master. I would say "Clear," then.

Master Druid: Secondly, you should have just drank from one of the bowls, because water is good for you when you are thirsty and yet you are still worried about the colour of the bowls.

Dumb One: Sorry, master. Forgive me.

Master Druid: Your greatest mistake was to think you had to apologize to me because you feared that I wouldn't teach you again! Begone from my presence forever!

(And Dumb One was suddenly enlightened.)

Dumb One: Thank you...{pauses & bows} Master.

Master Druid: Hmph! Eat your rice.

Interpreting the Koan

The true debates that raged in the 1970s within Reformed Druidism, as alluded in the Zen analogy, are not to be found in examining the imperfect superficial definitions that have been used to separate the Reformed Druids of North American (red-bowl), the New RDNA

(blue-bowl) and Schismatic Druids of North America (green-bowl) from each other. Nor is it the point of this Epistle to judge which of these branches is the "most true" form of Druidism; I really couldn't care less. As each of the bowls had equally good water in them, I find that it was unimportant to defend the choice of one colour of water over the other. The debate, as I see it, was how to satisfy one's basic needs for religion (i.e. "thirst for water") without worrying about pointless, extraneous details like dogma (i.e. "color"), or how the surrounding institutions (i.e. "Master Druid") would react to your choice.

I will not try to prove that an actual transformation occurred **from** a philosophical RDNA (as represented primarily by Carleton) **into** a religion known as the NRDNA. For that, we must take each Druid's own personal definition of their own Reformed Druidism as the most valid litmus test and relinquish our desire to perfectly pigeon-hole their individual beliefs based on the group labels: RDNA, NRDNA and SDNA. Quite a number of Druids were and still are straddling the fuzzy technical borders between "religion" and/or "philosophy" by modern definitions. Many have occasionally chosen either definition for various purposes and then gone back to straddling the fence or even started building a new fence. Instead, I declare these terms to be an unwelcome distraction from other more hidden, but very important, debates that were important to Reformed Druidism as a whole.

The Four "Essential" Debates of Reformed Druidism

These debates, *as I like to see them*, are: >ahem<

1. What are the basic needs that a religion **alone** can fulfill?
2. How and who can tell when it is truly appropriate to propose and/or ratify an adoption of dogma in response to a perceived need? Druidism wishes no extraneous permanent accretions²⁹ or unnecessary leaders upon itself whenever something **else** can be temporarily utilized instead.
3. How many obstacles should be placed in the path of proposals in order to allow suitable time to consider the issues and to prevent adaptations that may lead to an unstoppable process of "complications;" ones which will alienate the first two goals (and possibly exclude most of the earlier members)?
And most importantly...
4. Do the first three points really matter to us? Isn't the organizational aspect of Reformed Druidism all just a silly joke? Why bother arguing? Why not go out and just follow what you know to be true!?

The "Carleton" Influences upon the initial RDNA

I believe it is best to continue Chapter Two of this paper by an original exploration of the "why, who, what, when and where" origins for the underlying structure and faith of Reformed Druidism. In the period 1963-1966, the basic philosophical and organizational foundations were formulated and established in the forms they would mostly bear unto this very day. Unfortunately (as some Founders saw it) this was also the time when potential defects, faults, Celtic trappings & "Fisher-isms" were adopted. From 1966-1973 many of the issues of expansion and stability that Isaac brought up in 1974 would seem to have already been brought up and tacitly decided (or apathetically ignored) upon by members of the Carleton Faction. Since Carleton students & graduates composed the majority of the members, priests and ArchDruids within Reformed Druidism up until the late 70s,³⁰ it is pertinent to understand the strong role that the "Carleton Experience" had in establishing, modifying, maintaining and undermining the foundations of Reformed Druidism.

Blame it on the 60s

Reformed Druidism is an offspring of the era known as the Sixties, an era which lasted from roughly 1960 to the end of America's involvement in Vietnam in 1973. The 60's, as most people remember (or have heard), were a tense time during which the preceding twenty years of seeming national unity and homogeneity was increasingly coming to doubt and reappraisal. Big issues at colleges were primarily *In Loco Parentis*³¹, Civil Rights, the Draft, American foreign policy and the beginnings of the women's rights movement.³²

The "G.I. Bill" had led to an unprecedented flood of students into colleges during the 40s/50s, which had in turn led to an expansion of faculty size.³³ With this increased college population came a greater interest in a broader "liberal arts" education. Departments like religion, philosophy & English ballooned in comparison to old standbys such as science and economics. These disciplines, by their inherent skepticism about the certainty of cultural concepts, allowed greater numbers of students to see college as a way to continue to explore new ideas amongst relatively supportive age-peers during this period of their lives, rather than being amalgamated into an older society at the age of 18. College administrators, however, were often seen as repressive tools of the Military complex and the Ancien Regime, both by students and many of these newer faculty members.³⁴

Carleton appears to have had a somewhat "softer" passage through the 60's than most of the Associated Colleges of the Midwest (ACM), and far smoother than the big universities which were more tightly tied in with the Military Complex such as Berkeley, U of Michigan, Penn State or State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNY Buffalo) as described in Heineman's book, *Campus Wars*. Heineman's book is very valuable in showing that student protest movements and SDS groups, tempered by the Civil Rights movements, preceded and were mostly independent of Berkeley's Free Speech Movement which had captured the Media's attention (and therefore the attention of historians).

Carleton was blessed by its quiet rural location, small size, lack of governmental research and a long history of broad liberal arts education. But by far, it appears to have been blessed by having relatively "liberal" administrators during the 60's, in particular President Nason (1962-1970), Chaplain David Maitland (1958-1986) and religion Professor Bardwell Smith (1962-1995). Each of these men contributed or exemplified crucial elements, in my opinion, of the Carleton atmosphere that permitted Reformed Druidism to flourish in its peculiar way at Carleton.

John Nason (President 1962-1970)³⁵

When the late President Larry Gould (1945-1962) foresaw the upcoming turmoil that was beginning to simmer in the country and its colleges, he wisely judged that it was unsuitable for him to continue his benevolent "patriarchy" of administration and retired. President Nason was the first Carleton graduate, class of '27, to become president of the college, thus perhaps giving him a closer feel for the Carleton "mystique." Nason saw a need to get faculty and students more involved with the administration of the college, rather than to "repel boarders at all costs." He himself, with the approval of the Trustees, had already tacitly decided that the *In Loco Parentis* rules were outdated and he often was a step or two ahead of the student demands.

An important result of this was a development of a Carleton tradition of a more civil and polite (but mockingly "good humor") methods of protest among students & faculty that actually led to some tangible results. Though hang-ups occurred, they were overcome by long discussion where both sides listened and learned. Nason's presidency was an orderly dismantling of some of the "Top-down" imperial policy of his predecessors.

Chaplain David Maitland (Chaplain 1958-86)³⁶

The office of the chaplaincy at Carleton was initiated by President Larry Gould as a separate institution because Gould was the first president of Carleton who was not an ordained minister. Feeling that religion was important, Gould gave the administration of religious needs of Carleton students to the Chaplain, of which Maitland was the third and longest serving.

As I've discovered, the dismantling of the religion requirement was in many ways aided by Maitland's background. Maitland was against **forcing** anyone to believe, and he himself helped in the dismantling of the mandatory Chapel attendance. Maitland, like his gifted successor Jewell Davis, was concerned in expanding and diversifying the nascent religion department of Carleton because understanding a "foreigner's" religion made them seem less foreign. In particular, Maitland supported the expansion of teaching about Asian religions in Carleton.

Professor Bardwell Smith (1962-95) ³⁷

Bardwell Smith, and other professors like Eleanor Zelliot, brought a much richer understanding of non-Western religions and cultures (especially the Asian faiths) to Carleton. Having witnessed racism and the patronizing attitude toward Asian religion and culture from his fellow marines while serving in Korea, Smith was always cognizant of how education must one day overcome prejudice. Carleton already had already developed many ties with colleges in Japan and India by the time Smith arrived. What Smith and his confederates did was to make Asia a greater focus-specialty at Carleton and bring the humanity and thoughts of Asia back home to the campus. Smith's deep empathy and knowledge of Hindu, Taoist and Buddhist cultures was important as a Dean of College (or a Druid advisor) during 1968-71 when students and faculty began to hotly protest the Vietnam war.

In comes the RDNA (at last)

With that background in mind, let us re-examine the mythical origins of the RDNA. The RDNA began in April 1963 when a group of students closely examined this age-old statement from Carleton College:

"Attendance is required at the College Service of Worship or of the Sunday Evening Program or at any regularly organized service of public worship. Each term, every student must attend seven [of ten] of the services or religious meetings."³⁸ [emphasis theirs]

A goodly number of Carleton students felt that a wasteful amount of time was being spent by religious and secular authorities to keep people "in line" and to keep them from thinking. This was seen as a hindrance to their personal growth. This activity by authority figures is often called the "Fossilization Theory," and the fear of it proves to be the greatest motivator for the RDNA:

"Reformed Druidism is a statement that religion has a tendency to become organized religion and which then becomes organization devoid of religion."³⁹

So it came to pass, that in April 1963 the "Triumvirate" (David Fisher, Howard Cherniack and Norman Nelson) were seeking a group-name for an unusual ploy for protesting the compulsory attendance of Chapel services. They intended to test the leniency of the exemption to the Chapel Attendance that Carleton allowed for those students who attended *regular* services of one's own religion. The Triumvirate wanted to test this by making an outrageously "un-orthodox" group, holding regular services and claiming that it filled the implied requirement as stated in the Handbook: i.e. *regular atten-*

dance. Cherniack, a prominent protester at Carleton⁴⁰, commented to the Triumvirate that his parents did not like filling in government forms that they were Jewish, so they had the custom of putting down “Druid” instead.⁴¹ The Triumvirate liked the name, because it was both exotic sounding and linked to a historical religion concerned about Nature and one that had opposed a powerful centralized power (Rome). Because none of them knew much more on Druids⁴² and thus feared being discredited, the name “Reformed” was adopted in order that they could claim to have dropped any historical practice that was brought up by opponents which they had forgotten to incorporate or that they disagreed with.⁴³

Weekly rituals were dutifully held on Saturday afternoons in the Arboretum from May 1963 to June 1964 with most members coming from KARL radio workers, theater, computer and folk dance enthusiasts. It was a group of friends meeting outdoors and having a good time together while meditating on religion. The men received a cold shoulder from the Dean when they turned in their attendance slips (saying they had attended RDNA services) while the women’s attendance slips were accepted due to a loophole in their collection system.⁴⁴ Strangely, neither group received any disciplinary punishment, so their ploy was working. However, they also went to Chapel service or other religious services to cover their butts just in case their RDNA applications failed.⁴⁵ When the requirement was rescinded, and the immediate purpose of the rebellion was over, the RDNA mysteriously continued.

Druidism did not begin as a long term movement

There appears to be a common assumption among some historians that those organizations that outlast competitors had better-laid foundations and more careful planning. I know that Chaos rules far more influentially than Order in these matters. Fisher, Cherniack & Nelson (and contemporaries) have always maintained:

“It was NEVER our intention to “start a religion;” I don’t think any of us expected it to outlive our time or life at Carleton, especially after the religious requirement was dropped in 1964.”⁴⁶

And had not the RDNA hit some powerful chord of possible validity as quickly as it did, Reformed Druidism probably would have ended in summer 1964 when President John Nason sent out a letter abolishing the Chapel Requirement.⁴⁷ Important to realize here is that the rescission of Chapel Requirement **may** have been more likely a result of other more formal protests and administrative initiatives rather than the results of the Druids (who were mostly ignored), but they took the credit anyway.⁴⁸ During the first years, the RDNA was a shadowy group; a group that most people thought didn’t exist in reality. Many Founders⁴⁹ still have a hard time convincing their classmates that the RDNA actually existed in reality.

There were several important reasons that kept the RDNA members from dissolving the RDNA, reasons far more complicated than a simple fascination with ritualism or “Paganism” or any other such pat answers. For a great many Druids, the RDNA had introduced the possibility of taking personal responsibility for understanding and believing one’s own faith. The RDNA had also shown them (in an experiential way) the benefits of learning from people from other faiths in a non-hostile forum of interaction. For many it was:

“A period of being together as a group & being quiet together. Doing whatever happens during that period. People liked that, enjoyed it. They found it refreshing, something they valued. I saw, when I became ArchDruid, a goal of introducing people to the riches of other religions.”⁵⁰

ism radically changed or replaced the beliefs of the early members. For some this proved true, but it is hardly satisfying as a general statement. It should be remembered that College is a time when many young adults change their religion, regardless of whether they belonged to a group such as the RDNA. A number of Druids later became Unitarians or changed denominations, but several remained in their previous faith—with a new perspective.⁵¹

The Reformed Druids did not really begin with a genuine Celtic philosophy.

Indeed, this leads up to the greatest hindrance to the entire study of Reformed Druidism; the name “Druid.” Many scholars will see the word “Druidism” on a sheet of paper and suddenly a myriad of assumptions will strangle their minds.⁵² Such assumptions about “Druids” conjure up visions of the prominent use of Celtic languages & culture, human sacrifices, visiting Stonehenge every summer, being fiercely patriarchal, transmigration of the soul, Atlantis, people lying in dark rooms with rocks on their bellies, long beards and other silly stuff. It is true that the origin of the **names** of the RDNA’s organizational structures, its god/archetypes and the titles of some of its officers⁵³ come from Celtic sources, but there is very little that is definitively Celtic about the **substance** of the early RDNA at Carleton, except it’s penchant for chaos & entropy. If the Founders had wished to reconstruct a tightly-knit polytheism or to build an intricate system they probably would have chosen to emulate a Nordic Pagan religion or a Classical Pagan tradition, because there was far more material available to them in the libraries of Northfield than on Celtic traditions. The Celtic origin was probably deliberately chosen **because** of the vague scholarly information that was then available on Druids in 1963.⁵⁴ Because they were looking for a model that was relatively empty of restrictions, the early members felt no compunction about diverging from the historical authenticity of the Celts at a moment’s notice. If you wish, we swiped the name and image for our own uses. There we said it.

A fateful decision to follow their own pathway, whether or not it fell in line with Celtic customs, occurred early on in May 1963 during a stirring debate that almost led to a schism. The Druids were preparing to consecrate their second stone altar⁵⁵, when the question of what object to sacrifice came up for debate. While many past⁵⁶ and current religions⁵⁷ had/have an animal die during a religious activity, Western civilization now generally frowns upon animal or human sacrifice, preferring to practice impersonal slaughter by machines at distant abattoirs.⁵⁸ One faction, led by Jan Johnson, declared (perhaps a little facetiously) that an animal sacrifice was necessary because:

“Have you not forgotten the customs of old—which were the customs of our predecessors before us? Verily, I say unto you, nothing will be acceptable to the Earth-Mother save it were nothing smaller than an animal or fowl, yea, even a chicken.”⁵⁹

However, Howard Cherniack (a Founder) did counter with:

“Have ye not forgotten that we are reformed, yea, even do we call ourselves by the name of Reformed, wherefore we must put behind those things which do bring offense to our senses.”⁶⁰

The debate was resolved by Jan Johnson relenting his position to avoid Schism during their tender time of foundation. This is the first of the two major schism attempts within Reformed Druidism. Thus the early schism debate was waged over whether to have an animal sacrifice *like the ancient Celts*. The resulting decision not to have animal/blood sacrifice, albeit argued in a light manner, set an early

precedent for ignoring scholarship on issues in variance with the members' needs or tastes.⁶¹ Since that time the Reformed Druids and all Modern American Druids have only performed vegetable sacrifices or offerings of tree leaves. This was also a precedent for a renunciation of *slavish* subservience by Reformed Druidism to any surviving remnants of lore left by the ancient Druids of the past.

10: Do you teach the ways of the Ancient Druids? If so, it is good.

11: For they had their wisdom, and that is oft forgot. But verily I say unto you: in their day, even they also were young in their traditions.⁶²

There was at least one hard-core Celtic Enthusiast in the original group, Robert Larson, whose importance in the whole of the Reformed Druid movement would come up again much later on in the history. So whereas, the ancient Druids may have been students of Nature, the orientation of the Reformed Druids towards Nature and Brotherhood may have been more a result of influences that were not Celtic. In fact there was, of all things, a demonstrably strong bias towards Far-Eastern Asian religions, Liberal Christianity and Fraternalistic ideals.

The Asian Influences at Carleton

It may sound rather strange to the reader, but nearly every newspaper article with a first hand *observation* of a grove service led by a Carleton student or alumni, while mentioning the "Celtic" structures, says that the RDNA's services drew mostly upon Hinduism, Buddhism & Liberal Christian thought.⁶³ One reason for this, as I've stated, is the remarkable availability of coursework on Asian religions, languages and overseas studies in Asia provided by Carleton College during the Founding Years. But more importantly, it was the "weird," living perspectives of Asian religions in regards to authority and learning which were far more attractive to young students than the prospect of scouring dusty old books to dig up scraps of old Celtic customs.

This Asian preference is especially seen in the Carleton RDNA's fond love of Zen Buddhism and Taoism with their *seemingly* anarchic attitude that defies the need for defining itself or relying upon the aid of "authorities":

Question: What is Zen?

Answer: Try if you wish. But Zen comes of itself. True Zen shows in everyday living, consciousness in action. More than any limited awareness, it opens every inner door to our infinite nature.

Instantly mind frees. How it frees! False Zen wracks brains as a fiction concocted by priests and salesmen to peddle their own wares.

Look at it this way, inside-out and outside-in: consciousness everywhere, inclusive, through you. Then you can't help living humbly, in wonder.⁶⁴

A brief thumbing through the pages of the Book of Meditations in *the Druid Chronicles*, *"The Green Book"* or the *Carleton Apocrypha*⁶⁵ will reveal a close similarity with a book of Koans (Zen Buddhist paradoxical statements) and Taoist anecdotes. This is not "koan-cidental" because many of the initial RDNA Druids had been greatly influenced by courses taught in or about India or Japan, both of which were countries where valuable ideas from outsiders' religions had been incorporated or absorbed into the previous belief systems.⁶⁶ This idea of "interactive and overlapping" religions versus "combative" religion especially impressed the Frangquists⁶⁷ during their trip to Japan:

"[From] When I [Fisher] had last seen you [Frangquist], your Druidism has begun to take on a definite Zen Slant, just as mine showing over from Hindus and Christianity."⁶⁸

Take this excerpt by Frangquist, which is very Zen-ish in style:

Chapter the Tenth:

1. And when they come unto you and say: "And what, then, is the nature of this thing which ye do call Awareness?" then shall ye give answer unto them in silence, for this is the Third Lesson.

4. But there are many, yea, it is the greater number, who, in their unawareness, are aware not even of their unawareness.

5. And they are like unto them who are blind from the day of their birth, and see not, nor know what it is to see.

6. But some there are who are aware only that they are also unaware: hallowed are they, for they are children of Be'al.⁶⁹

7. One of these is like unto one who keeps the Vigil;⁷⁰

8. for their gaze cannot pierce the mantle of darkness which is thrown over all the world about them, but they rest secure in the knowledge of the return of day.⁷¹

An interesting sidenote was the growing importance of Zen, Asian religions & "mystery" religions to the greater "Counter-Culture" movement of the 60s, not to mention the Beat culture of the 50s. This Asian influence greatly increased after 1965 when President Johnson repealed the 1917 Oriental Exclusion Act.⁷² Many leaders in the Eastern sects that subsequently immigrated to America were influential because the:

"60's were, after all, a period of an intense interest in mysticism and strange religions, and a period also of the rise of the counter-culture. While none of the founders, or Dave Frangquist, were then self-consciously "counter-culture," I [Fisher] think we provided those alienated by the turgidity of native Protestantism a surprising, viable alternative."⁷³

It is therefore no mere coincidence that the selections of *the "Green Book of Meditations"* come predominantly from Eastern religions.⁷⁴ Shelton, whose "influence on Carleton Druidism was significant long after his graduation"⁷⁵, was particularly insistent that every succeeding ArchDruid of Carleton should have a personal copy of the Green Book. Shelton felt that; "In a real sense the Green Book was the heart of Druidism in my day (70s)," which was diversity.⁷⁶

But I should immediately state here that the Green Book also had many selections from monotheistic religions⁷⁷ and secular sources. Also important to realize is that a number of Carleton Druids would bring in meditations from Sci-Fi⁷⁸, newspapers, children's books and secular sources. Sometimes no readings were done at a ritual and the meditation was simply to quietly stare at the landscape. Also many students would seek out wisdom in their own time and way, separately from the "group."⁷⁹

Perhaps it was the prominence of the Vietnam war, more than anything else, which led to an early-times RDNA emphasis for drawing on Asian religions. Knowledge and understanding of Eastern faiths may have strengthened the resolve of Carleton students to oppose the inhumanity of the Vietnam war. Through their readings of Asian philosophy and religion, the Vietnamese, Thais, Cambodians and Chinese were no longer some godless, shadowy people who lived far away; but possessors of valid beliefs, souls & morals; although not always expressed like ours.

Another telling sign of the relative unimportance of ancient Celticity

in comparison to Asian studies for the early RDNA was that after the RDNA's faculty advisor, John Messenger (an Irish paleo-archeologist), left Carleton in 1965 the RDNA was faculty-supervised by Bardwell Smith (a modern Asian religion professor and ex-Episcopal priest). If they had wished to revive a pre-Christian religion of Europe, wouldn't they have chosen a History or Classics department professor?

Another element, which I'll bring up again in Chapter Five, is the calendar dating system of Carleton. While the RDNA acknowledges that the Celtic Year begins on Samhain (November 1st), the Druids from Carleton date the "Years of the Reform" from May 1st, 1963 (half way through the Celtic Year) instead of dating from Samhain 1962 as did the more Celtic-inspired Reformed Druids in California. This led to conflicting dating systems, but also shows that the Reformed Druids of Carleton origin were more interested in their own organizational ways, than fitting into a Celtic mode.

Because of the variety of inspiration that existed within Reformed Druidism, some Carleton Druids (in hindsight) therefore regretted the "vivid Celtic Imagery [that] made some interaction with the growing Neo-Pagan movement inevitable."⁸⁰ I, however, don't feel that the Neo-Pagans disagreed with Reformed Druidism so much on the theological grounds, but rather on political and organizational issues, as I'll discuss later.

Fraternal and Pseudo-Judeo-Christian influences on the Carleton Druids

These two influences are intricately linked and vital to a deeper understanding of Reformed Druidism, but it would be premature to discuss them at this point. They were not-so-clearly visible as an influence on Reformed Druidism and the magnitude of their influence is still new and speculative; therefore I would prefer not to discuss them until Chapter Four. After finishing Chapter Three you will better appreciate the matters of possible Masonic/Fraternal influences. But if these influences existed, they were most likely sub-consciously accepted or noticed by those outside the initial Founders of the RDNA. And until David Fisher verifies this matter, these hypotheses must remain forever as speculations. Without further ado, let me introduce you to the Philosophy/Theology of Reformed Druidism.

The Two Basic Tenets of Reformed Druidism

Since the RDNA probably came from no one recognizable or known preceding institution, you may be wondering now "Just what do the Druids believe, and whence came their beliefs?"⁸¹ From the spring of 1963, the two Basic Tenets have been the **only** statement accorded complete theological agreement amongst all the Reformed Druids, both priests and lower Orders. The recruitment for Reformed Druidism was aided and guided by the very short and simple list of beliefs that were devised by Cherniack.⁸²

The object of the search for religious truth, which is a universal and never-ending search, may be found through the Earth-Mother; which is Nature; but this is one way, yea, one way among many.

And great is the importance, which is of a spiritual importance, of Nature, which is the Earth-Mother; for it is one of the objects of Creation, and with it people do live, yea, even as they do struggle through life are they come face to face with it.⁸³

These two short paragraphs are the most recounted quotation of Reformed Druid theology and are as roughly equivalent in importance to the RDNA as the Ten Commandments are to Judeo-Christian theology and the Five Pillars are to Islam. They are the **only** beliefs that have ever been required of new members to become a

valid Druid in the RDNA or NRDNA. Norman Nelson, a Founder of the RDNA, stated that they "were careful in setting forth the original Tenets, to make it clear that Druidism (at least in 'our' Reform) did not conflict with other beliefs;"⁸⁴ The Founders had in effect "formulated Druidism as a religion of the least common denominator, a faith that few could object to, and [we] were surprised when some embraced it as adequate."⁸⁵

It is important to note here that there are no explicit gods or goddesses mentioned in the Basic Tenets. The Earth-Mother is said to be Nature, but she is not **defined** as a Goddess. While the Earth-Mother would immediately be considered a Goddess by most Wiccans and Neo-Pagans who would hear this statement, here is a loop-hole for an atheist or monotheistic Reformed Druid to view the Earth-Mother as a personification of the material world, Nature. The result is that more people can agree on the same thing, while interpreting it differently. As Larry Press related to me, there are no traditional mythologies or stories attached to any of the Celtic Gods by the RDNA in their publications.⁸⁶ The god-names remained as uncarved blocks of wood to be wrought upon freshly by each member's imagination in their own way, or to be simply left as blocks.

The Founders had realized that many religions from around the world (past & present) have used analogies drawn from the material world to express Divinity; whether that Divinity is immanent or transcendent.⁸⁷ In fact, David Frangquist felt that Nature was at the root base of all religions:

"John B. Sparks has demonstrated that all of the major religions of the modern world have developed directly or indirectly from Nature worship."⁸⁸

The trick that the RDNA used was that if the same story about, say, a bird making a nest, can be interpreted by all religions as a useful analogy for their own religious beliefs, then people of all religions could benefit from getting together and hearing that same story of how a bird built its nest. ("One mouth telling a story, many ears interpreting."⁸⁹) As long as dogmatic theological statements remain out of the stories, the group can enjoy each other's company, because dogma is more often a testing-device primarily for exclusion rather than for inclusion.

Resultant Philosophy/Theology of Carleton Druids

The combination of the Basic Tenets and a general Carleton disinclination to overradicalize on an issue, but to maintain a respectful interest (or at least a concerted apathy), comes a great many unofficial practices among Carleton Druids. I remind you that former Carleton Druids were, at least nominally, the ArchDruids of almost all RDNA and early-NRDNA groves until 1976.⁹⁰ Because the first core-members of a grove are often chosen by the founding Archdruid, the background of that missionary Third Order Druid is important. Therefore this "Carleton" philosophy/religion is worth expounding further upon before mentioning the hierarchical roots of Reformed Druidism, because these views are older than the political structures themselves and should be known and understood before delving into the "Druid Politics."

Some Druids felt the greatest need for Druidism was to instruct people that they had a right to believe what they knew to be true, regardless of what others said. A person joining the RDNA and/or NRDNA was never required to renounce their previous faiths, whether mainstream or Neo-Pagan.⁹¹ It was important to Druidism that you believed your own views instead of slavishly following those of others, provided that you had carefully examined them and judged them sound:

"Their numbers are great and their voices are loud. They shall present much authority before you, and say: "We

know our way to be the only way, for it is the way of our ancestors.”

But take heed, lest you should fall into the trap.”⁹²

A way that one could oppose such bigoted authority and still prevent one’s own participation in the same blame-worthy activity (“the trap”) was:

“...to be intellectually honest with himself, and not blindly bigoted, his faith must be based on a rational & prayerful consideration of the alternatives.”

“We pity the man whose faith is based only on a fear of questioning that faith. For our faith is a faith freely embraced—the only kind of faith worth having.”⁹³

Once that is realized as a noble goal for one’s self, it should follow that an opportunity for holding one’s own beliefs should also be ceded as the right to others because:

“Awareness shall come unto no one save it shall be in their own way: and it shall come unto no one save they shall come unto it.

...And make your way not after the ways of others, but after your own way:

and go too to the fountain of Awareness, which is in Nature.”⁹⁴

This led to the conclusion that one could never successfully force one’s own “awareness” upon another, or even reliably judge whether such a transformation had indeed occurred in someone else.⁹⁵ This philosophy/religious precept of firmness in one’s own beliefs and respectful uncertainty over the validity of another’s beliefs underlies all the future debates in Reformed Druidism. Above all, the Druid should remember that in all the religions outside our own: “There were treasures there that related to our tradition as Druids of looking to Nature.”⁹⁶

Early on, Druids had already vaguely answered the first of the four essential debates in Druidism: “What are the basic needs for religion?” One apparent answer, one among many, was that religion (and Reformed Druidism) should encourage & support people to continue questioning and searching for religious truth, but religions should not limit the searcher.

“If I were ever to pass on any advice to my successors, it would be to never consider that they have found, as Druids, the ultimate answer to any of their questions. Druidism is a faith, if a faith, in questioning not in answering. Awareness, to a Druid, is an individual thing, to be shared, perhaps, but never to be codified.”⁹⁷

“[I] saw it [Reformed Druidism] as a slightly more organized way of pursuing moral, ethical (+later) spiritual issues from new perspectives.”⁹⁸

“It also reinforced my own conviction in the universality of core religious beliefs which lie beneath the varying disguises of various religions.”⁹⁹

As for the 4th “Essential” Debate, that Druidism shouldn’t get too serious about itself, lest it succumb to the “Fossilization Theory.” For once a group can’t laugh at itself then the organization has stifled a possible expression of religiosity:

“[T]he strength of Druidism lies in its rejection of the orthodox, a quality which often leads to humorous results.

Without ever being too sure of ourselves, we must provide an opportunity for introspection—in a religious setting, but a setting in which the participant will not feel constrained by the old conventions with which he was formally familiar.”⁴⁴

Organizational Roots of the RDNA Leadership

The basic beginning of group-structure was devised by David Fisher, because he wrote the original liturgy. A more detailed analysis of the ritual is discussed in Chapter Four, but the basic important issue was that three liturgical roles were required to “officially” perform the Order of Worship. The three liturgical roles included 1) an “Arch-druid” chanting the week-end service liturgy, later known as “The Order of (common) Worship,” 2) a “Preceptor” who answered to a formulaic set of questions asked by the Arch-Druid before consecrating the “Waters-Of-Life”¹⁰⁰ and 3) a “Server” who carried the cup of the Waters-of-Life around to all the Druids.¹⁰¹ There was no initial imposition of hierarchy of orders (except in Fisher’s mind) at the first service, so anybody could have technically filled each role, including being the Arch-Druid¹⁰² however things didn’t happen to go towards complete democracy.

In order to fulfill Carleton’s requirements for being a student religious group, the RDNA had to file a Student Constitution with the Carleton Senate and appoint three officers. These three organizational officers of the RDNA were drawn directly from the liturgical roles and led to the development of the three primary Orders of Reformed Druidism. Fisher had already claimed initially to be an initiated “third order Druid in high school”¹⁰³ when the “Triumvirate” had first met, so Fisher apparently filled in this credibility-gap by applying one Order to each of the roles in the Liturgy. In the 1963 RDNA Constitution of the Carleton Grove, only one month into the group’s existence, the ArchDruid was listed as being held by “at least a third order” Druid, the office of Preceptor by “at least a second order” Druid and the office of Server by “at least a first order” Druid.¹⁰⁴ The ArchDruid’s requirement of being “at least a third-order” refers to the fact that Fisher had stated that there were actually **ten(!)** orders all together.¹⁰⁵

Here I must pause and refer you back to the second and third “essential” debates of Reformed Druidism; (2) how to prevent Fisherisms and (3) what could be done to delay a proposal until it could be determined whether or not it was a “Fisher-ism.” Already we can see that the dreadful “self-feeding” process in (3) appears to have been established and permitted to attach itself to Reformed Druidism. But before we assign some form of heavy guilt on the head of Fisher for “dooming” Reformed Druidism to eternal power-struggles and schisms that result from hierarchy, let’s remember that none of the Founders “expected the group to outlive our time and life at Carleton.”¹⁰⁶ The real “guilt,” if such a thing exists, would have been the continuation of the previous structure along with the original philosophy, under David Frangquist and his successors. For it is they, who have appeared to have nostalgically retained the customs, laws and the seemingly unnecessary hierarchy that were first established to give cohesiveness to the group to oppose the Chapel requirement.

If Dave Frangquist truly believed in Druidism’s simpler messages, why did he add Fisher’s hierarchy and terminology to his own dissemination of the spirit of the Basic Tenets? Nostalgia? Lack of foresight? Fear of breaking with the past? A little of each, plus a realization that the RDNA was still needed by some at Carleton and something was necessary to keep the group from being mis-used or overly confused. The answer would be the role of the Third Order Druid, as guided by the Druid Chronicles (Reformed) and the Ordination service’s instructions to the Third Order.

Chapter Three:

Reformed Druidism from 1964-1973 Missionary Expansion Beyond Carleton College.

In the spring of 1964, Druidism really looked as if it would die with Cherniack retired, Nelson about to graduate, Fisher slowly distancing himself from Druidism in preparation for Episcopal Seminary,¹⁰⁷ and the Chapel requirement about to be rescinded. Frangquist & Nelson, however, came up and asked to enter Fisher's mysterious Third Order with the realization that they had a good thing going with the RDNA. Frangquist & Nelson had decided that they wanted to share Druidism with others after leaving Carleton, or as Zempel later put it:

"Due to the temporary nature of membership in the Carleton Grove, nearly every priest ordained can be expected to eventually serve a missionary function, making Druidism available other than its birth place."¹⁰⁸

Frangquist was not an *original* Triumvirate Founder (but close enough to be an honorary fourth Founder), but he had soon become a very active Druid in the grove.¹⁰⁹ He did not make this commitment lightly and showed quite a bit of preparation:

"David [Frangquist], unlike myself [Fisher] & co-founders, took his Druidism very seriously, and meditated long & hard before asking for ordination as a 3rd order priest."¹¹⁰

Together, Frangquist and Nelson had decided to use and maintain the Third Order priesthood as a sort of check upon future groves from becoming too serious or becoming too dangerously wild. But they wanted to ensure that the Third Order would not become too domineering, or take itself too seriously. Most of all, the Third Order should not become a goal for title-hungry people on ego-trips.

A word here about the Third Order is in order (pun intended). There is not much known about the archetype/god of the Third Order, Dalon ap Landu. He does not exist in any archaeological or literary sources. There is some rumor that "Dalon ap Landu" is a variant of "Dylan eil Ton" which would explain the Welsh name "Dalon son of the Sea," but I suspect that there is little connection between the two. Dylan in the Mabinogi was a young boy thrown into the sea and drowned. In outrage, the sea has ever since been throwing itself in anger against the shore-rocks in an attempt to reach the malefactors. Perhaps there is a symbolic representation of the Druids continually throwing themselves against the breakers of Dogma? The only revealing verse in the Druid Chronicles, doesn't mesh with this hypothesis because it refers to Dalon as a tree:

"We have seen him on the bosom of the Earth-Mother:
huge woody arms raised to the sky in adoration, strong
and alive; and we have called His name Dalon Ap
Landu."¹¹¹

If Dalon is a tree-god, that would explain why he's in charge of "groves," and their keepers, the Third Order. Isaac claims that at least one Masonic Druid organization, whose name he can't remember, also has a Dalon Ap Landu. It is perhaps revealing of the mentality of Reformed Druids, that they would chose such an intentionally **obscure** Welsh name for the most important office of Druidism, a Patron that was for all intents and purposes laden with no preconceptions or descriptions.¹¹²

This type of attitude of letting others disprove their own misconceptions is similar to the essence of mysticism in fraternal organizations, when done correctly.¹¹³ The unfounded hopes, fears and ex-

pectations can build to a frenzy as the initiation approaches the climax. Then, all the danger is revealed to be a holy "joke" and one sees that all the disappointments were brought on by one's own frenzied fears and hopes. The result is that the initiate begins to realize that appearances can be deluding with regard to ritual and religion, necessitating a deeper observation. Unlike most of the fraternal organizations, Reformed Druidism's services are not secret, and the private nature of the Third Order ordination is merely done to form a closer bond, to leave a little bit of surprise for future initiates and possibly to reduce embarrassment in the unlikely case that the candidate is rejected.¹¹⁴ Several times, other non-Thirds would be around to observe it, but realistically, how many people would really want to tromp into the Arb at 6:00 am just to watch someone else's ordination?

In the spring of 1964 Fisher was reluctant to continue his Arch-Druidship into his senior year, primarily because he thought the group was getting too close to a religion; however Fisher was hesitant to relinquish control. Nelson, wishing to be ArchDruid from a love of titles, began this new stage of post-Fisher Druidism. Under Nelson's brief summer ArchDruidcy in May 1964 to Sept. 1964, the Order of Worship was fixed as **the basic** liturgy and the Higher Orders (i.e. 4th to 10th) were established to "stimulate priests of the 3rd Order to continued spiritual inquiry," much like honorary academic degrees.¹¹⁵ The Higher Orders were also considered very extraneous compared to the First, Second and Third Orders. After a few years the Higher Orders vanished from memory, until the 1970s when the NRDNA wished to revive them as magical badges of office. After the Higher Orders were established, Nelson graduated and left Carleton to start the first of the missionary groves at Vermilion, S.D.¹¹⁶ during the summer of 1964, essentially acting as the ArchDruid of both Groves. Meanwhile over the summer, Frangquist founded the short-lived Ma-Ja-Ka-Wan Grove in a Wisconsin summer camp.

David Frangquist's subsequent two year reign as ArchDruid at Carleton from Fall 1964 to Spring 1966 completed the basic formulation of the hierarchy and philosophical foundations of the RDNA, except for the final clarification in 1971 to correct a few elements of sexism that were disturbing to many in the Reform.¹¹⁷ Because there were only a handful of initial priests on the membership rolls of the Council of Dalon Ap Landu during the early 60s, it was easy for a lot of rules to be hammered out in a consensus very quickly. The consensus tradition is very important to remember because, in later years, it became increasingly difficult to get the increasingly large rolls of priests to either abstain or vote positively on Councilor issues.

Complete authority over the Reform (if such a thing ever existed) was invested in the Council of Dalon ap Landu under the perpetual Chairmanship of the currently presiding ArchDruid of Carleton.¹¹⁸ This in effect turned Carleton into the central administration of the Reformed Druid movement in a vaguely similar way to how Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, Islam and Judaism all have a "main Headquarters." Voting membership on this Council was limited to those of the Third Order, each of whom must have been initiated by an Arch-Druid (who is, of course, of the Third Order).¹¹⁹ New dogma would require a consensus from the replies of **known**, not active, members of the Council who had been contacted.¹²⁰ If an Arch-Druid found a prospective initiate too fanatical, or likely to turn Druidism into a personal cult-following, they could do little to avoid ordaining her/him into the Third Order, within reason.¹²¹ The flaw was that once a "rogue" slipped into the Third Order, there was nothing you could do to defrock them or stop their propagation. To defrock them would be an un-Druidic thing to do, because you would be claiming to understand their soul better than they could themselves. It was figured that Grove members would eventually spot the rogues and leave them.

Missionary Dilemma

Once they had been initiated into the Third Order, Nelson and

Frangquist pondered how to form missionary groves away from Carleton. The problem, known as “the Missionary Dilemma,” which hinged on the proper consecration of the Waters-of-Life, as performed in the Order of Worship.¹²² In order to properly consecrate 1st, 2nd and 3rd Order Druids, you need to have consecrated Waters-of-Life. The only way to consecrate the Waters-of-Life was to have a Preceptor (of the Second Order) and a Server (of the First Order) already present in the Grove before the consecration began. In a technical way, a traveling Third Order couldn't perform the ceremony or consecrate the waters without also having two traveling companions, one of at least the Second Order and another of at least the First Order. Since it was very unlikely that three such graduating Druids from Carleton would go on to the same graduate school, it appeared that Druidism couldn't technically ever leave Carleton.

For some reason, the possibility of carrying pre-consecrated Waters was never discussed. Instead, the informal decision was made that a missionary Third Order Druid has the right to perform the ceremony in absence of an already consecrated Preceptor and Server. This decision had a precedent (not that precedents are needed or respected in the RDNA) in the way that Fisher (originally the only “consecrated” member of the Carleton Grove) ordained the first 2nd and 1st Order Druids into existence. This was vaguely referred to in the Council decision on 27 January, 1965 which stated:

“That any priest has the right to conduct worship and receive members into the First and Second orders.”

With this obstacle to growth now removed and already tested at the Vermilion Grove of S.D. by Nelson and Frangquist in Wisconsin in the Summer of 1964, the missionary expansion of Reformed Druidism can be said to have begun.¹²³

Great Amounts of Freedom Established For Groves.

Each resolution further limited the numbers of distracting cosmetic touches to ritual or organization that could be lobbied for “official” approval. That type of bowing and begging to central authority would distract the attention of the Druids from the virtues of careful introspection and self-reliance. An example of this is that the *contents* of the Order of Worship were never described as firmly fixed in the Council's records.¹²⁴ There is no phraseology there that limits anyone from building upon or subtracting from the liturgy. One essentially had absolute freedom to fool around with it, although few went too far away from the basics.¹²⁵ The only absolutely fixed ritual of the RDNA was for the Third Order. In fact, it was the Third Order which is restricted by such laws rather than the lower orders.

Because of early missionary activity by the Founders (Fisher, Nelson & Frangquist all started groves) and the inconvenience of regular correspondence, the difficulty of controlling and directing distant groves was quickly realized. It is also possible that they realized that a fully-enrolled Carleton student (which is **traditionally** the requirement for being the Archdruid of the Carleton Grove) just doesn't have the time to be bothered with supervising and/or controlling far-away distant groves. These elements when combined, led to a great amount of freedom being granted to possible future groves beyond Carleton.

By the Spring of 1966, all it took to found a grove was a Third Order Druid (who could ordain anyone to 1st or 2nd Order) and two other **elected** people to fill the appropriate liturgical roles during the initial service. The Grove's officers of Arch-Druid, Preceptor and Server were then elected by a majority and a new constitution was voted on by unanimity¹²⁶ and that was mailed to Carleton.¹²⁷ Amendments to a grove's constitution were generally by majority vote of a quorum of the grove's known members (1/8 of those of 1st order on up) at two consecutive meetings. Members missing the first meeting must be notified of the second meeting.¹²⁸ No specific contents were

ever required for the later grove constitutions by the Council to be submitted to Carleton by the new grove, not even clauses of subsequence to the Council! Freedom. Hoping to further limit extension of power by future Councils upon future groves, the Council declared:

“That the local Groves retain the right to organize themselves in any way which will best serve their own needs.”¹²⁹

These rules taken together, allowed each individual grove the freedom to make any liturgical, hierarchical or theological rules that they wanted. In many ways it was like the separation of Federal and State government in the USA; with the Council being the Federal government and the local groves (including Carleton) being the States. The only thing the groves couldn't do was to claim that all the rest of Reformed Druidism also had to follow their own modifications. Any dissenters in the grove could leave or even step forward to be ordained into the Third Order, choose to schism from the group, and then form their own equally independent grove. Thus if Berkeley wanted all of its grove members to declare themselves as Neo-Pagan to serve their own needs, there was nothing the Council could do about it, except to grumble about their exclusionary actions. What the Council *could* do was hope that the Berkeleyites would show enough independent will of their own, which they did. But if Berkeley wanted all of Reformed Druidism to declare itself Neo-Pagan, then the Council would have to discuss and then vote on it.

It should be noted that the individuals of the Third Order, while given the privileges of holding services and ordinations, are **nowhere** granted control of the grove in matters of theology. Nowhere in the laws or traditions does a Third Order Druid have the right to tell someone that they are a “heretic” to Reformed Druidism. While a Third Order could theoretically opt to withhold services and ordinations until their parishioners agreed with her or him, such actions would be generally considered “un-Druidic” or at least a poor way to resolve internal disputes. I believe that the Records of the Council of Dalon Ap Landu, are firmly silent on the powers of individual Thirds to prevent any legal precedent for *enforceable* personality cults centered around one individual's personal beliefs. You can have a charismatic Arch-Druid, but they should have a following based on love and understanding, not on fear of organizational rules/dogma. Entrusting theological issues to the *total* Council, would by default, keep the groves of the Reform open and free of local dictators. If this wasn't the original intention, it certainly was the eventual effect.

The Druid Chronicles and Green Book of Meditations

Perhaps the greatest legacy to the RDNA that Frangquist left to Carleton wasn't the Third Order and the Council, but rather *The Druid Chronicles (Reformed)* and the *Green Book of Meditation (Vol. I)*. These two books were considered, by many members, to have been the heart and soul of Reformed Druidism.

The *Druid Chronicles (Reformed)* were completed before the Summer of 1964 by David Frangquist. They contain light-hearted accounts of the major events of the turbulent first year of Reformed Druidism from May 1963 to May 1964 under David Fisher. The humor and cheeky presentation of the Foundation was a reminder to Druids not to get misty-eyed or seriously concerned about preserving the “sanctity” of the many organizational aspects. DC(R) also lists some of the early customs, lists the two Basic Tenets as the sole theology of the group, and provides a number of inspiring meditations to encourage individualistic exploration for personal truth. The book, itself, does not claim to be divinely inspired and there was no decision by the Council to make DC(R)'s statements or customs into official law. DC(R) was left behind as a helpful collection of suggestions, put into writing, on how Druidism was originally run (perhaps in case you'd like to duplicate it). Despite a lack of official endorsement for DC(R), all the different branches of Druidism have

claimed that DC(R) is a good thing to keep around for a healthy grove. As we'll discuss later, the only problem with the DC(R) was that it had four verses in Customs that were sexist and would continue to frustrate attempts to legislate gender equality. So while I say it was never official dogma, it had some weight of implied tradition behind it.

The Green Book of Meditations, (The Green Book), was primarily compiled by David Frangquist from 1964-1966. Unlike the universal popularity of DC(R), the Green Book is practically unknown outside of the alumni from the Carleton Grove. Ostensibly, the Green Book was a collection of handy meditations for potential use at Druid Services by Arch-Druids who were too lazy or busy to research their own readings. As such, it is hard to understand its popularity at Carleton, who are usually pretty industrious in pursuing their interests. But on successive readings, one quickly realizes that the Green Book is not just a random selection, but contains an underlying integrity. I feel, and many agree, that it generally sets forth to provoke thinking about such Druidical topics as "certainty," "leadership," "reality," "nature," and "individuality." In essence it contains the kernels of Reformed Druidism as understood by David Frangquist. Because it included illuminating examples from many of the world's existing faiths (including monotheistic ones), it gave positive reinforcement to the Carleton tradition of openness to possibility of valid truths to be found in the teachings all faiths. It is amazing that Berkeley stayed so close to the Carleton ideals of openness as it did, without the Green Book. Perhaps this can be traced to the presence of the DC(R) and Larson, or maybe Druidism can sustain itself by common sense without reference to books?

Crowning Touches

The last hierarchical touch was the creation of a central record-keeping office for the RDNA. The April 26, 1966 decision required future ArchDruids of Carleton (each of whom will be a Chair of the Council) upon retiring to send a report of the state of Druidism to ALL members of the Council. This allowed the initial Third Order Druids to keep track of what was going on at Carleton and elsewhere, even if no voting took place, probably more out of curiosity than from a fear of "heresy." They certainly never expected the Council to get too large or to become embroiled in politics.

Not long after Frangquist stepped down in Spring 66, the Council had started to become a difficult (but not impossible) voting tool because, as membership rolls quickly swelled in the late 60s, it became very difficult to come to a unanimous consensus on basic issues or even just to keep track of the Council's addresses (especially updating the addresses of Third Orders consecrated outside of Carleton). The Council had done its main purpose by 1966 of setting up a basic system. The major flaw to be seriously debated until 1974 was how to remove any remaining doubts concerning sexual equality within the Third Order (considered to have been fixed in 1971). Basically, any further claims of dogma were left to the whims of the individual groves' members.

"Druidism boasts no ethos. Since Druidism has never claimed to be a religion, dogmatism has always seemed incompatible with the [RDNA] organization."¹³⁰

We'll pick up the voting problems again later with Isaac's proposals in Chapter Five, but now let's address the question of whether Druidism is a religion or a philosophy.

Did the Missionaries consider the RDNA to be a Religion or Philosophy?

I think most scholars of Reformed Druidism will be surprised to

learn that this issue of whether Reformed Druidism was a religion was debated and quietly addressed in 1968-9 in what I happily call "The Smiley Affair"¹³¹ when the RDNA took on the Vietnam era's Draft Board. Even before Isaac began his revolutionary testing of the RDNA's organizational limits in the mid 1970s, that important question of Philosophy vs. Religion had already been firmly decided by a definite "Maybe! Why don't you ask each of us?"¹³²

What is important to note is that although Reformed Druidism (as a whole) can not claim to be a religion in the eyes of all its members, there is no denial that an individual could claim that Druidism had become their own personal religion. The Reformed Druid groves (except maybe the SDNA) never, ever, required a Druid member to give up their previous religious affiliation or adopt a new one. This principle often boiled down to an assumption that the group can not and should not validly declare anything itself, something that can only be done by the individuals. This is an important lesson of Druidism that I've often come across. This common assumption within Druidism was that one just had to have confidence in one's own beliefs because all theologies come down to an issue of faith, which is basically a personal choice of convictions. Besides, I've rarely found two people who can agree on the same air-tight definition of "philosophy" or "religion." The two definitions become especially difficult to separate if your group doesn't have any explicit gods or goddesses in them. Without definite deities, philosophies and religions both seem to be systems of moral and ethical guidelines. It should be remembered that even ethicists can disagree strongly with each other on what is ethical. More often than not, people "give in" a little in certain private opinions in order to further the pursuit of a group accomplishment, which can be good or bad (usually bad).

It is interesting to note that Reformed Druidism lacks many of the elements considered important to the popular understanding of a religion. It lacks a world creation story (besides the story of the group's origins) and it simply refers to Nature as "one of the objects of Creation," which is rumored to be a "Fisherism" that somehow slipped into Reformed Druidism (although no one has really complained). We've already mentioned that Reformed Druidism has no explicit gods in its belief structure. It also lacks an obvious eschatology, it has no judicial system of rigid ethics or morals, there are no injunctions about family/social arrangements, it has no real problems with people editing/criticizing its own scriptures, it has no legal punishments (e.g. chopping off people's hands), it has no Messianic prophecies or exclusionary methods of claiming its people to be "the only chosen ones." By Western standards, it's at best a "half-baked" religion. But I believe that Taoism and Zen also lack these elements and yet they are considered to be religions. Which answer is correct? I'll discuss this further with the discussion of the highly speculative possibility of influences from Freemasonry on the RDNA in Chapter Four.

In conclusion, the RDNA was amenable to its members believing (or not believing) in a god (or gods) on a personal level, but vagueness and indecision on this issue prevailed on a group level. I personally see it this way: the RDNA was originated as a philosophy on a group level and it had the possibility of becoming a religion on the individual level; as is evidenced in the following case.

"The Smiley Case" Elaborated

I mentioned earlier that there were two cases where a united "front" was put on by Reformed Druids to surmount an authoritative threat to its membership. The first was the Chapel Requirement of Carleton College and the second was the US Draft Board; which I refer to as "The Smiley Case" or "The Smiley Affair."

Richard Smiley, (CL65:Fisher)¹³³ was a Third Order priest from the early days of Reformed Druidism who had founded the Purdue grove in 1966-7. Smiley was studying at Purdue and leading a grove there, but the Draft wanted him to kill people in Vietnam. Smiley saw a chance to use Reformed Druidism to protest both the Draft

and the special exemptions from military service that were being granted to the priests of mainstream religions (but not to equally "religious" laity who merely lacked the hierarchical titles). In this respect, Smiley was acting in the true spirit of the Reform because "[Smiley] enjoyed playing the Game as much as anyone, but still was getting something out of it."¹³⁴

In the spirit of testing definitions, Smiley wrote to the Draft Board that he was a minister seeking a 4-D ministerial exemption.¹³⁵ When the Draft board cautiously wrote back that they were unaware of his Seminary training, Smiley flatly responded:

"I am a minister of the Reformed Druids of North America. I received my training concurrently with my regular undergraduate education, at Carleton."¹³⁶

Smiley, the Frangquists, Savitzky¹³⁷ & Richard Shelton¹³⁸ worked together to explore the loose governmental definitions of a minister, all of which hinged upon a person performing *organizational* functions in a religious group rather than holding definable *religious* beliefs.¹³⁹ Also hidden in this protest was the indignation common to young adults; namely, that the "elders" felt that a "young'un" couldn't be as strong in their beliefs as someone over thirty. Whenever a letter was required by the Draft Board to prove Smiley was a priest in good standing, the Arch-Druid of Carleton would send a **very formal** letter affirming Smiley's actions as *performing the required functions*.¹⁴⁰ The conclusion of the story was that the Council delayed the Draft board so long, that Smiley became too old to be drafted and Druidism remained happily **undefined** in its beliefs and never had to lie.

The RDNA came close to a brush with fame here because in the unlikely event that the board said "You are exempt because you are a Third Order Priest," then the RDNA might have made some media coverage and grown substantially. Smiley was all prepared to do the paperwork necessary for acquiring the legal & financial trappings of a religion. About this time, the Universal Life Church, who will ordain anyone, went to court in 1970 to successfully protect one of its ministers from the Draft. As a result, the ULC membership swelled by the thousands. In many ways, Druidism is similar to the Universal Life Church, of which many Reformed Druids are also members for the ministerial credentials.¹⁴¹ The ULC "rights" start:

"Every person has the right to determine his/her own faith and creed according to conscience.

Every person has the right to the privacy of his/her belief, to express his/her beliefs in worship, teaching, and practice, and to proclaim the implications of his beliefs for relationships in a social or political community."¹⁴²

But regardless of the successful outcome, one sees a recurring example that if a Third Order (or any other Druid, of course) should claim that Reformed Druidism is their religion, members within Reformed Druidism will generally support them without committing other Druids to accepting the RDNA as a religion. The above listed Druids were even cautiously supportive, of Smiley turning his Grove into a legal church; as long as the rest of the RDNA groves didn't have to become "official." Whereas Isaac could have pointed to this as a good reason to keep the Council going (if he had he known of it by 1974), supporting the option of Third Order minister status, the whole thing was done without officially involving the Council.¹⁴³ Shelton felt that this was appropriate, since the draft board had only asked the Carleton Arch-Druid to verify that Smiley was "in good standing" and that he led a grove in West LaFayette, "both of which clearly fall within the Arch-Druid's competence."¹⁴⁴ The issue of incorporation was dropped until Isaac brought it up in 1974, and eventually his Pentalpha/Druid Chronieler group briefly incorporated in the late 70s.

The "Codex of Form" Affair

Partly due to a brief break in continuity during the winter of 67-68 and the chaos of passing time, much tradition had been lost and Shelton

was the first ArchDruid of Carleton not to have personally known a Founder. Shelton, with a prodigious natural talent for legalese, attempted to resolve and clarify the motley assortment of customs, laws and traditions that were handed to him by Savitzky in the spring of 1969. Most of his codified statements have clear precedents from the original Blue Book of the Carleton Archives and the Records of the Council of Dalon Ap Landu. Shelton was determined "to settle one way or the other what I perceived as contradictions in the existing Record of the Council, I presented it [*the Codex*] to the Council for discussion only, and I later withdrew it. It was never put to a vote."¹⁴⁵ The Record of the Council, at that time, was defined as ALL of the past correspondence letters currently on file (kind of like a Talmud).

There was a generally negative response in the discussion concerning the collection of customs in the Codex, although they did have precedents. The written replies acknowledged that the Codex showed the standard way how things had once operated, but the Council made it clear that they did not wish to give official or unofficial sanction to its very own customs as being the only "correct" way to perform Druidism, as that would have closed down other potential avenues of exploration and growth for its members. Some things are better left unofficial.

What drew heavy fire were Shelton's two innovations (1) a Secretary to the Council to serve as an anchor due to the rapid turnover of the Chairmanship at Carleton and (2) explicit requirements to keep the Chair informed about new addresses, new Groves, new Priests and such. Reformed Druid priests bridled at being told that they were **required** to send in reports (although, in letter, the Records of the Council are pretty explicit on this fact). This showed that a strong objection to sturdier organization beyond the Grove level existed as early as 1969. In many ways, the previous "laws" of the council were being considered as "suggestions," not as inviolable rules. The Codex affair would later inspire another young reformer, Isaac, to codify Druid practices with similar results. The Codex affair foreshadowed the more well-known Isaac Affair.

"It is no surprise that the Council that shot his stuff down in 1969 (and attributed nefarious intent to its author then) should get so hot under the collar again in 1974 (and likewise suspect the new author's motives)."¹⁴⁶

In many ways, the Codex Affair showed the extent to which the RDNA was willing to go and how far they definitely were not willing to go. The "Codex Affair" also alerted past Carleton RDNA Druids (especially the Sheltons) that the Carleton grove was going to require some occasional advice and supervision to keep it on the right path. A sort of protective attitude can be seen to have developed by the Council toward the Carleton Grove. In fact, even to some of the other groves, Carleton would become sort of a mystical shrine.¹⁴⁷

Women's Equality Precedent of 1971

Despite intensive earlier legislative attempts, the RDNA could still "technically" have been viewed as a sexist institution in 1970 -as defined by its laws and printed customs. Most noteworthy amongst the evidence, there were 4 unpopular verses in the *Druid Chronicles (Reformed)* that had implied since 1964 that women were unequal to men in the priesthood:

13. But no priestess shall be admitted into the councils of priesthood, but rather she shall be given *unto* one of them as a gift of service to beauty.

14. For she who is called to be a priest shall be sealed up *unto* one Order only, and unto her shall be given the service of it for all time;

15. And she shall be called a priest not *of* the Order, but rather a priest *unto* the Order.

16. For so it is written; thus it was, thus it is, and thus it is to be. (Customs, Chapter 8:12-16, italics mine)

These statements in DC(R) were not carved in stone, but they did have the power of tradition and Fisher behind them. Up until the Fall of 1970, one of Carleton College's *In Loco Parentis* rules did not allow women to be out of their rooms after 10 pm. The penalties were stiff and permitted exceptions were rare. Since the Third Order requires an all night vigil of at least 7 hours (usually sunset to sunrise), women were effectively excluded from entering the Third Order. Whether or not this barrier to the Third Order was planned by Fisher is unascertainable. To get AROUND this tradition, and to allow women a chance to enter the 3rd Order and the Higher Orders, Frangquist and Nelson proposed that women could be given "unto the Third Order" without having to vigil. Women were now admitted to the Third Order, but with a stigma of being "unto the Order" instead of being "of the Order," like the men. However, in its own way, it was the first step towards greater equality, because it at least meant that women could get into the upper Orders. There was also the restriction of entry by women to only one Higher Order, with no such restriction on the men.

Frangquist, from the beginning, wished to amend this tradition still further and managed to pass the following rules through the Council of Dalon Ap Landu regarding women:

27 January, 1965 (voted)

Priestesses

(a) To delegate to the priests the right to individually consecrate priestesses to any order which they (the priests) may hold.

(b) To allow priestesses to hold the office of Arch-Druid, provided that they have first vigiled and been granted the right to perform the ceremony by the Council of Dalon Ap Landu.

This furthered cemented the entrance privilege of the women "unto the Third Order," an Archdruidcy, a Higher Order, or to hold a service. The women could now hold the Arch-Druidcy if they vigiled, but what if they did not want to risk breaking the curfew? Besides, there still was the problem that, even if the women vigiled *and* became Arch-Druid that she couldn't ordain other Third Order people (much less people to the Higher Orders, still mostly a Male preserve), and she couldn't be Arch-Druid without *permission* of the Council. Men didn't need Councilor permission to hold services or to be an Arch-Druid. Frangquist was not yet satisfied and a further vote was taken and passed:

29 March, 1966 (voted by mail)

Priestesses

(a) To grant automatically to all priestesses who have conducted a vigil the right to perform the ceremonies of Reformed Druidism.

(b) To allow a priestess, while holding the office of Arch-Druid, to consecrate priests of the Third Order and priestesses unto the Order which she herself holds.

Part (a) again gave women, who actually *vigiled*, the unabashed right to hold any ceremonies (which included 1st, 2nd Ordinations), ordain people to the upper Orders that she holds, and to hold Orders of Worship services. Part (b) makes it clear that the female Arch-Druid need not require special permission of the Council to ordain 3rd Order Druids. Although not really important, there was also the restriction on the number of Higher Orders as said in the DC(R). Despite the vigil, many women were still traditionally called "unto the Order," according to custom of the DC(R), and therefore the earlier rules which talk about "priests *of* the Order" might be interpreted as not including them.

So matters stood until 1969, by which time there had already been 5 female priestess admitted "unto the Third Order," and one woman to the Archdruidcy of Carleton. The Priestesses and most of the Priests resented the traditional wording "of unto the order," rather

than "to the order," but the tradition was still upheld by a few old fogies. After reading the 1969 Codex of From, Larson suggested a new referendum on the priestess issue, especially to deal with the four verses from Customs. This new call for reform struck a positive chord with many members and Larson (now Arch-Druid of the Berkeley Grove) asked Shelton to draft a new proposal on priestesses.

The completion of the vote took most of the rest of Shelton's Archdruidcy (spring 69–spring 71). Generally, support was expressed by most of the members. While voting by mail was expected to take time, the real delay was caused by the reservations of a few of the older male Druids and by Shelton's insistence that only the male priests should vote; so that no possible question of the legality of the vote could ever be raised later on. The following was submitted for a vote to the council:

1 May, 1971 (Voted by Mail)

(a) To subordinate all previous resolutions of the Council concerning priestesses to this one.

(b) To allow a priestess who has conducted a vigil and who has been consecrated to the Third Order all prerogatives of the order, including the right to hold the office of Arch-Druid and so to consecrate priests and priestesses to the Third Order. In token of this she is known as a priestess of the Third Order.

(c) To allow a priestess of the Third Order who has been confirmed by the Patriarch of the given order all prerogatives of that order. Again, she is known as a priestess of the given order.

(d) To abolish any restriction—other than those applying equally to priests—on the number of high orders to which a priestess of the Third Order may be consecrated.

Eventually in 1971, the votes were tabulated. "The four clauses that carried were finally passed by consensus, and we felt that this was a major step forward in the reform."¹⁴⁸ By this time, the curfew on women at Carleton had been rescinded, so this no longer posed a problem on women vigiling at Carleton. Part (a) ensured that reference to previous resolutions would not be raised in the future. Part (b) reiterated most of the previous resolution's positive points and changed the phraseology of "unto the Third Order" into "of the Third Order." Part (c) ensured the equal rights of a woman in a Higher Order. Finally, Part (d) removed any limitations on entry into multiple Higher Orders. These four amendments by the Council essentially negated the 4 verses of the DC(R), but it wasn't until the 1975 publication of the *Druid Chronicles (Evolved)* [known as DC(E)] that those verses were first excised (which incidentally upset many pro-priestess voters).

As Deborah Gavrin Frangquist related, one of the appealing things about the early RDNA was that its leadership was [somewhat] open to women, unlike other protest movements at Carleton. Besides that, the RDNA was attractive to women who liked to see Divinity represented in a female form. While that idea seems relatively old hat to us now, seeing God as a Goddess was an exciting, revolutionary idea back then.¹⁴⁹ It is therefore relatively puzzling, in afterthought, that there is such a paucity of records left to us on the activities of early priestesses in the RDNA. Perhaps this is due to history's favoring those leaving written records of their conquests. However, priestesses show up and demonstrate the equal verve and vim of their views in the written records in the mid-70s during the Isaac debates. In the future, more oral interviews will have to be done to supplement the historical record of role of women and female priests in the RDNA.

Chapter Four

The Highly Speculative Possibility of Fraternal and Pseudo-Judeo-Christian Influence

Section I: Fraternal Influence

The (Slim) Possibility of Fraternal Influence on the Carleton Druids.

An hypothesis brought up by my research was the possibility of Masonic and/or Fraternal influence on the very early RDNA. It is important to state here that little to no attention has been spent on this idea before now by the members of the RDNA (partly due to the Fisher's reluctance to talk about the issue), and because very few members really consider it to be important. For them, the group started in 1963. Period. However, I feel it is necessary to address this issue because of the recent renaissance of modern Druid groups in Europe and America whose origins came from fraternal organizations. Out of academic honesty, scholars using the International Druid Archives at Carleton should be aware of any uncertainties pertaining to the independent origins of the RDNA and the American Druid Movement. I should however caution the reader that I am not a member of any such Fraternal/Masonic order, and that I am only relying upon common, published matter for my information.

There are a number of elements that lend credence to the possibility that the RDNA may unwittingly be an offshoot of previous Druid Masonic order, or perhaps based on a few ideals snatched from a fraternal organization.¹⁵⁰ Both groups (RDNA and Masonic Druids/Fraternal Organization/Fraternalities) have some vague similarities in the areas of liturgy, calendars, costume, philosophy, drinking, and a Judeo-Christian bent. In addition to this, I believe that there were minor opportunities of access to such information by the early members of the RDNA.

Loose History of Masonry and Fraternal Organizations by a Non-Expert

For the reader who is completely unfamiliar with Fraternalism, I will share my meager outsider knowledge on the subject, although I am no expert. Modern Freemasonry is generally believed to have begun in the 17th/18th century, although they claim to go back to the Templar knights, and through other groups back to Old Testament times. Very soon after its "re-emergence" back then, Freemasonry became very popular, and the liturgy and hierarchy of Freemasonry soon became the template upon which nearly all later "secret" societies were developed, including Greek College Fraternalities; which is a point that I'll bring up again. Mark Carnes explained that the peak popularity of fraternal organizations, during the 19th and early 20th century, was a result of males being disgusted with the rising prominence of women in molding the Faith at the local parish community and at home.¹⁵¹ By the late 1950's, fraternalism was rapidly declining at colleges and communities as the generation-gap widened between the youngsters and older lodge leaders. However Fraternalism had many other attractions to the general member than just male-bonding.

The premise of the purpose of Freemasonry is to preserve and disseminate (in a secret manner) a set of "ancient rituals," wisdom and knowledge of construction that were entrusted by the first builder of the Temple of Solomon, Hiram Abiff, who was murdered for keeping the secrets, to a select disciple (and down through the ages to the Freemasons). For Freemasons, God's simple message was complicated by the accretions of later Jewish generations and then by the Catholic church. The true doctrine was given to the supposed dis-

ciples of Abiff, who then supposedly founded Freemasonry. The secrets of Freemasonry were then reportedly guarded by stonemasons and construction workers up through the fall of the Roman empire and the medieval ages until Freemasonry supposedly resurfaced in the 18th century. Other groups imitated the Freemasons and claimed the transmission of ancient knowledge, although not always of the Judeo-Christian variety; e.g. The Red Men organization in which Caucasians dressed up like Native Americans and supposedly passed on the knowledge of Native Americans.

The liturgy and hierarchy of Freemasonry is somewhat based on various Old Testament precedents, in particular with respect to the "patriarchal/male" elements; which is understandable given the male audience for which it was developed. Intrinsic to the beliefs of Freemasonry is the symbolic image of God as the Supreme Architect of Creation.¹⁵² Nature and Man reflect the perfect mathematical/geometrical genius of God. Through the order and chaos inherent in Nature, and of course Mankind, one could see the mind of God. While few Freemasons ran out into the woods to seek God, some did.

Some of the Nature-oriented Freemasons and Fraternal-oriented people were also familiar with the Renaissance interest in studying ancient Classical documents, some of which referred to a group of Celtic priests who didn't hold services indoors but in wooded areas; i.e. the God in Nature element. Also in ancient Classical documents on Druids is the recurrent belief among Greeks and Romans that the Druids were the heirs of Pythagoras' philosophical beliefs (or vice-versa); which were derived from purity of the science of geometry.¹⁵³ Add on to this that the Druids were primarily located in Western Europe (but also on Danube & Turkey) and were possibly the ancestors of some of the people in Britain, France, Germany and Italy; and you have race-pride thrown into the equation. During the early 1700s, William Stukeley (during one of his more addled states of mind) gave authority to the rumors that the stone circles in Europe and the British Isles were built by Celtic Priests. Nobody could understand how the megaliths were raised with simple tools, so of course some secret knowledge of architecture was required. Because the builders of the Temple of Solomon were, *of course*, the greatest architects a few Fraternalists claimed that the Druids were the direct heirs of Freemasonic ideas and knowledge. As a result, hordes of fraternal organizations popped up calling themselves Druids. Because little to nothing was academically known about ancient Celtic religion, few academics openly doubted the groups' statements and their "ancient" documents. As a result, much confusion still exists in the public's understanding of ancient Druids. But in the 60s, the British Druids were still making headlines for showing up at Stonehenge, and thus at least the idea of a Druidic brotherhood (or siblinehood) was feasibly available for the founders of the RDNA through the media.

Possible Fraternal Influences on the earliest stages of the RDNA

Isaac Bonewits, a liturgist and an insightful arm chair scholar of Modern British Fraternal Druidism, believes that the liturgy and core philosophy of the RDNA bears a remarkable similarity to those found in the United Ancient Order of Druids; a primarily charitable organization of a few thousand members in the US that still retains some remnants of ritual from their fraternal past. I must defer judgment to Isaac on the liturgical similarity. This is a valid possibility, because UAOD material was stocked at the St. Olaf library, which is only a 20 minute bike ride from Carleton. Although David Fisher was headed for Episcopal Seminary, even during the founding of Reformed Druidism, it does seem unlikely that he would have ever visited St. Olaf's Library, because St. Olaf was not then of the same caliber as Carleton, as it is today. Back in the 60s, even the 70s, Olaf's academic level was looked down upon by Carleton students, and there would have been little to induce him to have gone there.

As for the belief in a universal siblinghood and seeing all religions as evolved from Nature; these could easily be found in the doctrines of Deism and Unitarianism which are often attributed to Druids in unacademic books and reference materials then available in the Carleton and St. Olaf libraries. It should be noted that there was also a bit of Unitarian background among some of the Founders of the RDNA before they reached Carleton.¹⁵⁴

The final answer will have to come from David Fisher, who has refused any further interviews since the early 70s. In spring of 1963, David Fisher devised the Order of Worship.¹⁵⁵ In contrast to Isaac's opinion, most Druids and non-Druids claim the liturgy bears a remarkable resemblance in form to the Episcopal rite, not surprising since David Fisher and most early leaders of Reformed Druidism were familiar with the Episcopal church.¹⁵⁶ For the sake of the joke and to lend an air of venerable age to the group, David Fisher is reputed by Norman Nelson as having claimed that he [David Fisher] had been initiated as a "third order Arch-Druid while in high school."¹⁵⁷ Not long after the group's purpose was completed by the repeal of the Chapel Attendance ordinance, Fisher denied his high school ordination and claimed that he had acquired the symbology through Frazer's "Golden Bough," which is also plausible. Fisher's motives for denial are slightly suspect because he feared not being admitted to Episcopal Seminary.¹⁵⁸ However, because Fisher unsuccessfully tried to start other "secret" groups before founding the RDNA while at Carleton,¹⁵⁹ one may suspect Fisher (and an undisclosed other person) as having at least some Masonic or fraternal knowledge or at least an inclination to form a group similar to those based on Fraternal principles (even if Fisher had not been previously a member of a Fraternal group).

Other evidence of Fraternal influence are the 10 orders of the RDNA. In the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry there are 10 orders of initiation; the first three have different functional purposes within the group, but the next 7 are honorary. The RDNA has three basic orders of 1st, 2nd and 3rd, and the 4th through 10th orders are completely honorary. Each order in Freemasonry and the RDNA is accompanied by an initiation by someone of that order. Whereas in Freemasonry a ritual, a password or handshake is learned, Druidism only gives a distinctive ribbon and a ritual as a sign of office.

Another interesting possibility of connection is the title of "preceptor" for one of the three officers of a grove. "Preceptor" often appears as a title of organizational hierarchy in some Fraternal organizations, particularly Freemasonry. I believe the title could also have come from a position in the Anglican mass.

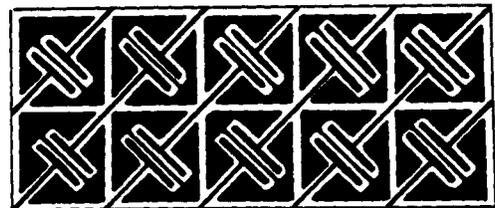
Then there is the surprising similarity of names and dates of the same eight festivals of the Reformed Druid calendar with the "8-fold wheel of the year" found in Neo-Paganism and the British Druid Fraternal system. I believe that this can easily be explained in that all three groups could have easily researched the popular literature written on Celtic customs. Beltane, Oimelc, Lughnasadh and Samhain were common Celtic festivals in the British Isles up until the 19th/20th century. So anyone spending an hour or two reading MacCulloch (1910) or Kendrick (1932) could have learned of these four great calendar festivals. As for the "cross-quarter" festivals (named so because they lie exactly half-way between the aforementioned holidays) of the solstices and equinoxes; these can be explained by the common (possibly false) assumption that the Druids or Celtic peoples had built the megalithic stone circles as observatories to measure the lunar cycles and the movements of the sun. Since many of these megalithic circles do bear some validity for judging the equinoxes and solstices, many have assumed that great Druid festivals must have occurred at these times also. While Christmas and St. John the Baptist/Midsummer's days are carryovers into the Christian calendars, it is harder to prove the case with the equinoxes.¹⁶⁰ Since these holidays were of easily locatable knowledge, I assume that the founders of the RDNA, various British Fraternal Orders, and the Neopagan movement could have devised the same calendars by independent

initiatives and a quick study in their local libraries.

The early Freemasons were notorious for their drinking habits, as are the college fraternities which are their indirect offshoots. Was the RDNA originally set up as a Fraternity? Perhaps in Fisher's mind, but hardly in the eyes of the other druids. Carleton College has a strict policy of no fraternities or sororities on or off it's campus. Most-to-all students are very supportive of this policy, because of a tradition of openness in the entrance requirements to organizations. The Reformed Druids have always been extremely welcoming of new people, and lacks the "hazing" common to fraternities. As for the use of alcohol at rituals, it was never much more than a shot per person, except in the 2nd Order initiation where it can be as high as 3 shots. A few wild parties occurred after the services of the main festivals, but no more than could be expected for a general College crowd on a weekend. I doubt this is a conclusive point of evidence of a fraternal influence or fraternity influence. I'll discuss the issue later under the Pseudo-Judeo-Christian influences.

Conclusion to Section I: Fraternal Influences

The possibility of a Masonic connection must remain open to debate, but NONE of the Carleton Druids have ever shown much concern, credence or knowledge of a possible preceding Druid group. For them, it STARTED in 1963, irregardless of what future evidence may show to the contrary. Many of the similarities can be chalked up to similarities that exist between organizations founded for the same purposes (in this case: universal siblinghood and opposition to tyrannical organizations). IF there was any influence it soon ceased within the first months of Reformed Druidism as David Fisher's influence within the group was supplanted by the interests of the other Founders and members. If the fraternal influences existed in the earliest weeks, they were greatly overshadowed by other factors; such as the need to look like a religion to get rid of the Chapel Requirement, the prominence of the philosophies of Asia and the pseudo-Judeo-Christian influences.



Section II: Judeo-Christian Influences on Druidism

Pseudo-Judeo-Christian Influences/Attributes of Reformed Druidism

It is a pretty good bet that at least 85% of all the members of Reformed Druidism were raised in a Judeo-Christian household (or a Western Atheistic one). It is therefore not unreasonable to think that the Founders of the RDNA should have sought a little inspiration from the Bible and other Christian literature when they were devising a “religion” to spoof the Chapel Requirement. This “swiping of ideas” and lighthearted spoofing of the Judeo-Christian tradition may seem a bit blasphemous or heretical to some, but we must remember that the RDNA felt that a religion had to be able to laugh at itself.¹⁶¹ I think that the first elements to be borrowed from the Judeo-Christian tradition borrowed was the Liturgy, as written by David Fisher in the first few weeks of April or at the latest by May 1st, 1963; and upon which the apparent hierarchy of the RDNA was based.

ORDER OF COMMON WORSHIP: SUMMER HALF OF THE YEAR

The Earliest Known Version

I. OPENING BLESSING:

O Lord, forgive these three sins that are due to our human limitations:

Thou art everywhere, but we worship you here;

Thou art without form, but we worship you in these forms;

Thou needest no praise, yet we offer thee these prayers and sacrifices;

O Lord, forgive [*these*] three sins that are due to our human limitations.

Mighty and blessed, fertile and powerful, to thee Earth-Mother, we sing our praise, asking that what we offer up to thee will be accepted, and thy blessing of life granted to us.

II. PROCESSION AND DRAWING OF THE CIRCLE (& LIGHTING OF FIRE)

III. HYMNS OR CHANTS OF PRAISE

IV. THE SACRIFICE

Our praise has mounted up on the wings of eagles, our voices have been carried to thee on the shoulders of the winds. Hear now, O our Mother, as we offer up to thee this our sacrifice of life. Accept this we pray, and grant us life.

Hast thou accepted our sacrifice, O our Mother? I call on the Spirit of the North to give answer—of the South—of the East— and of the West.

Praise be, our sacrifice, dedicated to the fertility and renewal of life has been accepted.

V. THE ANSWER

1. Of what does the Earth-mother give that we may know the continual flow and renewal of life?

THE WATERS-OF-LIFE.

From Whence do these waters flow?

FROM THE BOSOM OF THE EARTH-MOTHER, THE NEVER CHANGING ALL-MOTHER.

And how do we honor this gift that cause life to men?

BY PARTAKING OF THE WATERS-OF-LIFE.

Has the Earth-Mother given forth of her bounty?

SHE HAS

Then give me the Waters.

2. O DALON AP LANDU, HALLOW THESE WATERS BY THE SEVENFOLD POWERS, AND BY THE THREE WAYS OF DAY AND THE ONE OF NIGHT. GIVE US TO KNOW THY POWER AS WE TAKE AND DRINK OF THY SECRET ESSENCES.

3. To thee we return this portion of thy bounty, O our Mother, even as we must return to thee.

VI. THE SERMON

VII. THE BENEDICTION

Go forth into the world of men, secure in the knowledge that our sacrifice has found acceptance in the Earth-mother's sight, that she has answered our prayer, and that you go forth with her blessing. PEACE, PEACE, PEACE.

A Crude Analysis of the Ritual¹⁶²

For many people, the words of the invocation are their fondest memory of the ritual. Primary amongst the reasons they give is that the expression of how we worship is inherently inferior and flawed to the way we'd LIKE to worship; how the very framework of our mind inhibits true worship. The words “sins” were often replaced with “errors” in later versions.

The liturgical roles of the three officers of the grove are laid out here. The Priest has the center stage in the ritual, governing the actions and timing. But the Preceptor also has a very active role in the etching of the Druid Sigil, the fetching of the sacrifice, answering of the catechism of the waters in part V.1. (which may also be answered by the congregation), and the confirmation of the sacrifice's acceptance. The Server's role is like that of cup-bearer/acolyte and passes the waters amongst the group between V.2. and V.3., and little more. The secular role of these officers is small. Usually there was only one Priest in a grove, the Arch-Druid. The role of the Priest (or priests, if there are several in a grove at the same time) is to maintain the calendar of observance and hold weekend services (especially during the early 60s). The Preceptor is supposedly in charge of the any paperwork and gophering in the grove's activities. The Server has no secular responsibilities.

The service has a vague resemblance to the Holy Mass of the Episcopal church, but besides the consecration of an alcoholic beverage; the Order of Worship follows the generic liturgical template of the services of most religions (i.e. Greeting, Adoration, an invocation to Deity, a consecration/blessing of the community with an optional communal activity or feeding, a meditation/sermon and a parting with blessing). Stangely, any of the participants could well be interpreting the “Lord” in the beginning to be the Judeo-Christian God. However, they could also be viewing “Lord” as Krishna or Allah or the Great Spirit or Buddha or Cerunnos or “Bob” or etc. Remember that Reformed Druidism has no EXPLICIT gods in it's “theology;” therefore interpretation of the terms and names is up to the individual Druid. The invocation of Dalon ap Landu and the Earth-Mother could be interpreted as however wished by the participant; either as Gods in their own right or as personifications of philosophic ideals.

Waters-of-Life¹⁶³

It is very surprising that there is no consecration of a foodstuff as a parallel to the bread in the Christian Mass. I find the choice of whiskey, as the drink of consecration, to be a rather intriguing choice. The Irish Gaelic for “whiskey” is “uisce-beatha,” or translated literally it is “waters of life,” which is well known.¹⁶⁴ Whiskey being an purely Celtic invention, it was a natural and appropriate choice as

the beverage of a "Celtic Religion," like Druidism was portraying itself in the beginning.¹⁶⁵ So it would seem to have been another little Celticism of the group, yes? Possibly not. In a very popular classic Science Fiction book of the 50/early 60s, *Stranger in a Strange Land*, a beverage known as the "waters of life" are used to unite the people in a strange exotic religion. What is interesting to note is that *Stranger in a Strange Land* became the inspiration for a NeoPagan religion known as "The Church of All Worlds," which was started among the science-fiction loving college students in 1961 down in Missouri. Coincidence? Perhaps, it was the inspiration for Fisher's RDNA, as well?

It should be noted that it was decided at the first Samhain ritual (Nov. 1st, 1963) that the Waters of Life would not be served from Samhain to Beltane (May 1st). Instead the Waters of Sleep (plain water) would be served at all rituals during this period. This required a change in the Order of Worship. One reason for the change that I've come up with is that the season of winter in Minnesota is very fierce and uncompromising to outdoor Druid services from November until at least April/May. As a result, Saturday services would have to be held indoors during the winter, and alcohol was prohibited on the Carleton campus in the early 60s. The use of alcohol was unofficially tolerated off-campus, and the arboretum of the Druid Services was pseudo-off-campus. Thus developed the two halves of the Druid Calendar, the Summer Half from Beltane to Samhain and the Winter Half from Samhain to Beltane. Another possibility for the halves of the year is found in the Benedictine Rule of having different vigils and psalm readings between November 1st and Easter from those used between Easter and November 1st. Fisher would likely have been aware such a difference.

The Calendar of Reformed Druidism¹⁶⁶

A comment is pertinent here about the eight celebratory festivals of the RDNA. Four of them are tied in with the agrarian/husbandry practices of pre-20th century Europe. Those are Beltane (May 1st) cattle go into the higher elevations to pasture. Next is Lughnasadh (Aug 1st) which is the celebration of the beginning of the harvest. Then comes Samhain (Nov. 1st) when cattle were slaughtered for meat over the winter and dead relatives are remembered. Finally there is Oimelec (Feb. 1st) when the ewes drop their lambs and begin to lactate. These traditional celebrations of the rhythms of Nature were seen as more important and less divisive by the RDNA than remembering the holidays from each of the many World religions.¹⁶⁷ At any rate they are more Indo-European than Celtic and were written about in books like Frazer's *Golden Bough* & MacCulloch.¹⁶⁸

The other four festivals are the equinoxes and solstices. Yule/Christmas and Midsummer have their basis in the solstices, but the equinoxes have less celebrated carryovers like Paddy's Day, Easter/Passover and Lady's Day. In fact the equinoxes were not officially celebrated by the RDNA until them late 80s, because of the lack of 'proof' that they were Celtic, and because they are not mentioned in the *Druid Chronicles (Reformed)*. The Berkeley grove was the first Grove of the Reform to raise the equinoxes to a status of High Festival. Regardless, equinoxes and solstices did not play an important role in the Druidism at Carleton until the late 80s. This is primarily because they mostly fall on vacation times when Carleton Students are unable to meet.

What is interesting is that Carleton's weather and academic schedule makes most of the "big eight" festivals, except Fall Equinox, Samhain & Beltane uncelebratable outdoors. The result is that the cycles of the seasons may not be as apparent and important to most of the Carleton members who are unable to participate in all 8 spokes of "The Wheel of the Year." However, as the years progressed after the Chapel Requirement was rescinded, the festivals began to take on a much greater importance than the weekend services, which were an appendix left over from the early days. By the end of the 70s, weekend services had completely dropped out of use at Carleton. As

far as I know, they were rarely in common use at most NRDNA groves or in RDNA groves besides Carleton.

Other Pseudo-Judeo-Christian Carry-overs

Seeing as how the Chapel requirement was seen as enforcing Judeo-Christianity at Carleton, it is not surprising that the Druids would poke fun at Judeo-Christianity in a few other ways: scriptures, altar building and missionary activity. In some ways I find this the most interesting part of the early Druid days. It gives me a better understanding of how easy or hard it is to imitate the progress and quarrels of the early centuries of Christianity; and thereby exposes some of our conceptions to a humorous light.

Scriptures: Druid Chronicles

The *Druid Chronicles (Reformed)* was the summer 1964 work of David Frangquist to leave a faithful account of the early days for Druids who weren't there in the beginning. It is an amazing work, a self-contained blueprint for Reformed Druidism as the Carleton Grove initially understood it.

The *Druid Chronicles (Reformed)* look very much like conventional biblical scriptures to our eyes. It has the same verse-numbering system and mimics the now-awkward, repetitive and elegant vocabulary of the *King James Bible* of the Episcopal Church of the 1960s. It is divided into 5 books, perhaps like the Pentateuch of the Torah, and it has an Early Chronicles and Later Chronicles to parallel the Old and New Testaments. It is filled with tales of "great" happenings, heroic deeds and omens (although few prophecies). It has a book of Laws and a book of Customs which set forth the simple structures of Druidism. It also has a book of Meditations which is still referred to for inspiration by members of the present RDNA and NRDNA groves, much like the Book of Psalms. The characterization of David (a Fisher) "crying out in the wilderness," invokes a comparison with how John the Baptist foreshadowed Jesus (perhaps as David Fisher did for Frangquist?). With a bit of imagination, the words of hopeful reunion by Fisher in Early Chronicles before the summer vacation, could be paralleled with Jesus telling his disciples that they would meet again. Heck, if you really wanted to push it, you could see the parting speech as a model for building an eschatology or an afterlife (although I haven't seen anyone try it). For many, it is all they will ever need to practice Druidism, with little Dogma or "shoulds/should-nots" or "ethical" issues to be contentious over.

Despite its popularity, the *Druid Chronicles (Reformed)* are not inviolable dogma like the Bible is to many Christians. Although there was an early decision not to add additional writings to the DC(R), but rather to make all further additions to an Apocrypha, this does not indicate that the DC(R) was a holy scripture. It was written with the intention of being a self-standing handy guidebook to be used, or not used. It is perfectly possible to break all the customs in DC(R), disagree with most of the suggestions, not like the meditations, and still be a Reformed Druid in good standing with the group.

Scriptures: Carleton Apocrypha

Over the years a Talmud-like collection of letters, memoranda and rituals made by the Founders of Druidism and other letter-writing Druids (originally known as the Records of the Council) slowly accumulated in a mammoth tome called the Blue Book of the Archives; which was the predecessor to the present International Druid Archives. From 1964, until the publication of the *Druid Chronicles (Evolved)* by Isaac in 1974/1976, there was some debate over whether certain letters should be added onto the original five books of the *Druid Chronicles (Reformed)* (esp. *The Book of Faith*). It was finally agreed that the *Druid Chronicles (Reformed)* should stand as an independent publication. Isaac came up with several letters that he assembled into his Book of the Apocrypha. Many within the RDNA did not like his choices, so certain special documents were extracted

from the Blue Book and put into a separate production known as the Carleton Apocrypha under the aegis of Richard Shelton in the period of 1971-1976. To continue the Christian/Druid comparison, one could perhaps compare the Druid Apocryphas to the New Testament or the Lost Books of the Bible, but still with the caveat that the Apocryphas are not dogma or indicative of the whole Reform.

Missionary Letter Writing

This tradition is roughly similar to the activity of the Early Christians writing to each other. Early debates, as already discussed, were mostly resolved by mail. Most of this is pretty obvious to the reader. Occasional encouragements to spread the “faith” of Druidism (whatever that meant?) only serve to highlight much of the tongue-in-cheek aspect that accompanied much of the growth of Druidism.

In Conclusion to Section II

Judeo-Christianity, while it had some flaws for many members, was still a primary influence on the beginnings of Reformed Druidism; perhaps even greater than the Asian influences (which themselves, were definitely more influential than Celticity). And perhaps it is right that Reformed Druidism should continue to occasionally lead its members in a study of the Western religions, for like Nature, we will forever “come face-to-face” with them. Many members would return to Western monotheistic religions after a brief bout with Druidism, often with an enhanced understanding of what it means to be religious.¹⁶⁹ Sometimes the RDNA’s light-hearted spoofs of elements of Judeo-Christian religions would bring about a revelation and signal a bold exploration into other faiths.



Chapter Five:

Reformed Druidism from 1968 to 1982 Choosing the Color of Your Water

Why was definition and exclusion so upsetting to Reformed Druidism? We are brought back again to the 2nd and 3rd essential debates and we’re going to examine them now from a “non-Carleton” viewpoint. At Berkeley, Reformed Druidism first left its primarily collegiate base of operations to enter into the general society, where some Druids tried to make it meet the full spectrum of needs that exist in an adult’s life.¹⁷⁰ Such “major” issues dealt with by “mainstream” religious groups include: marriage, births, deaths, spiritual maturation rites, and religious instruction of children.

The debates after the period of Shelton and McDavid’s Archdruidry of Carleton (1969-72) become very difficult to understand or even to review appropriately unless you have a basic understanding of Berkeley’s protest movements, the religious diversity of the Bay Area of California, and the rise of the Neo-Pagan & Wiccan movements. So we’ll begin with some basics, although I would strongly recommend reading *Drawing Down the Moon* by Margot Adler to supplement my cursory presentation of Neo-Pagan and Wiccan beliefs. I do not have the time here to refute all the common myths about Neo-Pagan practices fostered by the Media.¹⁷¹ The best way to read this section is to generally add “but many disagree and differ” after my statements. Please forgive me the use of “RDNA,” “NRDNA” & “SDNA” terms plus the unwarranted use of “Neo-Pagan” as a catch-all term. All four of these terms are very unsatisfactory and are riddled with exceptions, but I must refer to groups using those terms, whose labels often shifted every other year....

UC Berkeley in the Sixties

The University of California at Berkeley student protest movements received a disproportion amount of media publicity in the early 60s. Berkeley was of equivalent academic caliber to Carleton, but it was a large urban university with an attached graduate school so that students hung around a lot longer than in Northfield. UC’s Board of Regents, administrators, Science & Economic departments were also heavily dependent upon funding from the Defense industry, NASA and Atomic Energy Commission. As a result of this retractable funding and a rather conservative Board of Regents, UC found it exasperating when a small core number of students and/or faculty protesters brought bad publicity to the University. In addition to this, Berkeley city had a great deal of volatile racial tension, despite being the only major school district to voluntarily and peacefully integrate their schools.¹⁷² The result was a lot of heavy-handed, conservative suppression of discussion.

A result of the deceitful practices and unaccommodating attitudes by the Berkeley administration and certain confrontative activists led to the wild radicalization of many Berkeley protest movements. For me, radicalization means that you know that the other side is unwilling to give you anything, so you raise your demands to idealistic levels and then exploit the inevitable rejection of the “baser” test case to show to all the undecided moderates how “wrong” and “backwards” the opposing side is about “common” rights & ideals. As a result of seeing an authority in a vilified light, the moderates will join the radicals rather than willy-wallying in the middle of the debate. A clue to a group becoming radicalized is some catchword resembling the expression “If you ain’t for us, you are against us.”

As a result of poor communication and intolerance, both sides became increasingly embittered and resolute in refusing mediation. Every earned victory for student or faculty liberties was followed by a new, more bitter battle. But when it came to Vietnam, the issue became too big to be settled on a campus level and it led to permanent widespread dissatisfaction and rebellion amongst students and

their local allies. By the mid-60s, the Bay Area had become a magnet for rebellious youths and gurus as a result of the media lime-light on Berkeley.¹⁷³ These youths formed a large base for the Bay Area Counter-Culture and new forms of music, thinking and behavior began to flourish, sometimes just to spite the Establishment, but out of these experiments of individualism, several valid new ideas took deep root. Among these experiments, there were forming new ideas about religion.¹⁷⁴

The dissatisfaction with secular authorities eventually led to disgust with the religious authorities backing them up. Here, to a greater extent than Carleton,¹⁷⁵ was a profound distrust of “anyone over thirty” or who was linked to the Establishment. In the mid 1960s, the first of the groups to later identify themselves as Neo-Pagans were already developing. What had been an intense interest in Astrology, Fraternal societies, Parapsychology, Ceremonial Magick, Kaballah, Numerology, Zen and Divination understood from a mostly Judeo-Christian background, suddenly changed in the early 1970s when two new terms were introduced: “Neo-Paganism” and “Wicca.”¹⁷⁶ I am not an expert in this history, but what is important for this study is that, amongst a small group of people, a lot of the trappings of the Occult scene were dropped along with the Judeo-Christian reference point. Everything was modified towards a new “from-scratch” reconstruction of the beliefs from pre-Christian religions, while often retaining 20th century ideas.¹⁷⁷ Their goal was to avoid the traps of thinking inherent in Western monotheistic culture.

This disorganized “revival” movement was vaguely named in 1972 by many people as Neo-Paganism. Wicca concurrently emerged under the initial leadership of the feminists, pushing a conception of divinity as having feminine (and sometimes masculine) traits. The differences of polytheism vs. duotheism, ancient religions vs. modern sources and terminological differences between Neo-Paganism and Wicca pale before their similarities. Both groups hold a reverence for Nature and a tolerance for other people’s understanding of divinity and culture. While Neo-Paganism could be seen as an intellectual and emotional reaction against patriarchy, ecocide and monotheistic “Black & White” thinking, several people soon found Neo-Paganism sufficient, in and of itself, to provide the religious framework for their own lives. Initially, Neo-Pagans tended to focus on a specific ethnic group and its associated pre-Christian religious tenets, although eclecticism was becoming increasingly popular. The ethnic possibilities that quickly come to the Western-trained mind are Egyptian, Nordic/Germanic, Greco-Roman and Celtic. In the 60s/70s, Neo-Pagan groups like Church of Eternal Source, Asatru and Fere-Faerie already existed for the first three groups, but the field for Celtic Neo-Pagan religion was inhabited only by the RDNA and Wicca.¹⁷⁸ Wicca’s use of Celtic symbology is dwarfed by the heavy reliance on multiple traditions that are non-Celtic in origin.¹⁷⁹ Therefore, Druidism was “needed” by the Neo-Pagan movement to complete the picture and the semi-public RDNA came in, fully formed, at a very propitious time for filling that void.¹⁸⁰

Differences from Early Missionary Grove Activity

The early groves of Vermilion & Rapid City S.D., Ma-Ka-Ja-Wan in Wisconsin and New York #1 that had been founded by the Founders (+Frangquist) before 1968 were located at schools and had promptly folded when that Founder left the grove.¹⁸¹ The members of those groves tended to be a lot like those of Carleton, mostly disgruntled and rebellious young people of various religious backgrounds without much knowledge in the Occult or mystical religions. Besides, the RDNA was young and new members were expected to be students who would continue their own faith or find a new one after their experience with Druidism. However, in the groves which were founded after 1967 by Carleton students (which included Purdue, Berkeley, Stanford, Chicago, Ann-Arbor, New York #2 and Princeton) most of the Druids seeking to enter the RDNA were either not currently students and/or possessed an Occult or a strong Counter-

Culture background.¹⁸²

In fact, we see in these new groves more examples of a Neo-Pagan trend of drawing members from the SCA,¹⁸³ SCI/FI,¹⁸⁴ computer geeks¹⁸⁵, Folk-dance¹⁸⁶ and role-playing clubs.¹⁸⁷ All of these groups, however, now had contingents of Neo-Pagans and seekers of *alternate* spirituality. Those types of people were interested in examining alternatives to modern 20th century society and could easily have seen the RDNA as a “revival” of ancient Druidism. It wasn’t that skeptical monotheists or atheists weren’t still joining, but they were becoming a relative minority compared to the eager Mystics, New-Agers, Neo-Pagans and Wiccans.¹⁸⁸ These new types of people, however, were probably confused by a “clearly Neo-Pagan” organizational RDNA system and its strange reluctance to call themselves Neo-Pagan (or anything else for that matter).

The Berkeley Grove

The Berkeley Grove was founded in 1968 by Robert Larson, who remained the ArchDruid from roughly 1968-77, sharing his great interest in early-Irish culture and its pre-Christian paganism with his grove. Larson had left Carleton (ungraduated) in the spring of ‘65, and had gone to Berkeley to join the Counter-Culture and live in “Hippie-dom.” The Berkeley Grove was never associated with the University, because public universities would not allow religious groups to operate, recruit or meet on the campus and Larson never went to school there, but Bonewits did.¹⁸⁹ Larson’s first and most energetic disciple was Isaac Bonewits, whose specialty was networking, ceremonial magick, liturgical design, and what would become Neo-Pagan theology. Between these two men, and several later Druids, the Berkeley Grove found the concentration of talent, complementary Celtic interests and long-term commitments that would be needed to form a more consistent and longer-term RDNA activity than was feasible in Carleton’s turbulent 4 year cycle of rotation.

Thus it was that the ideas of the little RDNA club of Carleton for religious and philosophical introspection was supplemented by the second major ideology, reconstructive Neo-Paganism instead of deconstructive Druidism. It wasn’t that this idea of looking to the ancient Celts was new to the RDNA, but most of the original Druids of Carleton were busy elsewhere with introspection or the study of the living religions of the world. Perhaps the Carleton students didn’t feel the impulse to piece together an old tattered system; which might have been historically as tight-minded and dogmatic, in its own ways, as the mainstream Protestantism that they were trying to escape.

Interviews with Berkeley grove members shows that there were many intolerant religious sects (in addition to very liberal groups) roaming around the Bay Area. While this made Druidism’s lesson of ecumenical introspection an even more vital message, it also limited its ability to openly attract refugees from an Intolerance War. Persecution there was a very tangible possibility, so that people were a bit leery in joining groups that were vague about their purpose and intent (like the RDNA). Because an RDNA priest is required to minister to those who ask for help,¹⁹⁰ irregardless of their religion, imagine how frustrating it would be to have to dodge specific theological questions and answer vaguely to label-seeking novitiates!

Indeed, there was a significant difference in age and religious attitudes among the members that generally entered the Berkeley Grove (and later-founded Groves). The Founders of the RDNA had originally intended Druidism to be such a bizarre and jolting concept that it would shake previous conceptions about religions down to their rudimentary bases among rebellious college students and thus lead them to new introspections. Since most of the Berkeley (and later groves) Druids were older than the average Carleton College student and had entered the RDNA with a Neo-Pagan or Occult background, the validity of drawing valid religious experiences from a variety of ritualistic forms did not seem too unusual or jolting. They quickly grasped that religious experiences could only be judged by oneself, but now they wanted to emphasize the RDNA’s activities to bring

individuals of all religious backgrounds into a group to celebrate/worship/study Nature, a group that was non-dogmatic and unpretentious. An excellent way to worship Nature, they thought, would be to follow the customs and stories of a true Nature-worshipping religion (e.g. ancient Celtic Druids) because they would be more finely tuned by centuries of practice.¹⁹¹ To them, the idea of studying Asian religions through the label Druidism might have seemed a bit bizarre, seeing as how there were already active religious groups practicing Asian religions in the Bay Area that could teach them Asian faiths in a much more “professional way.”

Events leading up to the Isaac Affair¹⁹²

Isaac Bonewits enters the RDNA records in 1972 as a powerfully energetic and intellectual person engrossed in the Bay-Area activities.¹⁹³ Isaac has many enemies of whom the researcher must be leery of listening to without some cross-checking of their tales with other testimonies. Dan Pierson once described Isaac as having “Negative Charisma” which meant that you couldn’t help liking him in person, despite contrary messages from your gut instincts. Isaac was energized by the Neo-Pagan renaissance of 1972 where previously uncommitted Occult or Neo-Christian groups redefined themselves as Neo-Pagan; previously separate and individualistic people were now getting together and doing things. Around the time of the early SCA & Sci-Fi conventions came the Gnosticon spirituality festival in 1974, after which the Festival movement of Neo-Paganism noticeably blossomed.¹⁹⁴ The result was more frequent and intensive networking and hybridization between previously unacquainted and isolated groups who now recognized an underlying kinship through Neo-Paganism that transcended barriers of local ritual practices and dogma. The question facing Isaac was who was going to organize the Celtic/Druid facet and “lead” it into Neo-Paganism? Why not himself and his friends? They had a group with plenty of flexibility, humor and history to it—why not bring in the RDNA?

The Council of Dalon Ap Landu (Revisited)

Isaac would have been aware of the poor reception of the Codex of Form, the successful vote on women’s equality in Reformed Druidism and the tinkering theories on voting revision in the Council. Seeing all this activity in the Council may have got him thinking about further possible legal refinements.¹⁹⁵ While most of the elements of the Codex were dropped, one element remained ambiguous – the voting rules for the Council of Dalon Ap Landu. As of 1969, the only official statements pertaining to the Council’s voting were:

To declare in perpetuity that the Arch-Druid of Carleton shall be the Chairman Ex-officio of the Council of Dalon Ap Landu.¹⁹⁶

To reserve to all the priests, collectively in the Council of Dalon Ap Landu, the highest authority of the Reformed Druids of North America.¹⁹⁷

Whereas all the previous Council votes had been pursued until they reached a consensus of all the members who chose to vote, this was only a *tradition*—not a *rule*. When Shelton’s voting proposal was made, he was looking for unanimous positive votes with replies from a majority of the known members; with an unspoken implication that no negative votes would be cast. Clarification: if there were 23 Third Orders, at least 12 positive votes would have to be cast (and none against) for a bill to pass. It was assumed that all attempts at contacting members would have been made. When that proposal on voting failed to receive a majority *response* of unanimous affirmation after being on the floor for two years, it was withdrawn in June 1972 by McDavid. The last measure to pass the Council (the Priestess vote of 1971) was passed by unanimity of the votes cast (after much cajoling of some patriarchal objectors) with a majority of potential voters

participating in the voting. Therefore, it appears that a sturdy tradition of unanimity is required for a proposal to be approved by the Council and it having been voted upon by at least half the members.

Following the unanimous passage of the proposal giving female priests unequivocal equal treatment and ranking as their male counterparts in 1971, the Council records show a 2 year gap (June 1972 to July 1974) in Council activity and proposals. The ensuing silence during the reigns of the three succeeding busy Carleton ArchDruids gave the Carleton Grove (and its Chair of the Council) the understandable appearance of having died off,¹⁹⁸ which (according to Berkeley’s knowledge) would have only left Larson’s Berkeley grove and Isaac’s Twin Cities grove. The truth was that the Carleton graduates just couldn’t think of another proposal that wouldn’t prove divisive and there had never been much “Council-wide” correspondence before, just friendly letters between individual friends. Or as McDavid put it in 1972:

“I do not see any issues concerning the Council as a whole, and apparently no one else does.”¹⁹⁹

But importantly from Isaac’s goals of forming a stable Druid organization, Carleton’s ArchDruids were neglecting to send out the required “State of the Groves” letters upon their retirement, showing obvious irresponsibility in what appeared to be the duties of the “national” headquarters of the RDNA. What if an issue did come up that needed an official OK from the Council? With no active Chair of the Council, how could the Council be convened and the votes counted and declared?

The Isaac Affair Begin²⁰⁰

Isaac Bonewits realized that the RDNA would be a very appealing organization, especially for Celtic enthusiasts, in a predicted upcoming flood of interest. Bonewits saw a need to transform the Carleton Druids from a “Meso-Pagan” stage of evolution towards the “Neo-Pagan” age, just like other groups had already done.²⁰¹ More than that, Isaac wished to *define* the ideas, organization and documents of the RDNA into concise, “marketable” products. To test the waters for his rather complicated agenda, Isaac sent out a proposal on July 18th 1974 to the Carleton ArchDruid to distribute to the Council members for an immediate vote. I recommend reading the full text of Isaac’s letters in the Apocrypha, which I will make many references. The tone, haste, assumptions and verbiage of the letters helps to explain the resulting animosity, misunderstanding, confusion and hostility that was engendered towards Isaac amongst many Carleton and non-Carleton Druids. In hindsight, the letters can be seen as Isaac’s way of explaining himself before doing something new on his own. But to the Reformed Druids, it was a bolt out of the blue and looked like an aggressive reformation attempt.

This letter proved to be a set-back for Isaac’s public relations with many of the Druids on the Council. This letter put about 20 minor changes or statements of doctrine to be debated and voted upon between July 18th and September 15th, with a *majority* vote to decide the matter or else a schism would take place!²⁰² This was seen as break-neck speed, since the vote on the equality of female priests alone had taken two whole years of debate to reach the traditional *consensus*, and that decision merely affirmed a standing tradition! A few of Isaac’s later letters better defined Isaac’s terms and intentions, but they did little to abate the fact that such proposals would hastily lead the RDNA in the direction towards greater formalization and organization (especially above and beyond the Grove level). In other words, the changes would result in a completely different organization, much like the eventual form of the ADF.

Was Isaac’s Neo-Paganism more inclusive or more exclusive than Druidism?

Now the RDNA has always prided itself upon being potentially

capatable with any religion (or lack of religion), but Neo-Paganism could not make the same claim in the early 70s. In its youth, Neo-Paganism generally saw monotheism (or rather, Judeo/Christian/ Islam) as being patriarchal and anti-Nature and therefore not compatible with itself.²⁰³ Their position has mellowed out over the years as exceptions were noted here-and-there, but during the Isaac debates the Carleton Faction definitely saw this attitude being expressed by Isaac. Now if Isaac had solely described Neo-Paganism as:

“Neo-Paganism sees divinity manifest in all the processes of nature. According to this view, Neo-Paganism is a constantly evolving philosophy that views humanity as a functional organ within the greater organism of all Life”²⁰⁴

there wouldn't have been *too much objection*. But instead many Druids were getting their primary definition of Neo-Paganism from Isaac as:

[Neo-Paganism includes] “polytheistic (or conditional monotheistic) nature religions that are based upon the older or Paleo-pagan religions; concentrating upon an attempt to retain the humanistic, ecological and creative aspects of these old belief systems while discarding their occasional brutal or repressive developments, which are inappropriate.”²⁰⁵

and

“Let us begin by admitting that we are a religion and describe ourselves to each other and the outside world roughly as follows:

The RDNA is an Eclectic, Reconstructive, Neo-Pagan Priestcraft, based primarily upon Gaulish and Celtic sources but open to idea, deities and rituals from many other Neo-Pagan belief systems.....”

“We are willing to interact philosophically and ritually with members of all other belief systems that are compatible with our own approach and Nature.”²⁰⁶

While mostly the same description as that of the earlier definition, Isaac's version appeared to have an implicit dislike for monotheism and was concerned with organizational politics. For many, “the main problem [with Isaac's definition] was that it was becoming exclusive, even in implication.”²⁰⁷ Such a firm alliance with any group (such as Neo-Paganism) could have been seen as an alliance against another group(s).

Despite Isaac's claim that the RDNA members from Carleton were against Neo-Paganism, most members were actually against Isaac and there was a difference between the two. They were very unsure of Isaac's intentions, or as one put it:

“The cardinal rule of the Third Order was always keep everybody guessing. Isaac picked up on it in spades. We never did really know what Isaac was up to.”²⁰⁸

But, many finally understood that this far-away and strange Neo-pagan movement wasn't some kind of “evil cult” and then affirmed Isaac's **personal path** of Druidism,²⁰⁹ but firmly stated that Reformed Druidism was not synonymous to them with Neo-Paganism. To some it was as restrictive on Druidism to describe the RDNA as Neo-Paganism as it would have been to call it Taoism, Neo-Shinto or Mystical Christianity.

“Dick [Shelton] replied that while Neo-Paganism was *compatible* with the Basic Tenets, it was not *required* by them. He also said that he opposed all the attempts to *impose* such a doctrine on the Reform. I maintained this policy during my term as Arch-Druid.”²¹⁰ (emphasis mine)

“Let us in particular not represent our private paths as Reformed Druidism.”²¹¹

Others expressed hesitancy also.²¹² Even Larson, from Berkeley, was opposed to calling the RDNA a Neo-Pagan religion.

“Rather than supplying a set theology, mythos, ethos, or whatever, Druidism supplies a basis from which each individual Druid defines his own mythos, ethos, etc.

“Rather than looking upon Druidism as a religion or a philosophy, let us look upon it as a way to achieve or augment a religion or philosophy.

I am opposed to Isaac's attempted redefinition of Druidism as “pagan,”...[and] I consider such a definition as over-restrictive for Reformed Druidism as a whole. For individual druids and groves, however, it's a different matter.”²¹³

Some people will always dislike the term “Pagan,” irregardless of whether Paganism is good or bad, and using it in your definition will frighten off a lot of foolish people.²¹⁴ These are the very people who need to feel free to join and shed their fearful definitions. The problem with the name “Neo-Pagan” has led to many long defenses by Neo-Pagans against all sorts of misconceptions by “outsiders.” Their frustration has reached the point where many Neo-Pagan groups have chosen to refer to themselves as “the Old Way” or other similar terms that are less laden with baggage. Reformed Druidism was special in that it claimed it was separate from, but applicable to, all other religions. The RDNA had been attractive as an organization because it was not inclined to make any such divisive conclusions, definitions, affiliations, alliances, or blanket statements:

“We had also done something rather wise, early on, and I don't know whether it was Fisher or consensus. Druidism was compatible with any other religion, even if other religions denied that.”²¹⁵

“As Druids, however, we can only affirm a mutual desire to ask ourselves questions about the meaning of life, and about the degree to which religious truth can be truth for us.”²¹⁶

Some Druids, both from Carleton and in California, felt that this “definition-making” was an attempt by Isaac to discourage certain members in the group from staying, because Reformed Druidism would then *only* be for Neo-Pagans.

Mike: Were the members [of Berkeley] ever before [circa 1976] required to renounce their previous religion?

Stefan: Never! Never! That's b*llshit! The whole philosophy here was: “Be what you want to be.” But, when you were in circle,²¹⁷ you were a Druid. That was the philosophy here. You could be any other religion, but when you were here, you were a Druid. Period. That's the way it should be.”²¹⁸

“**Stefan:** One of my roommates became a Jes-oid,²¹⁹ but we were perfectly willing to accept him for what he was... forced out by Isaac.... Roman Catholics.. Jews... As I understood it, in Reformed Druidism, everybody was accepted.”²²⁰

Thus, even a “Jes-oid” could have found acceptance in Reformed Druidism of the early Berkeley RDNA. Unfortunately, once the existence of Neo-Paganism became widely known, people would probably naturally assume that the RDNA was not open to monotheists or atheists. That has proven to have been one of the sad after-effects for many Carleton RDNA, because, ever since the rise of Neo-Paganism, Druidism couldn't easily claim to be unlike anything you've ever seen before. It became very easy for outsiders to pigeon-hole it as Neo-Paganism.

“The near-universal association of Druidism and Neo-Paganism has kept me out of public Druidic life for nearly 20 years (Isaac lost the battle but he won the war).”²²¹

Emphasis on Celtic Elements:

It is interesting to note that the Neo-Pagan enthusiasm for drawing inspiration from Ancient Celtic religion occurred at precisely the same time as many of the present definitive books on Ancient Druidism were published. In fact, since 1966, a veritable flood of good research has been published on ancient Celtic societies, drawing upon a multi-disciplinary review of available data. I suspect that if the Founders had started with the foresight of post 1974 events, they might have chosen a different name for the group than "Druids."

Due to an understandable mistake, Isaac had assumed that the other RDNA groves had been as interested in Celtic religion as his Twin Cities Grove or the Berkeley Grove. After all, Larson's specialty was paleo-Irish studies, he came from Carleton and Celticity is what Larson had explored with the Berkeley group. The tradition of exploring modern religions was never heavily explored in Berkeley, although the policy of allowing anyone of any religion to join did exist. Isaac just couldn't understand how these people from Carleton could invoke the names of Celtic gods and not consider that they were actually dealing with what were to him and his friends real deities. Despite all the Celtic surface trappings, the Berkeley Grove was not culturally restrictive, and many members explored various faiths and ideas through Reformed Druidism under Larson's laissez-faire Archdruidcy.

Emphasis upon ritual

Occultists and Neo-Pagans, like the practitioners of most mainstream religions, believe rituals and prayers can affect reality. The form and contents of ritual in many occult and Neo-Pagan groups can take upon themselves an overwhelming importance.²²² If you feel that the way a liturgy is performed affects the mental state of the congregation, then liturgical experimentation might prove beneficial to the search for truth. This is perhaps one aspect in which the older Druids didn't experiment too much, but they never objected to it. If one of the goals of the search for religious truth is to thereby improve or change the world, then the improvement of your methods of attainment of truth is a valid exercise.

But Reformed Druid ritual wasn't just about getting things done, it was about being together in an enjoyable way. It is pertinent to state that even the Carleton RDNA had its share of magick-working or special rituals going on from the foundation of the RDNA upto 1980. There were weather-workings, the "Druid curse," divinations, an incident of speaking in tongues & prophesy, "exorcisms" of the spirit of war, consecrations of altars, prayers, marriages, "Druidings," and occasional blessings.²²³ But many of these were done from an understanding of the power of one's faith being the source of power or as an innocent experiment with their "tongues firmly planted in their cheeks." The older Carleton Druids, despite their dabbling in magick (especially weather working), did not see group ritual as having much purpose in and of itself for Druidism. Ritual was more incidental in some ways.

"Cannot men seek for answers without the crutch of ritual which has no religious purpose? I can only answer that ritual has a value because it can be used by different men in different ways.

"For one man, the sacrifice of life²²⁴ is the offering of himself to a god or gods. To another it is offering up of his mind to a search for truth."²²⁵

Frangquist reminds us of the dangers of ritual indulgence:

"But we have also recognized that ritual is most often a hindrance; and to eliminate it is simply to encourage non-ritual to become the ritual. Rather, as Druids, we have endeavored to build a ritual which will be the destroyer of it own importance."²²⁶

Ritual flow and directing of magickal energy was important for Occultists since they believe it can change reality, just like prayers in Christianity. However, explaining this whole ritual process is an art and science that no two Occultists ever could entirely *define* in the same way. Reformed Druidism never sought to justify what was in its ritual because the **content** of the Order of Worship was never fully finalized. Neo-Pagan and Druid experimentation had been always tacitly encouraged within undisclosed limits.

The Use of the Council of Dalon Ap Landu

Isaac's other big gripe was that the Council was "inactive" and should be constantly debating to keep their Druidism "in shape." The state of meditation and introspection is not always an easy state to enter. For some, it requires self-discipline or asceticism, for others seeing a mere falling leaf or a chance conversation may catapult them into the mysteries of the multi-verse. Druidism is a "never ending search" for religious truth, but that does not mean that Druidism is a "never-resting search." A lag here or there in the correspondence may be part of a greater rhythm of rise-and-fall. For those who have difficulty in exploring Druidism alone, the presence of others in conversation may light-up new avenues of inspection. While at College, one is already in a continual state of constant challenge over the validity of truths, but such a state is much harder to maintain in the loneliness after graduation. I suspect that this search for continued Druidic siblinghood after college is one of the main motivators for the missionary efforts of the Carleton RDNA. Unfortunately for many missionaries, something seemed to have been missing in the new groves, some mysterious Carleton flavor. Many found that they spent more time explaining what Druidism was *not*, rather than being able to explore Druidism. I suspect that the Council's true business up to 1974 was much more oriented towards this lonely communication of observations between far-spread Druids than as a forum for the debate of referendums.

A great concern, that never left many RDNA members, was that Isaac would ordain so many Third Order priests who would be unconcerned with the original purpose of *unconditional* tolerance and unanimity that the Council (or a pseudo-Council) would become "functional." Once functional, such a Council could pass legislation or officially advocate actions that, by claiming to be believed by all members (although decided only by a majority), would alienate many former members into sadly abandoning any formal connection with the RDNA. It was okay for a single member to expand their own views, but it was not kind to force their conclusions upon the Council or even their own grove. Frangquist, long ago, had come to the conclusion that:

"religion is essentially a question of personal conviction. This is the reason for the failure of the student negotiation committees. Committees may provide help in solving political problems, but not in religious problems. The committees have tried to deal in logical arguments; religion deals in faith."²²⁷

For some, Reformed Druidism had quickly become an intensely private and personal search, so much so that they had dropped from participation in Groves. These Druids did not take kindly to the assumption that their search had to be open to the examination of others through constant correspondence in order to be valid. Nor did they like the idea that Druids active in Groves were more "active" than solitary Druids. The search for truth could also be helped by private conversations with non-Druids. One may well wonder if the mere act of living was true Druidism in action. Therefore the attempt to bolster the identity of Reformed Druidism by increasing the required participation in the Council met with such reactions:

"Communication is a convenience and proselytization is an option, but if I choose to develop quietly by introspec-

tion and to write privately to my friends, I am as much an active Druid- and, I believe, contribute as much to the Reform- as if I broadcast my views to the entire Council of Dalon Ap Landu.”²²⁸

Isaac also feared that the Carleton ArchDruid, as chair of the Council of Dalon ap Landu, was not stable enough for keeping Reformed Druidism alive as an *organization*. In this attitude, he was again missing the point. The high turn-over rate at Carleton was considered to be a boon to their organizational nexus; it essentially prevented Druidism from ever being secure enough in its footing that it could be bureaucratic or imperialistic. Shelton, who had six years earlier attempted the same defining and stream-lining process with the Codex, was now wisely trying to caution and slow-down Isaac:

“If you would seek to save Druidism, you will lose it; but if you seek the Mother and what she can teach you, Druidism will grow, prosper to her joy and to your great benefit.”²²⁹

Evangelism and Missionary Activity

Perhaps another thing about Isaac that worried many Reformed Druids, especially from Carleton, was Isaac’s insistence on speedy growth, recruitment and swapping priestly ordinations with Neo-Pagans of other traditions. Before 1976, new groves generally only appeared when a Third Order Druid had to leave a pre-existing grove and move to a new area for a while. While recruitment was an understandable necessity to build and maintain a grove around oneself, the desire to plant and fill up new groves for their own purpose was a bit more unusual. Usually, a priest would only ordain a person to the Third Order when that person had been with them for awhile (perhaps a year). Isaac was suggesting that roving Missionary Druids should begin ordaining priests and priestess from other Neo-Pagan religions (with little to no background in Reformed Druidism) into the Third Order so that a few missionaries could seed lots of new groves. This driving interest in the Third Order disturbed many of the older Druids. To them, the preservation or expansion of the priesthood of the Third Order was not to be taken so seriously. By emphasizing the Third Order, one may forget about the equality, regardless of their order, amongst all Reformed Druids.

While Reformed Druids often pride themselves that there are few lessons to learn when teaching Reformed Druidism, most will realize that there are often many lessons that one has to un-learn; simplicity often being a hard concept for new-comers to understand. If nothing else, the sense of urgency (possibly because of Isaac’s concern to promote eco-awareness) in Isaac’s letters seemed just a little bit too manic for the slower, more contemplative Druids.

The Danger of Over-Emphasis on Focusing on these Debates

The real achievement of Isaac was to generate a great deal of worry *and* introspection among members of the Council. They were waken from a lethargic contentment by the constant goosing of Isaac and Larson.

“From my communications with Isaac, it would seem that he has stirred up a minor hornet’s nest with his proposals. Good. That was the intent. Now that he has you thinking about the RDNA as more than a quaint club and has you concerned (or so I hope) about its future, perhaps something can be accomplished.”²³⁰

In this way, the Druids are ironically in debt to Isaac because, for many, they too had been unaware of how much of what they believed to be Druidism was **also** beyond the Basic Tenets. Everything one brings to Druidism necessarily goes beyond the beliefs required by the Basic Tenets. In this way, both sides realized the pomposity they each

had been nurturing from being out on contact with other Druids.

Rather than dwelling anymore upon the two fascinating years of retorts and recriminations, or providing a running commentary of one-on-one debates,²³¹ I’ll return to my history and put the debates into a larger context of the history of Reformed Druidism among the branches in the late 70s. I should mention here to future historians that many of the things said in those two years were out of justifiable shock and ignorance, but were often patched up by unofficial and unrecorded communications between the Druids of the many factions. In fact, once they had overcome the common misconception that Neo-Pagan Druidism had to be anti-monotheistic (i.e. rejecting the validity of some paths of religions) most Carleton members finally had accepted Isaac’s Neo-Paganism as a good thing for him & others.

In fact, it has been very easy and pleasantly diverting for a researcher to become over-absorbed in these written debates and feel that Isaac spoke for-and-of the greatest concerns of all the NRDNA and SDNA people. If anything, the Isaac debates brought a clearer understanding of what Reformed Druidism was not to many people. However, in reality, some of the NRDNA and SDNA Druids had many of the same disagreements as the Carleton RDNA with many of Isaac’s plans and politics.²³² These conflicts in California increased until 1981 or 1982 when Isaac finally left Reformed Druidism to work on a fresh start with the organization “Ár nDriaocht Féin.” Therefore let us widen the perspective to relate the diversity that was the NRDNA and SDNA.

The After-Math of the Initial Isaac Wars:

As Bradley related to me, there were far too many independent-minded Druids in the RDNA and New RDNA traditional camps by the 1970s for Isaac or anyone else to tighten the Reformed Druid organization and its definitional identity without excluding large numbers of the current members. The results were therefore predictable; a majority of the replies from Council members disagreed with Isaac’s program; some favored better communication channels while remaining “unorganized” and loyal to the Council and a few Council members followed Isaac into a full schism.²³³ The three branches of Reformed Druidism then came into name based on these perceptions at this point: respectively the RDNA, the New RDNA and the third group became the Schismatic Druids of North America. The SDNA was to break many of the formal ties with the Council’s authority, so as to determine it’s own national rules, but still retaining the Reformed Druid apostolic succession and basic hierarchical pattern and scriptures. The schism was perhaps a wise move by Isaac, because an attempt to “defrock” the earlier members would have just stirred up more animosity and wasted more time and energy from his plans. It was much simpler for Isaac to form a new smaller subset within the expansiveness of Reformed Druidism and then to experiment with new forms of organization.

New Reformed Druids of North America (NRDNA)

Now the initial ArchDruids of the early NRDNA groves were, surprise!, past Carleton students: Larson of Berkeley, Savitzky/Uggla of Stanford and McDavid/Bradley of Chicago.²³⁴ The early NRDNA, in association with the SDNA and HDNA,²³⁵ felt that an *official* Provisional Council of ArchDruids (PCoA) was necessary to discuss new issues and release “steam” to prevent any future explosion of built-up tensions that could result from the Druidic vice of infrequent-communication. It would also allow an exchange of religious insights to the benefit of all and take over the duty of the Chair of the Council in case the Carleton Grove should fail.

The RDNA Groves of Ann Arbor, New York #2, and Carleton were deeply suspicious of the PCoA²³⁶ and would much rather have had an “*unofficial*” PCoA,²³⁷ which would have been more in spirit with the anti-organizational streak of Reformed Druidism. They also

disagreed with the idea that Arch-Druids could vote on issues that affected their groves, without allowing the grove to affect such a vote. Understandably, because of the PCoA's composition of mostly ex-Carleton students, there was a PCoA decision that stated:

"That no Reformed Druid should speak for the beliefs or nonbeliefs of all Reformed Druids, save to mention the Basic Tenets outlined in *The Book of the Law*, and that members of each Branch of the Reform should speak only for themselves."²³⁸

After that statement, the PCoA mostly talked about three issues: the method and contents of printing of the *Druid Chronicles* (Evolved), keeping a second record of Grove statistics in case Carleton went 'dormant' again (which was not infrequent), and to forward the voting proposals and other statements of theology to the Council for an official vote.²³⁹ It is important to note that these three issues were never voted upon by the Council due to a forgetful error to mail the ballots, but they showed the rather tame agenda of the PCoA.²⁴⁰ Even getting the Arch-Druids, usually the most "responsible" Druids, to communicate with each other was proving to be too difficult. The end-result was that Druids everywhere firmly understood their independence and went on ahead with their own local grove projects without asking for the Council's permission anymore, just like I believe the Founders would have hoped. The communicative aspect of the defunct PCoA was performed later by the publication of the *Druid Chronicler* newsletter.

Schismatic Druids of North America (SDNA)

The SDNA was the embodiment of Isaac's reforms and its headquarters were generally centered upon whatever grove of which Isaac was ArchDruid (which then became called the "Mother Grove"). In an unprecedented flurry of activity over the six years after the Letter, Isaac had ordained over 15 Third Order Druids across the country, all "officially" therefore SDNA. The touchiest point for the SDNA was the stipulation that only self-avowed Neo-Pagans would be ordained to their Third Order and fill their liturgical offices. Isaac wanted to ensure that no more neo-Christians, Unitarians and Taoists would clutter up further the Neo-Pagan definitional & organizational experimentation of the SDNA. Strangely, many of those that he ordained refused to follow this SDNA restriction.²⁴¹

Here we come up again with the difficulty of a single individual keeping updated address lists of the Council and coordinating activities. The Carleton Druids and those from the early graduate school groves were easy to locate through the College's alumni offices. It was much more difficult for Isaac to keep track of the many people he had ordained because they were not tied to a central tracking institution (unless you count Isaac himself) and they often neglected to keep him informed of address changes. Add to this the Neo-Pagan and Reformed Druid tendency to belong concurrently to several religious organizations that may take precedent and you'll see that Isaac was slowly learning a valuable lesson: Neo-Pagans and Reformed Druids are often rather ungovernable people upon which to build complicated, national organizations. Moreover, it was certainly taking a lot of time and money on his part to keep a firm national group identity going. Currently authorities with pro-organizational prejudices will often give more credence to a group than to an individual when protesting or defending religious rights. Isaac wanted that kind of mainstream recognition for Neo-Paganistic Druidism and to achieve this there were necessary activities for Druidism such as hiring paid clergy, showing more external structure and playing other games of bureaucracy.

Isaac describes his difficulty in dealing with other Neo-Pagans by a theory called "The Ten Year Gap."²⁴² Like an Old Testament prophet, Isaac was residing on the cutting edge of the intellectual debates far ahead of the general crowd. Many of the current issues about centralization, standardized definitions, paid clergy, membership fees, proselytizing, day-care, legal defense, seminary training, clergy evaluation

and legal "church" status were being broached by Isaac and a few others in the early 70s, about ten years before they become acceptable issues for debate amongst the general Neo-Pagan community. It is like Noah's warning being ignored and scorned until the rain starts a falling; only then were the previous insults retracted by his enemies and old wounds became healed, if ever. The traditional Carleton reaction to this formalization might have been; let your other religious group-affiliation(s) take care of those issues and keep your Reformed Druidism simple and free.

Title-Happy Druids

An important fact for the researcher to realize is that most Reformed Druid groves were playing fast-and-loose with those three major definitional titles and were constantly changing "sides" and even gleefully making up new branches like "Orthodox DNA," "Humanistic DNA," "Hasidic DNA," "Zen Hilaric DNA," "Norse DNA" or even returning back to RDNA to describe each grove's individual bent. In September 1978, even Isaac was so uncertain as to what the differences were between these many titles, that he chose to limit them to "RDNA" for groves that were not composed primarily of Neo-Pagans and NRDNA for groves that were primarily composed of Neo-Pagans (including the SDNA).²⁴³ Even this labeling proved unsatisfactory to some Druids who weren't sure they were Neo-Pagan, Wiccan, Humanist, etc.

Disagreement of the NRDNA and SDNA with Isaac

While every NRDNA and SDNA Druid seemed to disagree with Isaac on many issues, it is only fair to say that they also disagreed with every other NRDNA and SDNA Druid on a number of issues. Remember the Golden Rule that "disagreement among Reformed Druids is the general reality and that agreements are the unusual exceptions." In a way, the illusionary unity of the Carleton Faction was merely a consensus of agreement that future agreements on such issues was impossible so don't bother trying to pass those new proposals. But, that doesn't mean they didn't enjoy a good debate.

Isaac's prominence in most of the debates was a result of his tendency to stick his neck out and play the "devil's advocate" just to ruffle another Druid's feathers²⁴⁴ and thereby have a really good all-out debate. Knowing and writing to so many people, Isaac ruffled a lot of people's feathers. Unfortunately, Isaac was not especially good at apologizing, nor were any of the other Druids.

The Politics were not always important or divisive

As with the study of any Neo-Pagan group, one must remember that the prominence of the squabbles over power often hide the underlying agreements. The primary effect of the infighting politics of the 70s in Reformed Druidism was to "burn-out" the Arch-Druids and thereby weaken local grove stability. In hindsight, there also appears to be a natural rise and fall of Groves. Groves usually faltered when the close friends at the core of the grove had to move somewhere else or couldn't meet on a weekly or even other-weekly schedule. Groves started up when an ArchDruid had regained the financial stability to host rituals and parties for their friends.²⁴⁵ The vast majority of Druids, who were not of the Third Order, found the politics of organizational hierarchy to be an annoyance and distraction from the joy of celebrating the natural rhythms of the seasons and life's cycles.²⁴⁶ For many, regardless of the battles over national organization, life in the grove went on as usual as the grove continued to investigate and explore the paths of Truth. With that quick reminder, let's first talk about some good things the NRDNA and SDNA did together.

Druid Chronicles (Evolved)²⁴⁷

Most conflicts with Isaac were a result of his trying to stabilize some of the groups' vague self-definitions, which to many were the essence, fluidity & fortitude of Reformed Druidism. In many ways, Isaac's earlier proposals could be seen as a great deal of noise & commotion to show where he was headed with his own brand of Druidism and to invite others of like mind to make the jump and to go with him. It was reasonable for Isaac to have stayed around for a few years trying to give the RDNA and NRDNA that last push to bring it to its supposed *evolutionary* conclusion. Unfortunately for Isaac, most Neo-Pagans were still very anarchic and liberty-intoxicated in the mid 70s. More members would have likely joined from Carleton if they had truly been more interested in Celtic religion and less oriented towards Asian and Christian religions. It is good to bear in mind that Neo-Paganism was (and still is) but a very tiny collection of religious systems with the amazing diversity of religious choices in America. As for the Neo-Pagans who disagreed with him, Isaac had to wait for the "Ten Year Gap" to close between his views and those of Neo-Pagans.

In the meantime, Isaac's industriousness contributed a very powerful anchor (or should I say noose?) of stability²⁴⁸ to the RDNA and NRDNA movements through his efforts to collect the early "scriptures," essays, historical trivia and reference lists considered reflective or important to the many branches of Reformed Druidism. The Carleton Druids were at first a bit suspicious that Isaac was going to become a "Druid Fundamentalist" and turn the original writings into inflexible canons of indoctrination. Rather than chancing this by leaving him alone, the Carleton Druids worked very closely with Isaac to keep the facts straight (especially about the RDNA's original purposes). One objection was in the name "Druid Chronicles (Evolved)" with the implication of "Evolved" being an improvement over an older form.²⁴⁹ They also feared that the history of Reformed Druidism would be forever filtered and interpreted through Isaac's writings ("To the victor goes the history books"), a fear that has proved to be not without grounds.

To their general relief, *The Druid Chronicles (Evolved)* was published with reasonable disclaimers of any "divine inspiration" or application to the original branch of the Reform, but the evolutionary bias towards Celtic paganism remained a sore point with the Carleton RDNA faction. But for the later NRDNA and SDNA, the DC(E) became their own compact version of the Carleton Archives (which they never had access to). Very compact and densely crammed with facts, trivia and liturgies, DC(E) has proved an invaluable reference source for many of the surviving NRDNA groves. It also proved crucial in the revival of Carleton Druidism in 1986, when the Carleton Druid Archives had been misplaced. In fact, with that book there was hardly any more danger of a grove losing its roots from isolation, as long as they didn't take the book too seriously.

The Druid Chronicler (DCr) (Dec. 9th 1977 to 1982?)

Not to be confused with the *Druid Chronicles (Reformed or Evolved)*, the *Druid Chronicler*²⁵⁰ newsletter replaced the Berkeley Grove newsletter and served many of the coordinating efforts of the defunct PCoA. Under several different editors and networkers, the DCr maintained up-to-date addresses of ArchDruids and spread news on their grove's activities to each other. DCr also printed new additions to liturgies and announced new members of the Council of Dalon ap Landu, and later its subset, the Coalition Council of Dalon ap Landu (CoCoDal). I also believe that these issues were meant to be inserted into the *Druid Chronicles (Evolved)*, in order to keep DC(E) up-to-date and useful as a personal reference tool in the various branches. DCr was run by Joan Carruth, in Isaac's absence, from 1979-81, just as competently from all appearances.

The Eclipse of Carleton Druidism: 1978-1986²⁵¹

It's important to note here, before continuing the analysis of the NRDNA vs. SDNA conflicts, that the early NRDNA groves led by the ArchDruids from Carleton had all collapsed or were dropping out of the picture. The groves of Ann-Arbor and NewYork #2 had been abandoned by their founders, as somehow lacking that Carleton flavor. Larson left the Berkeley Grove while he was working with an Irish Entertainment group called "Clann Na Brocheta." In retrospect, Larson mused that if he had stayed around, he may have been able to smooth down some of the later problems. However, he also noted that it was time for him to explore other outlets, allow Joan more elbow room, and let the grove try out new slants. The ArchDruids of Stanford and Chicago experienced financial crises, core members moving away and personal difficulties that made a grove too much of a trouble to maintain. Eventually the SDNA Third Orders became the leaders of groves bearing the title NRDNA. So it came to be that the early NRDNA disappeared to be replaced by a mostly (but not exclusively) neo-pagan organization also called the NRDNA between the years 1977 & 1979.

The Carleton Grove experienced a lack of enthusiastic recruitment after Morrison's strong ArchDruidicy. The eclipse of Carleton Druidism was partly a result of "burn-out" by those Carleton alumni who felt that Carleton's independence from "outside" control was pretty much established and also that the Carleton grove should now control its own destiny. I also suspect that Druidism had long since stopped being the only liberal religious outlet at Carleton. During the 70s, a stronger Unitarian presence developed, the Catholic & Protestant churches mellowed, and drug-induced mysticism had increased. Between 1980-2 there were no Third Order priests present on the campus, just a few bewildered 1st and 2nd orders who didn't know what to do.

The Political Storm-Clouds gather in California (1978-1982)

It is worth reminding you that the initial anti-monotheism of Neo-Paganism of the early 70s never prevented non-Pagans from participating or (potentially) leading an NRDNA grove except possibly in Isaac's grove or the Hassidic DNA of St. Louis. It's also worth mentioning again that many in the NRDNA groves were a long ways from solely relying upon Celtic sources.²⁵² Isaac had many other complaints, primarily organizational and they will be dealt with in the next Chapter of the Epistle.

What seemed on paper to be a rather thriving Druid community was already changing in 1979, a time when Isaac Bonewits left on a two year sabbatical and left Joan and Stefan in charge of the Mother Grove (which they quickly renamed the Berkeley grove again). The late 70's and early 80s was a time when inflation was hurting everybody's budget and most of the groves in California's later NRDNA and SDNA folded soon between 1979 and 1982. The Twin City Acorn Grove, St. Louis Arch Grove (HDNA), San Diego Tuatha Grove and Clan na Brocheta groves had already collapsed, within four years of their foundings.²⁵³ As mentioned before, most Neo-Pagans and Druids ran on a rather tight budget and the cost of getting groves together became increasingly not worth it. Without the devoted net-working of Isaac, these groups slipped out of touch and later quietly passed away as they would have anyway, but without any noisy fanfare. This left the Berkeley Live Oak Grove, Los Angeles and Olympia Washington's Evergreen Grove and Greenwood Grove in the roll of active groves. All were pretty distant from each other and therefore unlikely to communicate too much during a time which was called "The Boring Times."²⁵⁴

The Death March on the Beach²⁵⁵ Fall 1981

Joan had run the Berkeley Grove as a co-ArchDruid from 1977-79 with Isaac and then as ArchDruid from 1979-1981 with a little help from Stefan McCaully. It appears that the Grove was running happily when Isaac returned in September 1981 and wished to regain his role as "ArchDruid Emeritus"²⁵⁶ of Berkeley. The election for Berkeley officers was held after a particularly unsuccessful ritual, in which Joan endlessly led the grove up and down a long beach looking for a good ritual site while Druids collapsed from fatigue, anger and boredom.

Accounts vary greatly about what happened during the elections but Joan and Isaac were contesting the title of ArchDruid. It was a very tense and bitter election with Isaac promising drastic changes for Reformed Druidism if he was elected. The first vote split evenly 6 to 6, but a second vote was held and it came out 7 to 5, in favor of Isaac. Now, Joan felt that Isaac had betrayed them by changing his vote and had voted for himself instead of voting for the other opponent, as was the tradition. Whether this is true or not; a lot of bad blood and anger was raised amongst the Berkeleyites.

Joan, Stefan and Emmon split off from Isaac's Berkeley Grove (which promptly became "The SDNA Mother Grove" again) and formed the Live Oak Grove, also in Berkeley (later in Orinda). The Live Oak Grove of the NRDNA felt that Isaac's reforms were taking the Druids too far from what the initial Founders had planned it, a "Dis-organized Religion."²⁵⁷ Live Oak Grove lasted for many years under Joan, then Emmon's Archdruidship publishing *The Druid Missalany* newsletter and it even incorporated for a few years before dissolving. Greenwood Grove of Seattle and Hazelnut Grove remained staunchly independent of any association with the Mother Grove of Berkeley and are very active up to this day. Interestingly, the current NRDNA groves are far closer to the original RDNA liturgical format and customs than the present Carleton Druids.

Chapter Six:

Return of Reformed Druidism 1982-1996 The Post-Isaac Years

Return of Carleton Druidism (1982-1994)

The 1982-5 revival, under the help of the Frangquists and Sheltons, was weakened by three overly academic Third Orders who couldn't keep up a Grove and still pass Senior Comprehensive Exercises.²⁵⁸ Very little was done in these years. In 1983, Meg Ross & a friend brought three first-year women into the First Order before they themselves graduated. One of these women was Alice Cascorbi.

In 1985 there was a group of people on campus who were very interested in feminist spirituality, Neo-Paganism and Dakota religion. They formed a group called Pagan Studies, which got official CSA funding, and brought Selena Fox of Circle Sanctuary over from Madison Wisconsin as a guest speaker on Wicca. The presentation went very well, and Selena was having dinner with some students when Koester (a Carleton student with a nature bent) mentioned that Carleton used to have its own form of Neo-Paganism called the Druids. When Selena asked if there were any still left, they all said no, but Alice Cascorbi stood up and said "Wait a minute, I'm a Druid." Everybody got very excited and an old copy of *Druid Chronicles (Evolved)* was dragged out and Pagan Studies renamed themselves The Carleton Druids.

They never stayed too close to the original Order of Worship and would often experiment with sweatlodges and Wiccan rites. Influence from Shelton and Bonewits lay mostly (respectively) in the *Druid Literature of the Green Book of Meditation* and the *Druid Chronicles (Evolved)*. Although the *Druid Archives* were available to them, only a handful took any interest in the older debates, because they had more interesting things to study. The continuity of the Second and Third Order had been officially broken and they couldn't get it reestablished officially. However, many vigiled on their own and considered it just as good. This eclectic mix of Neo-Paganism, Wicca, Native American religion, Unitarianism into Carleton Druidism lasted with a more or less anarchic leadership until 1990 when most of the Revivalists had graduated or had gone inactive, leaving a confused system to the few young members who were their successors.²⁵⁹

Andrea Davis kept the grove going for a while on her own, despite burnout, with the help of Catalyst spirituality club; I began my Reconstruction program in Winter 1992. Not having much personal interest in Wicca, I acquired a fondness for the older styles of Reformed Druidism. I located Shelton and was ordained into the Third Order and began to provide a feeling of heritage in the grove, while allowing a great deal of freedom and mobility for members to do as they like. I've ordained over eight people to the Third Order since, including several past Carleton Druids, and reopened contact with the Council and other NRDNA groves in the USA.

The International Druid Archives has amassed a wealth of diverse opinions about Reformed Druidism and other varieties of Druidism in the world. The last of my projects was to produce and publish *A Reformed Druid Anthology*, which I hope will invite more historical studies among Druids and the general Academic world. I intend to put all this gathered information onto a WWW web-site for the public to access and read. I hope these two projects will provide future ArchDruids and grove members with an understanding of the incredible diversity and a fervency of beliefs that can celebrate together without rancor. I expect Druidism at Carleton and the country to rise and fall for decades. It remains to be seen what will happen next.²⁶⁰

Other Druids Off-shoots in the 1980s

Under the baneful existence of Reagan²⁶¹ and Bush, many Neo-Pagan groups withered under the conservative backlash. ADF experienced various schisms from members seeking their own Druidism

in a different way from Isaac, the most significant of which was the Henge of Keltria. But currently in the Reform, the Greenwood Grove, Live Oak/Hazelnut and Birch groves of the NRDNA have survived in various forms through the 80s and are relatively stable. In fact most of them are thriving at the time of this writing. More details on the histories of these groups must await further collections of material and more interviews. The significant point is that the NRDNA did not require Isaac's organizing reforms to in order to continue to survive or to spring up in new forms. In fact the Bay Area is now seeing a number of new groves.²⁶²



Chapter Seven: The Conclusion to the Paper

I hope that my rather long Epistle has helped to disperse some of the possible myths and misconceptions fostered by common assumptions of the term “Druids” and those printed by previous researchers (see appendix D& E). Primary among those myths that I hope to have dispelled are the assumptions of inapplicability of Reformed Druidism to monotheistic faiths or with Neo-Paganism. Similarly I hope the reader no longer associates the RDNA solely with Celtic forms or previous forms of Druidism, nor believes the often printed inevitability of becoming “organized,” the overwhelming leadership status of Isaac Bonewits, the idea that humor is incompatible with religion and realizes the problems inherent with researching Reformed Druidism from a sole reliance on Isaac Bonewits or published sources (*including this one!*).

I welcome responses and corrections, but remember in the end that this is my own view of Reformed Druidism and it is but one way, yea, one way among many to understand its chaotic history. Further studies by NRDNA members will probably paint a very different understanding, especially by a researcher more familiar with the background of Neo-Paganism than I am. I hope this paper will act as a guide and reminded us of the many issues discussed and the many independent solutions we applied to the problem of how to be Druids.

Go with my blessing and I thank you for spending the time to read and think about my words.

Master Druid: Tell me, student, what do you believe?

Dumb One: I believe what I believe, Master.

Master Druid: You have learned well.

Concluding Reminder

In case you've forgotten, this is a very unofficial history and it presents the RDNA in a far-too organized light. Many (if not most) other Reformed Druids will probably disagree with me on many of my interpretations. Let my ideas be considered as my own personal opinion and do not interpret them as a decisive statement in your further studies of Reformed Druidism. I recommend a closer inspection of the original documents and interviews before tentatively accepting my personal interpretations.

Appendix A: The Formation of Ár nDraiocht Fein

It is not my purpose here to give a detailed, complete history of the ADF, which could only come from a collaboration of several inner-members who would be intimately familiar with the development of events and people of the ADF. I can only hope to show some of the relationships and similarities/dissimilarities that exist between ADF and the N/RDNA. To do so will require that I talk a lot about Isaac, because of his major influence in both ADF and in the later NRDNA, which makes him a good focal point for discussion of cross-overs and carryovers between the two groups. Also, because the focus of this epistle is the history of Reformed Druidism, most of the discussion of ADF will be in relation to the N/RDNA instead of with the Neo-Pagan community. It was to the Neo-Pagan community which was the major audience to which ADF catered to. The history of Neo-Pagan organizational attempts and ADF's role in debating and exploring Neo-Pagan issues will have to be written by another person.

The reason for Isaac's prominence in the history of the RDNA was his penchant for trying to put order and stability into the organizational structure of Reformed Druidism. Empire builders have always attracted the lion's share of attention from the historians, more so than the simpler history of those who are conquered. Isaac also printed/published a lot of letters and magazines on the debates which have survived to produce a historical record naturally inclined to favor/emphasize his role. Whereas many of the terms and/or structures now used in ADF originally were used in the NRDNA; such as proto-grove, council of ArchDruids/senior druids and others; most of them disappeared from prominence and general use in the NRDNA after Isaac's departure. In effect, they went with him to be used with a new group that was better oriented and appreciative of their potential applicability. While Reformed Druidism was not quite chaos or anarchy incarnated, I like the image of ADF emerging from Reformed Druidism just as Order emerges from Chaos in the genesis myths of many religions.

The Beginnings of Ár nDraiocht Féin (ADF) (Dec. 1981)

During Isaac's sabbatical from 1979 to 1981, he was putting together the foundations for a new Druid Organization that would be more stable, legally-recognizable and coherent than the "anarchy" and "ridiculous egalitarianism" of the RDNA and NRDNA. The major problem with the Reformed Druids, in Isaac's & other's eyes, was its obstinate refusal to allocate power to the leaders and its having a system that defeated any "official" attempt to improve the coherency and/or functionality into a national organization. Isaac's liturgical or organizational changes from scholarly study of Celtic and/or Proto-Indo-European cultures would forever contend with the RDNA's multiple (and possibly more enticing) systems of beliefs from around the world and from the members' own devising. The RDNA, as a whole, would never resemble authentic, historical Druidism.

At best, Isaac could have formed and shaped one Reformed Druid grove in his vision and slowly founded others. However, each member of those new groves would be constantly reminded by the Druid Chronicles and Reformed Druid correspondence that they could do anything and still be a Reformed Druid, regardless of what Isaac or any pseudo-governing body said to them. It was like sand slipping out of Isaac's fingers or King Canute trying to stop the tides. The RDNA and NRDNA would always be a loose federation of autonomous groves operating in effective isolation; never a complex national organization.

I don't mean to imply that Isaac wished to control people's lives

(he may have, but I don't know that), but that he wished to create a functional organization that would reciprocate and appreciate his (and other's) interests and suggestions. He wanted a group that would unearth the lost ways and beliefs of the Proto-Indo-European religion, keep itself from lapsing into decrepitude and be able to share that knowledge with the world. He wanted a group that he could be sure would be around 30 years from now. For Isaac to have continued to convert Reformed Druidism into that tool would have been like using a fingernail-clipper to hammer in a nail.

One thing is for sure, Isaac gave it the best attempt possible. After all there were many potential recruits within Reformed Druidism and a some did join him in his new projects; but for the most part, he left the Reformed Druid organization that he had so carefully maintained and it slowly decayed into happy, anarchic simplicity. In fact, it is still happily decaying; with occasional growth spurts. As for Isaac, he was to develop new alliances and friendships with people even more like himself.

Reasons for Isaac's "leaving" Reformed Druidism

Why did Isaac "leave?"²⁶³ Legal status had a lot to do with why Isaac left; and respect for the group's concerns makes up the rest. One of the many weakness of the Neo-Pagan movement was the fact that most of them were not recognized as religious organizations and/or lacked the respect that "established" religions had. As a result it was easy for the oppressors of Neo-Paganism to downplay the convictions of these tiny groups and mis-present them as "cults." Isaac had had his fill of this bias in the courts, when he was running the Aquarian Anti-Defamation League in the mid-70s. Isaac wanted a Neo-Pagan religious group that could appear to function as smoothly and bureaucratically as the "big boys," preferably a Druidic group, and yet still retain the spontaneity and personal freedom of Neo-Paganism. He wanted a group that could act as a role-model for other Neo-Pagans and/or as an umbrella organization for other Celtic/Druidic groups with similar goals. Reformed Druidism was definitely ecumenical enough for his goal, but perhaps a bit too disorganized. Despite full-hearted attempts to "correct" them, the Reformed Druids proved to be incapable of meeting certain standards that he felt were necessary for achieving the nebulous (but vitally important) definitional status of a "stable religious organization."

On casual observation, there would seem to be no carry-overs from Reformed Druidism to ADF except the title "Druid," the Waters-of-Life, the Druid Sigil and Isaac himself; but a more careful examination proves otherwise. Without his experiences in the "anarchic" RDNA, he would have probably made many (more) blunders in setting up a group formed in the way that he wished. In a sense the RDNA provided a very accurate model for what Isaac wished to avoid in his new group and also what he did want included in his new group. I recommend a close study of the ADF for those curious about the RDNA, because what the ADF **did** do sheds a lot of light on what the RDNA **couldn't (or wouldn't)** do. Isaac (and others) was familiar from his past experiences (with AADL and Pentalpha) with the criteria needed for a religion to be considered "respectable" in a court of law. These "failures" on the part of the RDNA, and similar Neo-Pagan anarchic groups, were carefully "corrected" when planning the new Druid Organization; and they were primarily:

1. Stable, effective, strong central organization.
2. Effective Clergy training and the controlled appointment of Leadership
3. "Defrocking" and "excommunication"
4. Concerted unity in court cases
5. Financial stability.
6. Capability of steady expansion without lessening central power.
7. Official dogma and an ability to speak for a group and make official alliances.

8. Willingness to ally exclusively to Neo-Paganism.
9. Willingness to adapt and change to accommodate scholarly facts on Indo-Euro religion
10. Respect for the group's goals.

All of these goals are carefully tied into each other, with one leading string leading to another. We shall therefore start with one of these strings in the Gordian Knot.

1. Stable, Effective, Strong Central Organization

Despite Isaac's attempts at removing chairmanship of the Council of Dalon Ap Landu from Carleton and later a Provisional Council of Archdruids; most of the Reformed Druids (including the NRDNA) were still allied to the Council of Dalon Ap Landu as governed by Carleton. Because of Carleton's rapid and total membership turnover and eternally young Archdruids (always under 23 years old); there was little hope of "mature" and bureaucratically competent leadership for the Council. Besides this, the Carleton Archdruid (and a major chunk of the Carleton alumni members of the Council) was, for a long time, poorly cognizant of the religious beliefs and needs of the Neo-Pagan members of the Reformed Druids living on the West Coast and elsewhere.

One of the first things Isaac did was to become life-long, supreme Archdruid of the whole ADF organization.²⁶⁴ As you can read in the ADF By-laws in the Part Four of ARDA, the Archdruid was given rather extensive powers for the appointment of bureaucrats, to influence legislation and to veto or to remove problems. The office of Archdruid becomes accountable to electionary influence beginning with his successor, but Isaac is sure to massively influence the formative years of the group's history. As you can further read, there are elected positions to the legislative offices; the ability to vote is not a right of office like in the RDNA priesthood, it's a privilege granted to the general members (except when some are selected as in the board of Trustees). This privilege is not only granted, but it's effectiveness increases with the length of time you stay active in legislation; no more sitting back and occasionally vetoing every 10 years or so. Every year in consistent attendance at legislating increased the number of votes you could cast; which implies that experience in ADF affairs makes you a more competent voter than a new-comer. This position has its advantages and drawbacks, of course.

Furthermore in the voting on issues affecting all groves, the decisions are made by quorums, not unanimity like in the RDNA. The wishes of the majority override those of the minority. In the RDNA, the rules affecting the entire collective of groves which were passed by the unanimity of the Third Orders were effective on the non-thirds; the custom of a groves' constitution were by quorums. That small change from unanimity to quorum on the organizational level makes all the changes possible for ADF to travel a different fate from the RDNA. The ADF can change more easily on the total-organizational level than the RDNA; which in all reality could only change on the Grove-level. If Isaac could have changed that one tradition of unanimity in the RDNA, he could have stayed in the RDNA and slowly transformed it into the ADF. Needless to say, this was one of the things the RDNA and NRDNA were most reluctant to change.

Once that single change was made, it naturally follows to allocate the collective power and *endorsing capability* of the group by appointing bodies of member like Boards of Trustees, Councils of Lore and Advisory Councils. I do not wish to go into the deep checks-and-balances of his group. The critical change from the RDNA had already been made and it would be belaboring the point to describe further deviations from the organized anarchy of the RDNA's structure. In effect, he had created a constitutional monarchy, as he will freely admit, much like Britain's government which blends autocracy and representation democracy.

2. Effective clergy training and appointment of leaders

Once the issue of legislating by the majority's wishes had been conceded (i.e. that people need to be instructed and led by the (hopefully) better-informed-majority's wishes), the next issue to deal with was appointing good leaders to avoid tyranny and promote the group's goals. The placement of term-of-office limits helps greatly, so is the need for election, but some power is always taken away from the individuals. Unlike secular authorities, religious authorities (excepting Cults) can not hope to "control" the lives of its members—if the congregation member does not wish to be controlled. There is always the option of quitting, both in ADF and/or mainstream religions.

The RDNA is not entirely "innocent" of the danger of Priests potentially dominating the religious congregation, because the Third Order could technically impose oppressive dogma, but the tradition of unanimity hinders such possible imposition on an organizational level, although it could easily happen on the local level. Such an event could occur by the RDNA's priest being given greater powers in the grove's constitution or by "levering" techniques, like the decision of the Archdruid or any priest refusing to grant initiation or refusing to hold services. That method is only currently restricted by the tradition to initiate any who comes forward and asks for initiation. No special knowledge or conditions were required of the initiate, it was on the honor system, if you felt ready then you were ready. So in effect the RDNA had no control or educational requirement on who became its leaders (i.e. the Third Order) and no need to worry, because the Third Order had no real, effective power or authority to wield. It was very cleverly planned that way. In fact within the RDNA, many priests tell me that the aspirants to and attainers of the Third Order could very well themselves be considered failures at Druidism, because they seek to take part in "organization."

The RDNA's system would not satisfy the ADF, which wished a clergy that could be like the "mainstream" religions with equally well "trained" clergy. A well-educated clergy would go a long way in currying respect from monotheistic clerical faiths. Indeed, one of the cornerstones of the ADF is its seminary program, which is quite impressively organized on paper in comparison with other Neo-Pagan systems currently out there. It is designed to produce a group of informed, "liberal arts-ish" trained clergy by the end of its 13 track program. Each of the 13 tracks is a different area of learning including:

1. Physical Health and Survival, 2. Therapy and Counseling, 3. Communication, 4. Magic and Divination, 5. History and Social Sciences, 6. Natural Sciences, 7. Movement awareness and Discipline, 8. Artistic and Bardic Skills, 9. Drama and Liturgy, 10. Philosophy and Scholarship, 11. Comparative Religion and Mythology, 12. Mysticism and Altered States of Consciousness, 13. Human Services Administration. Each track has five degrees/levels of increasing "competence" in that area of knowledge, called "circles." When a candidate has read/studied/practiced the suggested materials in that track, and wishes to be accredited for completing a "circle," they take a test/exam/demonstration to show competency. When one has completed 1st Circle competency in each of the thirteen tracks, one becomes a full second circle ADF druid. It is, of course, quite possible to be third circle competent in History while lagging behind in 1st circle with the other 12 tracks, in which case you'd still be a 1st circle Druid. However, the minimum competency to be a priest in the ADF is to have completed the 2nd circle competency requirements in each track and therefore be working on (at least) the 3rd circle competency for each of the thirteen tracks. The image is of circles within circles (like rings in a tree) with greater proven competency allowing further progression to more inner circles; and correspondingly greater responsibilities and power. A 3rd circle status is roughly equivalent to a B.A., a 4th circle to a M.A. and a 5th circle to a Ph.D. It is interesting to note that the circle-status does not affect, at least now, the right to fill the roles of offices of the Mother Grove's administration or the local roles. This is in itself very interesting. This is coupled with the fact that no one need be in the seminary program

to be an ADF member, participation in the seminary program (although encouraged, at least for self-development) is purely optional.

3. Ability to Defrock and Excommunicate

Closely allied with its clerical training program was ADF's desire to remove troublesome members from its priesthood and general membership, when the necessity arises. Defrocking and excommunication are traditional methods used by Organized Religions to maintain a group's definitional identity when all other forms of persuasion have failed. They are used to protect the group from the development of serious factionalization (though it doesn't always work).

In the RDNA there was **no** known method for defrocking or excommunication officially available. Any action would have to be done by an "unofficial" shunning of the problematic person; i.e. not going to that Priest's rituals or everybody just avoiding that person. However, "officially," that person would still be entitled to retain their RDNA "priesthood" and "order of achievement." If they were already a 3rd Order they could still officially found a new RDNA grove, even if they were considered to be demon-spawn. This defect never actually caused a real problem to the RDNA, but it was a potentially devastating problem in Isaac's eyes. Hypothetically, what if someone came into the ADF grove with a bunch of really strange, dangerous ideas and/or seriously broke the U.S. law? Without excommunication, there would be no way for ADF to dis-avow the group's connection with that person except to say that each person was following their own way and no one can speak for the beliefs of others in the group. That might work for the RDNA, but not for ADF which had a destiny to preserve. It was far better, in Isaac's eyes, to remove any group connections with that person by "defrocking" them and excommunicating them.

The RDNA tried not to worry enough about the group's survival to forget the rights of the individual. The ADF is self-consciously establishing a right for the group to survive and it's an interesting choice of potential priorities. This has the advantage of not having to start from scratch with one's Public Relations after a scandal, assuming one is concerned about Public Relations.

Each ADF grove has to toe the line with new national changes or it will lose the benefits of participation in the national group. These include a loss of ADF allegiance status (which implies a "loss of name and identity" of that group), a loss of legal protection and supportive advice and/or moneys from the central powers-that-be.

4. Concerted unity in court cases: EXPAND

ADF wants to legally protect and empower its members to practice and publicly-affirm their religious beliefs. One of the main reasons that people joined the ADF is for a legal status for their church. It is expensive, paper-consuming and difficult for each small group to independently obtain/maintain/prove all the requirements of a religious organization in the eyes of the IRS and the public Courts. It is far cheaper for one group (i.e. the ADF Mother Grove—consisting of all the officers of the organization) to attain religious organizational status and then give out franchises to the individual groves that are sort of huddling under its umbrella. Thereby the poorer groves/members have a better shot of gaining a victory in the courts.

In the RDNA, the original Carleton Grove *could* have performed all of these legal tasks for itself; however expansion soon exposed a problem to a possible extension of legal protection: deep-seated apathy towards making themselves appear organized enough to survive an "inspection" by the government. The unusual precedent/exception to this was the Smiley incident; whereupon a few members of the Council backed-up a member currently active in a Grove distinct from the Carleton Grove. The reason such legal protection was not possible in the RDNA was because nobody wanted to pay membership fees that would pay the costs of such concerted legal action. Each new grove meant more people for the already over-burdened

Archdruid of Carleton; who was trying to survive a rigorous educational program and maintain a national organization. The fraternal aid in the Smiley case was relatively cheap (mere postage costs) and was therefore feasible; hiring a lawyer for Smiley on RDNA funds would have been impossible. Smiley would have had to hire his own lawyer to defend his religious beliefs, with testimonial backing from the other Council members. Isaac didn't want the little ADF guy out there on his/her own.

Isaac was familiar, from his association with AADL, that court cases are a possible hazard for any Neo-Pagan organization. There had to be a clear representative of the organization to arrange a defense (or mount a prosecution). A representative for the group was necessary for the group in legal cases and for flushing out frauds from the group. In 1989, ADF worked in conjunction with other Neo-Pagan groups to expose the nefarious activities of the Divine Circle of the Sacred Grove. DCSCG's leader was misrepresenting herself as having 3rd circle ADF credentials.

5. Financial Stability

Paying for the costs of running the bureaucracy, legal aid in court cases, educational grading of the seminary tracks and to publish/mail periodicals or the new by-laws for the organization costs money. Lots of money. With money comes the threat of corruption, which requires more bureaucracy to self-police itself. You see the viscous cycle now. However, financial compensation for such activities prevents financial "burnout" by goodwill supporters.

The RDNA has never had much to do with enforcing money collection. A tradition of passing the hat was the best method they came up with. The one rule regarding money was that it was required for all Third Order Druids to pay compensation for the postage of the up-date (or "State of the Grove") mailings that the Archdruid of Carleton sent out upon retiring. If people wanted it, they paid for it; and if they didn't want it, they didn't pay for it. It should be noted that this practice is common among Neo-Pagan groups. It will be interesting to see how direct financial support from Carleton College will affect the internal dynamics of the Druids.

Isaac was presenting a valid gripe that it costs money to run an organization within the N/RDNA and that he was tired of paying for all of it; however many did not wish the organization and so they didn't pay. The arguments on both sides have many pros and cons which the reader can argue out for her/himself.

The result was that Isaac required membership dues on both individual membership **and a due for the groves themselves to be franchised.**(???) There was considerable debate but it has passed, and no one has gotten rich off it, so it seems to be working out. It is the hope of ADF to have its clergy's efforts compensated with money/services in the future.

6. Capability of steady expansion without lessening central power/importance

It is inevitable, that the physical distance between people will weaken the bond of friendship/allegiance. Distance is not so potent a force of division today as it used to be because of technological achievements that make mass-communication cheaper and easier to access. Photocopy machines, computer publishing, multi-line phone communication and e-mail have greatly improved the organizational skills of smaller dispersed organizations.

The RDNA's apparent apathy (or respect for autonomy) towards its other groves and suspicion of the motives of organized religions, inhibited any initiative towards central government. While many Reformed Druids were happy at the founding of new Groves, and might even offer friendly advice if asked for it, they kept a respectful distance from involvement. The center of attention for each grove, or solitary Druid, was itself. The NRDNA of the Bay Area was blessed (cursed?) with lots of groves within a close geo-physical distance so

that physical visits were practical and intergrove-relations & shared rituals were common; permitting shared goals and activities that could breach autonomic tendencies. The "Mother Grove" newsletter of the SDNA and various succeeding magazines disseminated coordinating news and discussed issues important to various members.

The ADF was begun with the intention of operating on both the local level **and** the National level from the beginning. ADF was ready to be a really big family and several devices from Isaac's NRDNA days were used to foster a national level of group-unity. The most obvious is the Annual ADF festival, usually held in conjunction with other groups for cost/fun reasons, in which ADF issues are debated and voted upon. Elections for some offices are also held and just plain physical meetings between members is made possible so that trans-grove friendship are made more possible. For those not able to attend the meetings for financial or obligatory reasons, electronic communication or proxy voting are now possible. Most of the Mother Grove's councils meet on a more frequent and regular basis (in person, proxy or electronically) to snip problems in the bud.

This sense of inter-Grove connections is increased by a Council of Senior Druids. A Senior Druid of the ADF is in a job similar to that of an Arch-Druid of the N/RDNA; s/he's in charge of leading a grove's rituals and is technically the leader. They are called Senior Druids because there can only be **one** Archdruid in ADF at a time; which is more historically correct (at least in Gaul/France, where the only mention of the title existed). The Council of Senior Druids' purpose of establishing inter-communication between the Grove's leaders is identical to the original purpose of the Provisional Council of Archdruids in Reformed Druidism; including making some general statements and minor legislation (most of which was never officially completed in the N/RDNA).

The "Druid's Progress" is the national journal of ADF and brings the academic, liturgical and artistic achievements of far-spread grove members together for display and shared knowledge. In some aspects, DP's importance has decreased as local newsletters grow among Groves, but DP will probably remain for those seeking a wider audience. "The News from the Mother Grove" acts to disseminate business mews of the ADF organization and share addresses/locations of officers and groves. The role of a central journal and a more frequent newsletter holding together a group is a general phenomenon of Neo-Paganism and it was preceded in the N/RDNA by the Druid Chronicle and Penta-Alpha magazines also begun by Isaac Bonewits (and others). Local grove publications are exchanged between groves for a similar purpose.

Traveling visits by the Archdruid, usually while going to present a lecture at a nearby convention, are another method of keeping abreast of local development of the many groves in the ADF. However, in recent years, these tours have declined due to Isaac's failing health. ADF groves are also encouraged to visit neighboring groves once in a while, when possible.

The last area of intergrove activity would be on computer bulletin board conferences, such as America On-Line & Prodigy. The cheap, instant communication that this provides for isolated solitary members may be enough to swell ADF's ranks, and advertise it more widely.

7. Official dogma and ability to speak for a group and thereby make alliances

As we've stated before, because the Council of Dalon ap Landu was likely to deadlock on a decisive vote of support for any issue, the individual RDNA member was officially incapable of speaking for the group, being appointed to act as its ambassador, or making an alliance of between the entire RDNA organization and other groups. They could "pretend" to do such things or act informally on the wishes of individuals, but could not represent the RDNA as a whole. This weakened the RDNA's potential "clout" as an organization, since it has trouble sending group-wide ambassadors, making alliances or being represented in court.

ADF, in contrast, has frequently sent ambassadors to religious conventions, set up public relations committees, produced official literature, appointed lawyers and done everything necessary to define itself as a recognizable entity.

8. Willingness to ally exclusively to Neo-Paganism.

Now the Carleton RDNA and it's RDNA offshoots were generally open to the public in a cautious manner, mainly as a result of its exploration of world religions which, if a bit odd (Asian, Atheism and Middle-Eastern), were not met with as much suspicion as Occultism and Wicca. The truth was, the RDNA and NRDNA (as a whole) weren't too picky about where they looked to find religious truth; and Neo-Paganism was merely one option among hundreds of possibilities. While the NRDNA steadily grew to have a preference for Neo-Pagan members and inspiration, it was like the RDNA in that it was never exclusionary towards non-pagans. All were welcome, pending good behavior, even into the Third Order or higher! However, Isaac's SDNA (and the HDNA subset) was very clear in its Neo-Pagan allegiance, especially in the criteria needed for entry into the Third Order.

Isaac's attitude carried over into the ADF, where one must pledge to be a Neo-Pagan/Wiccan/etc.(preferably polytheistic instead of duotheistic or even feminine monotheistic) to fulfill any "official" leadership in the organization. He wanted the ADF to be squarely in the camp of Neo-Paganism. Members partaking in the Study tracks who wished to be accredited as clergy (and not just studying for the enjoyment) would also have to ally to Neo-Paganism. While this requirement was nothing to most of its prospective members, it was a definite inegalitarian (non-pagans aren't welcome and certain types of Pagans were only cautiously accepted), and while no tears will be shed by ADF over it, it is one of the greatest changes from the RDNA. However, as far as the Neo-Pagan Community was concerned, ADF was a very ecumenical religious organization indeed. One interesting custom of the ADF was to allow its own members to practice in other Neo-Pagan religions at the same time.

9. Willingness to change to accommodate scholarly facts on Indo-European religion.

Closely linked with point 8 is ADF's choice of which cultures were to be the official inspiration of the group. The RDNA had shown from it's very founding year, with the debate over choosing what to sacrifice, that it wasn't going to change it's organization to meet historical realities of the ancient Druids. The NRDNA groves under Larson and Bonewits and a few other Archdruids were more willing to model the liturgies, songs and officers to match the known historical facts from one or two ancient religions (including Norse, Celtic and paleo-Hebraic religion), but they usually remained close to the Order of Worship's general plan. Despite some specialization, members within those groves continued to draw upon diverse sources of inspiration.

ADF was founded to research and recreate the original religion of the ancestors of the Indo-European family-tree. ADF was dealing with a pretty broad selection of cultures to work backwards from; including Celtic, Scando-Germanic, pre-classical Greco-Roman, Slavic, ancient Hindu, etc. (and a specially permitted addition, Native American). Truly diverse, but it is still exclusionary of many African-originated religions, Eastern Asian religion, Greco-Roman, Islamic, Meso-Pagan and Judeo-Christianity, not to mention Modern Wicca and Science-Fiction inspired cultures. The ADF is not racist, but they wish to retain a focus. Members are welcome to practice privately any religion they wish and learn from whatever source they wish, but for the purpose of official public ADF rituals only materials pertaining to Indo-European cultures will be considered relevant.

10. Respect for the group's goals

A kind of catch-all conclusion, but it is a point that underlies all of the previous 9 points. The RDNA had a respectful wariness and

Appendix B: ADF's Spin-off Organizations

suspicion about a religious group taking upon itself more tasks, powers of coercion, dogma, sanctity and self-importance than was safe/helpful for the rights/purposes of the individual to be able to pursue and express their religious truth with their siblings. From this stems the Reformed Druid penchant for "anarchy" (as it is called in some people's opinions).

While a certain amount of humor and self-mocking has and will continue in the ADF, it has set forward serious goals that it hopes to accomplish—as a group.

Carryovers from the Reformed Druids

It's hard to say what Isaac borrowed from the RDNA since many of the organizational structures that carried over from it were devised by himself in the first place. But, assuming that he devised these ideas and implemented them with the help of other Reformed Druids, they can be said to belong in part to Reformed Druidism.

By far, the most apparent carryover was the symbol of Reformed Druidism itself, the Druid Sigil. Perhaps not so significant to the general reader, but I consider it a powerful identifying symbol of shared siblinghood between ADF and Reformed Druidism, sort of like South Carolina and Nebraska both having the US flag flying in front of their public schools. The Druid Sigil was expanded from its merely RDNA-affiliation into a grander role as a symbol of Druidism in general. This importance as a pan-Druidical banner was increased further by the Henge of Keltria's adoption of the Druid Sigil as one of its symbols of identification.

ADF also adopted a unique symbol for its own. It looks like a stump which has axe-marks upon it and one small oak branch growing anew from it. Each year they enlarge the branch, adding more leaves and girth. The roots of the symbol are knotted in a Celtic interlace and symbolize how Celtic Druidry has its roots in a pan-indo-european form of religion.²⁶⁵

The Waters of Life and some of the questions of the Catechism of the Waters is the only noticeable liturgical carryover from the Reform. The initial services of ADF were very similar to the Order of Worship, but with succeeding years, more and more elements disappear until only the waters remain. They meet outdoors in groves, when possible, like the Reform. The office of Preceptor in the ADF has no liturgical role and is a mere paper-pushing official now.

Conclusion

What Isaac had been doing was essentially overhauling the RDNA system so entirely that it was becoming unrecognizable. In fact, the last issue of *Druid Chronicler* (Dec. 1981) shows a blueprint for what would become the ADF organization. He and a few other NRDNA/SDNA members wanted a stable, legally recognized, hierarchical Neo-Pagan religion that would academically discover the original Indo-European religion by piecing together clues from different cultures. Within a year of the Death March, Isaac left Berkeley and renamed his vision "Ar nDriaocht Fein," which is Irish for "Our Own Druidism," to make it very clear that he had finally broken away from Reformed Druidism.

ADF was in all senses, a new organization. ADF has since developed an envied seminary training program, a rigid hierarchy based on merit not popularity, become a legal church and has been promoting more academically based liturgies and interaction with local communities for Neo-Paganism.²⁶⁶

The official leadership as ArchDruid of ADF was resigned by Isaac Bonewits on January 1st, 1996 c.e. due to health problems and due to his distaste for the restrictions that the office place upon his ability to freely speak his mind. The Arch-Druidcy is being temporarily held by Ian Corrigan until an election can be held during the Spring. Isaac wishes to spend more time on three of his book projects and with his family. I suspect that ADF will go off in strange new directions, hopefully for the best.

Just as ADF took the parts of the Reform it liked and left the rest, so too have groups split off from ADF to form new Druid Groups. Each group has adopted different influences and the connections may seem tenuous, but as Daniel Hansen says in his book, *American Druidism: A Guide to American Druid Groups*, we all live in America, we're all modern, we lack definitive links to Europe, and everybody lumps us together anyway. I like to think of all these Druid groups as part of the family of American Druidism.

The analogy is that the original RDNA is the parent; the NRDNA, SDNA, HDNA & ZDNA are its children; ADF is its grandchild; Shadowpath, Henge of Keltria, Druidactios, DCSG & Primitive Celtic Church are its great grandchildren; and American Druidic Church would be its great great grandchild. It should be remembered that like a family tree, the RDNA "blood" has a thinner concentration in each generation. But since the current Carleton Grove has had 28-33 successions of Archdruids, it may be fairer to call the current Carleton Grove to be a 31st Grandchild of the original grove and therefore something like a 23rd cousin of ADF (and a couple places removed)? Maybe the analogy doesn't work very well, eh?

I will describe each group rather briefly, because Daniel Hansen's book (see Appendix C, D & E) does the cataloguing job well enough so I will not have to duplicate his efforts. We have materials in the Druid Archives from these groups, which you are welcome to come and inspect.

Shadow Path Grove, mid 1980s

This was one of the first Druid Groups to break off from ADF in the mid 80s and their one grove hails from Connecticut. They broke off because they did not wish to have public rituals. They continue to use ADF ritual in private.

The Henge of Keltria, 1988

Keltria is by far the largest of the groups to break off from ADF, taking a good part of the mid-western ADF Druids with them in 1988 (and most of their membership & groves are still in the middle-US). Led initially by Patricia and Tony Taylor, they wished to stop ADF's pan-Indo-European focus and focus squarely (or is that triangularly?) upon Celtic Druidism, reduce the publicity of the group, start their own training program, have more responsible financing, and publish their a journal (called *Keltria*) on a regular time schedule (unlike ADF's erratic publishings). They made their headquarters in Minneapolis, which is interestingly only a short drive from Carleton. An initially strong Wiccan flavour has diminished over the years. The Henge of Keltria is almost the same size as ADF and both groups have a large overlap of membership. Keltria has kept the Druid Sigil and added the three rays of Awen also. Keltria has a five circle program similar to ADF, but with far less essay-writing.

Uxello-Druidactios, 1988

It is more difficult to understand how *Druidactios* is part of the American Druid family. *Druidactios* was founded by Tadhg MacCrossan (Tom Cross) in 1988 after a very short stint in ADF, to study its organizational patterns & literature. His well published book "The Sacred Cauldron: Secrets of the Druid" is considered to be a handbook for starting a *Druidactios* touta (grove). MacCrossan has spent most of the years since writing poisonpen letters about the deficiencies of other Druid Organizations; in particular that they are

"infected" with Neo-Pagan clap-trap and Wiccan influences. Most Druids classify Druidactios as "Meso-Pagan" (and it has many connections with the Continent), similar to the original RDNA in that the group does not consider itself pagan. The group is currently in the process of fragmenting into four new groups

Divine Circle of the Sacred Grove, 1991

This group has some nefarious elements, primarily Janette Copeland, and was trying to attract members to increase its profits. It attempted to use "A Druid Fellowship," which belongs to ADF, in its name but it quit in 1992. DCotSG then claimed phoney ADF credentials. The group came under tax-scrutiny and disappeared from the Twin City area. The remnants of the group formed a new group, The American Druidic Church.

American Druidic Church, 1992

Jay Tibbles and Patricia Fields made this new spin off from Divine Circle of Sacred Grove and have been relying heavily upon proffered help from ADF and OBOD (Order of Bards Ovates and Druids). They are currently working out their own customs, myths, newsletters and a training program.

Primitive Celtic Church, 1992

This grove, like Keltria, broke off to spend more time focusing upon the Celtic aspects of Druidism. Like the DCotSG, they also hail from the Seattle area where they operated a small grove of 4-8 people. One of their plans was to build a small Druidic village on some private land. Recent gossip claims that they have disbanded.

I predict that many more groups will splinter off of ADF during the late 90s. Here's a current address list of Druid Groups in America: All data is current as of March 1, 1995 c.e. If you are represented on this list, please check your listing carefully and send any additions, corrections and other pertinent information to our Chief Electronic Information Officer, Jaguar, via regular mail at Shining Lakes Grove, ADF, Box 15585, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-5585, U.S.A.; or via modem to the Shining Lakes Grove BBS (1-313-665-0552) or via the Internet to: kithoward@delphi.com

Note that email versions of this file will *not* have proper accent marks on non-English names, due to the limitations of ASCII text.

Central Addresses for Druidic Organizations

American Druidic Church – "ADC" – Jay & Patricia Tibbles, Box 2642, Fontana, CA 92334, U.S.A.
Aos Dana – "AD" – Fiona Davidson, Invergowrie House, Ninewells, Dundee, DD2 1UA, Scotland.
A'r nDraiocht Féin: A Druid Fellowship – "ADF" – Skip Ellison, Box 516, East Syracuse, NY 13057, U.S.A. Email: Skpellison@aol.com.
Bardic Order Group – "BOG" – Alex Gunningham, Flat 2, 20 The Common, Ealing, London, W5 3JB, England.
British Druid Order – "BDO" – Box 29, St. Leonards-on-Sea, East Sussex, TN37 7YP, England.
Council of British Druid Orders – "COBDO" – Elizabeth Murray, 76 Antrobus Road, London W4 5NQ, England.
Druid Clan of Dana – "DCD" – Lady Olivia Robertson, Clonagal Castle, Enniscorthy, Ireland.
Druuidica Comardia Eriutalamonos: Druidical Fellowship of the Western Land – "DCE" – M.G. Boutet, 32 Fourth Ave. South, Roxboro, PQ, H2I 3W3, Canada.
Ecole Druidique des Gaules – "EDG" – Bernard Jacquelin, Villa Montmorency 75016, Paris, 45 27 74 79, France.
Glastonbury Order of Druids – "GOD" – R. Maughfling & J. Pater-

son, Dove House, Barton-St. David, Somerset, TA11 6DF, England.

Henge of Keltria – "HK" – Tony Taylor, Box 33284, Minneapolis, MN 55433, U.S.A. Email: Keltria@aol.com
London Druid Group – "LDG" – Gordon Gentry, 74 Riversmeet, Hertford, SG14 1LE, England.
New Reformed Druids of North America – "NRDNA" – Stephen Abbott, Box 6775, San Jose, CA 95150, U.S.A.
Ollotouta Druidique des Gaules – "ODG" – Pierre de la Crau, B.P. 13, 93301, Aubervilliers, Cedex, France.
Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids – "OBOD" – Philip Carr-Gomm, Box 1333, Lewes, E. Sussex, BN7 32G, England. Email: Oaktreepress@eworld.com.
Reformed Druids of North America – "RDNA" – Current Archdruid, Carleton College, Northfield, MN 55057, U.S.A.

Local European Addresses for Druidic Organizations

Grove of the Four Elements, DCD; BM Grasshopper, London, WC1N 3XX.
Brigantia Grove, OBOD; Chris and Bill Worthington, Hall Croft, Worston Nr. Clitheroe, Lancs., BB71QA.
Derby Grove, OBOD; Bill Ramsbottom, 24 Stocker Avenue, Alvaston, Derby, DE2 0QS
Northumbrian Grove, OBOD; Dave & Kate Tully, 2 Bonchester Pl., Eastfield Grange, Cramlington, Northumberland, NE23 9SQ.
Grove of Sinaan, DCD; Chris & Lawrence, Teach Shinanna, Sean Rath, Keshkarrigan, Co. Leitrim, Ireland.
Western Lowland Grove, OBOD; Jan & Wilma Borchers, V. Brakelstr. 15, Den Haag, 2518 VV, Netherlands.
Silurian Grove, OBOD; Cheryl Summers, 17 Castle Street, Cwmparc, Rhondda, Mid Glamorgan, Wales.

Local North American Addresses for Druidic Organizations

Note: "SD" – Senior Druid, "GO" – Grove Organizer, "Adr." – Archdruid
Crystal Springs Grove, HK c/o Gwion Bach, 15 Hazel Ave., Amherst, MA 01002
Gárran na bPréacháin Naomh: Grove of the Sacred Crows, A.D.F. SD: Gwynne Green, Box 388, East Bridgewater, MA 02333
Internet: pdg@nutter.com or wl-gwynne-adf@society.com
World Tree Grove, A.D.F. SD: Paul Maurice, Box 10036, Cranston, RI 02910 Internet: Deborah_Kest@brownvm.brown.edu
Gárran Slat Glas: Green Wand Grove, A.D.F. SD: Ragnar Arneson, Box 27, Goffstown, NH 03045 Internet: manra@tec.nh.us
Birch Grove, N.R.D.N.A. Adr. Joan Carruth, 18 Parker St., Winchester, NH 03470
Grove of the Ancient Green Mountains SD Mischa Wolfgang, Box 5862, Burlington, VT 05401
Green Man Grove, A.D.F. SD: Veronica Skowronsky, Box 3495, Jersey City, NJ 07303 Internet: 76042.55@compuserve.com (Alice Farrell)
Bergen/Rockland Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Isaac Bonewits, Box 72, Dumont, NJ 07628 Voice phone: 1-800-DRUIDRY Internet: Ibonewits@aol.com or I.BONEWITS@genie.com
Segomarus Ategnatos, D.C.E. President, 58 Orchard Lane, Staten Island, NY 10312-6161
Avalon of Riverdale Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Nancy Thalblum, Box 358, Bronx, NY 10463 Internet: Archer42@aol.com or archer42@access.digex.net
Muin Mound Grove, A.D.F. SD: Skip Ellison, Box 592, East Syracuse, NY 13057 Internet: Skpellison@aol.com

Brushwood Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Frank Barney, #1 Bailey Hill Rd., Box 154, Sherman, NY 14781

Sassafras Grove, A.D.F. SD: Earrach Canali, Box 100091, Pittsburgh, PA 15233

Iron Hill Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Nizsza Zeron, Box 9765, Newark, DE 19714

Seusayers' Protogrove, A.D.F. (Washington DC area) GO: Elizabeth Croyden, c/o ADF Mother Grove Box 516, E. Syracuse, NY 13057-0516

Mugwort Grove, A.D.F. SD: Bob Knox, Box 835, Greenbelt, MD 20768-0835 PODS: 93:9810/11 (Nathair)

Cedarlight Grove, A.D.F. SD: Will Pierson, Box 21723, Baltimore, MD 21222 Internet: PIERSON.W.D.%wec@dialcom.Tymnet.com

Little Acorn Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Robert Holbrook, Box 36, Unionville, VA 22567

Memphis Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Dragon, Box 40312, Memphis, TN 38174 Internet: ujcrowder@cc.memphis.edu

Stone Creed Grove, A.D.F. SD: Anastasia Brightfox, Box 18727, Cleve. Hts., OH 44118 Internet: c/o TREYNARD@aol.com

Mud, Fire, Wind, Spirit Protogrove, A.D.F. GO Kio, Box 15042, Columbus, OH 43215

Gárran Lochanna Gealla: Shining Lakes Grove, A.D.F. SD: Fox, Box 15585, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-5585 Voice phone: (313) 665-8428 – BBS: (313)665-0552 PODS: 93:9720/12 (Fox) Internet: 75562.2222@compuserve.com

Sun Raven Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Beket-Asar Edithsdatter, Box 8212, Madison, WI 53708 PODS: 93:9306/0 (Beket) Nativenet:90:121/45 FIDO: 1:121/45 Internet: beket@f45.n121.z1.fidonet.org

Carleton Grove, R.D.N.A. Current Archdruid, College, Northfield, MN 55057, U.S.A.

Caer Duir, HK c/o Iarwain, Box 17223, Minneapolis, MN 55417 Internet: DSchaal@aol.com or Keltria@aol.com

Mystic Willow Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Janet Berres, Box 1475, Morton Grove, IL 60653 Voice ph: (708) 492-0492 Internet: c/o delphipres@aol.com

Doire Adharc Flaithiúil, HK c/o Caillean ap Gwynedd, Box 45165, Kansas City, MO 64171

Protogrove of the Inland Sea, A.D.F. GO: Ann Socolofsky, Box 3322, Kansas City, KS 66103

Bri Léith Grove, A.D.F SD: Robert Barton, Box 205, Kemah, TX 77565 Internet: blktiger@usis.com

Healing Home Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Soltahr, Box 3087, Colorado Springs, CO 80934 FIDO: c/o 1:128/203 Internet: Soltahr@f203.n128.z1.fidonet.org

DragonSong Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Vicki Mieth, Box 23431, Phoenix, AZ 85063 Internet: jfns38b@prodigy.com

Tuatha De Danaan Grove, N.R.D.N.A. Adr. Jeff Sommer, Box 20855, Castro Valley, CA 94546.

Hazelnut Grove, N.R.D.N.A. Adr. Stephen Abbott, Box 6775, San Jose, CA 95150, U.S.A.

Gárran Siorghlas: Evergreen Grove, A.D.F. SD: Sarafina Moore, Box 2814, Woodinville, WA 98072 PODS: 93:9400/1734 (Sarafina) FIDO: 1:343/216 Internet: Sarafina@f216.n343.z1.fidonet.org

Greenwood Grove, N.R.D.N.A. Adr. Cyndie Sallee, 10031 Mary Ave. NW, Seattle, WA 98177.

Gárran Mea Mil: Honey Mead Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Mary Huston, Box 10282, Olympia, WA 98502-0999 Voice phone: (206) 705-8773 PODS: 93:9706/0 (Ellianna) Internet: wl-ellianna-adf@society.com

Silver Fox Protogrove, A.D.F. GO: Linda Demissy, 2624 Jeanne d'Arc, Montreal, PQ, H1W 3V9

Rigo Benica Comardia: Montreal Fellowship, D.C.E. M.G. Boutet, 32 Fourth Ave. South, Roxboro, PQ, H2I 3W3

Silver Birch Grove, HK P.O. Box 57225, Jackson Stn., Hamilton, OT, L8P 4X1

A.D.F.'s Guilds and SIGs (Special Interest Groups)

Alternative Gender and Alternative Sexuality SIG RavenWolfe (Muin Mound Grove, A.D.F.)

Archeo-Anthropology SIG Cypress Knee (Wakulla Folklore Center, 154 Elena Drive, Tallahassee, FL 32310)

Arts Guild – Samildinach Bryan Perrin (Green Man Grove, A.D.F.)

Bardic Guild Gwynne Green (Grove of the Sacred Crows, A.D.F.)

Druid Corps of Engineers Nizsza Zeron (Iron Hill Protogrove, A.D.F.)

Fire and Ice Kindred (Norse) Paul Maurice (World Tree Grove, A.D.F.)

Healers Guild Ann Socolofsky (Protogrove of the Inland Sea, A.D.F.)

Indo Studies SIG Erica Friedman & Pattie Lawler (Green Man Grove, A.D.F.)

Polyrelationships SIG Deborah Lipp (Bergen/Rockland Protogrove, A.D.F.)

Prisoner Relations Committee and Prisoners' SIG Camille Grant (Bri Leith Grove, A.D.F.)

Solitaires' SIG Chris Sherbak (Mystic Willow Protogrove, A.D.F.)

TechnoDruids Guild Elric and Jaguar (Shining Lakes Grove, A.D.F.)

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Registrar, Skipp Ellison: Skpellison@aol.com

Chron., "Druids' Progress" Editor, Chief Artificer, Bryan Perrin: c/o 76042.55@compuserve.com (Alice Farrell)

"News from the Mother Grove" Editor, ADF Echo Moderator, Gar Nelson: garnel@eicbbs.wseo.wa.gov

Members' Advocate, Mary Huston: wl-ellianna-adf@society.com

Asst. PW for Regalia, Tom Baurley: tbaurley@telnet_fsu.mailer.edu

Chief Electronic Information Officer, Jaguar: kithoward@delphi.com

Chief Bard Gwynne Green: pdg@nutter.com or wl-gwynne-adf@society.com

Director Frank Barney: None

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Treasurer & Keltria Editor, Tony Taylor: Keltria@aol.com

Appendix C: My Druid Bibliography

Mostly from April 1994, but with a few updates in 1996

The references to First Search and "YY:XXX" codes are for an online library computer database for locating over 250,000,000 books. First Search is also available at Carleton and St. Olaf College in Northfield. All numbers are Library of Congress numbers, unless noted otherwise, like ISBN. These are the works that have primarily shaped my background knowledge while researching and writing this paper. This list will prove useful for further exploration of points I've glossed over.

Other Fields and Reference Sources

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- Lippy, Chareles H. and William, Peter W. *Encyclopaedia of the American Religious Experience*. REF_BL2525.E53 1987 Vol 1-3. at Carleton. with Vol 1:an essay on Folk Religion, Vol 2: an essay on Occultism, Vol 3:an essay on Ethnicity and Religion and an essay on California and the South West.
- Melton, J. Gordon. *Directory of Religious Bodies in the U.S.* Garland Publishing Inc:NY & London. 1977. REF BL2530.U6 M44 at Carleton. Good LIST of groups, not much Info.
- Melton, J. Gordon. *The Encyclopaedia of American Religion*. 2nd Edition. REF BL2530.U6 M443 1987. at Carleton. Treatises on Magic religions and long entries on many groups.
- Melton, J. Gordon and Poggi, Isotta. *Magic, Witchcraft and Paganism in America: A Bibliography*. 2nd Edi. Garland Publishing Inc:NY & London 1992 REF BF 1622.U6 M44 1992 at Carleton. **Excellent** coverage of the Wiccan scene of America.
- Melton, J. Gordon. *Religious Leaders of America*. Gale Research Inc:Detroit Mich 1991 REF B72. M458 1991 at Carleton. Pg 91. Includes Biographies of Pagan and eastern cult leaders.
- Unknown. *Magic, Witches, and Witchcraft in USA* 1992
- Unknown. *Encyclopaedic Handbook of Cults*,

Ancient Druids and Celtic Life

- Adamnan, Saint (trans. Wentworth Hugh). *The Life of Saint Columba*. E.D. Dutton & Co:NY 1908 BX4700 .C7 A2. at Carleton. Latin and English. Useful for Scottish Conversion and mention of 6th cent. Druids.
- Best, Mark T. *The Druids in History and Myth*. First Search Honors

- Paper at Houghton College 1987 NY:VXO
- Bonwick, James. *Irish Druids & Old Irish Religions*. Griffith, Farran & Co:London 1894 (1984 reprint) BL980 .I7 B66 1984. at Carleton. Just barely better than Antiquarian.
- Bremm, Martin. *The Stars and the Stones*. Thames & Hudson:London & NY 1984. QB16 .B74 1984 at Carleton. **Excellently illustrated** and diagramed treatise on Irish Megalithic astronomical practices and how they may have influenced holidays.
- Bromwich, Rachel. *Trioedd Ynys Prydain (the Welsh Triads)*. Cardiff 1979 (1961) D113.76 at Univ. Minn. This is Welsh and English. The Definitive translation of Welsh Triads, extremely academic. Not Fun.
- Caeser, Julius (trans. Anne & Peter Wiseman). *The Battle for Gaul*. David R. Godine:Boston 1980. DC62 .C2813 1980. at Carleton. **Excellent** English version with charts and easy-to-follow maps.
- Chadwick, Nora. *Celtic Britain*. Frederick A. Praeger:NY, 1963. DA 140. C48 1963. at Carleton Library. An excellent collection of archeological finds, PAIN-stakingly described.
- Chadwick, Nora. *The Druids*. Cardiff University:Cardiff Wales 1966. BL910 .C5. at Carleton. Important for understanding the limits of classical sources.
- Clancy, Joseph P. *The Earliest Welsh Poetry*. R&R Clark:Edinburgh 1970. PB2369.C59. at Carleton. A good modern English translation of older welsh without misty eyes. 2nd in a series.
- Cross, Tom and Slover, Clark. *Ancient Irish Tales*. Henry Holt & Co:NY 1936. PB1421.C76. at Carleton. A compendius LITERAL translation. Boring, but good resource of major irish cycles with a glossary.
- Cremin, Aedeon. *The Celts in Europe*. Centre for Celtic Studies: Sydney 1992. ISBN 086758 624-9. Entry level reading on Celtic Europe.
- Dinan, W. *Monumenta Historica Celtica: Notices of the Celts in the writings of Greek and Latin Authors from the 10th century B.C.E to the Fifth Century A.D. Arranged Chronologically, with English Translation*. London 1911. Volume One and Two. Excellent Reference for classical celts.
- Elder, Isabella. *Celt, Druid and Culdee*. Covenant:London 1962. at First Search. Okay reading, not much on Druids, persay, unless you consider Columcille to be a Druid.
- Ellis, Peter Beresford. *The Celtic Empire*. Constable, London 1990. ISBN 0-89089-457-4. A good sympathetic general history of the Celts from 1000 BC to 51 AD.
- Ellis, Peter Beresford. *The Druids*. 1994 ISBN 0-09-472450-4. and ISBN 0-8028-3798-0. **AN EXCELLENT SOURCE** Larson says, **"The Druids is probably the best book I've read on the subject.** Though I feel that Ellis presents a somewhat too idealized portrait of Celtic society and religion, he certainly knows his stuff. I ran across quite a few references that I was previously unaware of. Definitely a good read and thought provoking."
- Green, Miranda. *The Gods of the Celts*. Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd. Gloucester UK 1986. ISBN 0-86299-292-5. or Barnes and Nobles ISBN 0-389-20672-5.
- Green, Miranda. *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*. Thames & Hudson London/NY 1992. ISBN 0-500-01516-3. Green's grocery lists would be worth a read. These books are simply excellent.
- Hansen, Daniel. *American Druidism: A Guide to American Druid Groups*. Peanutbutter Press, Seattle 1995. ISBN 0-89716-600-0 at Carleton. **Good**
- Hood, A.B.E. *Saint Patrick: His Writings and Muirchu's Life*. Phillimore & Co. LTD:Sussex, 1972. BX4700. P3 A213. At Carleton.
- Hoys, Wentworth. *The Life of Saint Columba*. ED Dutton & Co: NY 1908. BX4700.c7 A2. At Carleton.
- Humphries, Emyr. *The Taliesin Tradition*. Black Raven Press: 1983. at Univ Minn. An excellent overview of Welsh Bardism/Druidism and the historical underpinnings of Welsh poetry/nationalism.

- Hutton, Ranold. *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles, Their Nature and Legacy*. Blackwell, Oxford 1991 ISBN 0-631-17288-2. A good overview from the mesolithic to 1000 A.D.
- Jackson, Kenneth. *The Oldest Irish Tradition: A Window on the Iron Age*. Cambridge University Press 1964. 55pgs. PB1327 J3 at Saint Olaf. Excellent primer on how classical sources and earliest Irish tales corroborate each other and can therefore be used to reconstruct history.
- Jones, Prudence and Pennick, Nigel. *A History of Pagan Europe*. Routledge, London 1995. ISBN 0-415-09136-5. Goes into all paganisms from the Greeks to the Balts. Somewhat passionately pagan in outlook, but pretty objective overall. Curiously, the chapters on the Celts are probably the weakest in the book.
- Kendrick, Thomas D. *The Druids: A Study in Celtic Prehistory*. Frank Cass & Co Ltd 1966 (1927) Carleton. One of the FIRST and BEST analysis of Druidism, paring away Modern Druidism from the ancient. It also has most of the classical sources in the original and literally translated. **EXCELLENT SOURCE**.
- Kinsella, Thomas. *The Tain: Translated from the Irish Epic Tain Bo Cuailgne*. Oxford University Press: London 1975. PB1423 .T3 K5 1970. at Carleton. A nearly-literal translation of this IMPORTANT early Irish epic of 210pgs, very dry reading, but excellently done.
- Laing, Lloyd. *Celtic Britain*. Charles Scriber's Sons:NY 1979. DA140.L33. at Carleton. An acceptable description of celtic ethnology, especially the Picts.
- MacCulloch, John Arnott. *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*. T&T Clark:Edinburgh 1911. BL900.M44. at Carleton. Despite its early date, this big book has a lot of good info on the continuity of celtic customs until 1900. Covers all areas of religion, without enough footnotes. Contains synopses of major irish mythology.
- MacLennan, Malcolm. *Gaelic Dictionary*. Aberdeen University Press: Aberdeen 1925. ISBN 0-08-025712-7 A popular english-scots gaelic cross dictionary.
- MacNeil, E. *Early Irish Laws and Institutions*. London 1935. ?
- MacNeil, John T. *The Celtic Churches: A History 200-1200*. Chicago University Press. 1974. BR748. M33 at Saint Olaf. Excellent for understanding how Druidism disappeared or blended with christianity.
- MacNeill, Maire. *The Festival of Lughnasa (2 volumes)* by Comhairle Bhealaoideas Eireann, Dublin. 1982. VOL 1 ISBN 0-906426-10-3 and 0-906426-12x. VOL 2. ISBN 0-906426-10-3 and ISBN 0-906426-13-8. The definitive book on this Irish/Scottish festival and nearby months.
- Nash, David William. *Taliesin: The Bards and Druids of Britain*. John Russel Smith:London 1858. PR8920.N3. at Dennison University. A devastatingly **GOOD** piece of critical study on Rev Davies' and Owen's translations of Welsh poetry. It gives Welsh ORIGINAL and a non-mystical translation. This is also a better book to read than Davies' actual book!
- O hOgain, Daithi. *Myth, Legend & Romance: An Encycloaedia of the Irish Folk Tradition*. Prentice Hall, New York 1991. ISBN 0-13-275959-4. A compendium of useful and interesting articles running the historical gamut from Cu Chulainn to Daniel O'Connell. Lots of good stuff. Also has a useful guide to language and pronunciation, both Old Irish and Modern.
- O'Rahilly, C. *Tain Bo Cuailgne: From the Book of Leinster*. Dublin 1967. A well received translation.
- O'Rahilly, T.F. *Early Irish History & Mythology*. Dublin 1946. A well recieved translation.
- Owen, A.L. *The Famous Druids*. Greenwood Press:Westport Conn. 1979 at IDA. Druids in Literature.
- Patrick, Saint (trans. A.B.E. Hood). *Saint Patrick: His Writings and Muirchu's Life*. Phillamore & Co Ltd:Chichester Sussex 1978. BX4700. P3 A213. at Carleton College. Latin and English versions of 2 forms of St. Patrick's life and a good overview of the general literature on Patrick.
- Polybius (trans Iann Scot-Kilvert). *The Rise of the Roman Empire*. Penquin Books:Great Britain 1986. DG241.P64213. at Carleton. Good for understanding the negative Roman attitude to Celtic life as a result of Celtic treachery during the Punic Wars of Hannibal.
- Powell, T.G.E. *The Celts*. Frederick A Praeger:NY 1958. D70.P6. at St. Olaf. Acceptable.
- Piggott, Stuart. *The Druids*. Frederick A Praeger:NY & Washington 1968. BL910 P5 1968. at St. Olaf. This is probably one of the first books you should read on Druidism. Piggott gives an excellent 60 pg discussion on how modern Druidism started. follows with a detailed description of classical sources. **EXCELLENT**
- Piggott, Stuart. *The Druids*. Thames & Hudson:NY, NY 1985. First Search. **A newer version**.
- Piggott, Stuart. *William Stukeley: A Portrait of an Antiquarian*. Oxford 1950. at Univ Minn. A biography of the man who popularized Druids among Archeology more than anyone else.
- Quinn, David Beers. *The Elizabethans and the Irish*. Cornell yUniversity Press:Ithaca NY 1966. DA 937. Q5 at Carleton. A good overview of Irish culture and institutions and how much the English despised them.
- Rankin, H.D. *The Celts and the Classical World*. Croom Helm:London & Sydney 1987. D70.R36 1987. at Saint Olaf. Another **great** source on the attitude and encounters that background classical writers on Celts.
- Rees, Alwyn. *Celtic Heritage: Ancient Tradition*. 1961. GR147.R4. 428pgs at Saint Olaf. Full of tidbits.
- Reid, Donna. *Dragons, Leeks and Druids*. FirstSearch. Thesis at CA:CLU.
- Ross, Anne. *The Pagan Celts*. BT Bartsford Ltd:London 1986 (1970). D70.R67 1986. at Saint Olaf. For those with little knowledge of the daily life and appearance of celts and their institutions, **you should read this book**. Like Jackson's book, it shows the agreement of classical, early Irish and archeological sources on the material life of Celts. Very well illustrated and footnoted.
- Ross, Anne. *Pagan Celtic Britain: An Archeological Examination*. Columbia University Press:NY 1967. BL900.R6. at Carleton College. Less exciting, but like Chadwick, it is a PAIN-staking examination of any relic in archeology that can be tied in with religion.
- Ross, Anne. *The Life and Death of a Druid Prince*. Summit Books: NY 1989. ISBN 0-671-74122-5.
- Scharding, Michael. *Ancient Sources about Druidism*. Drynemeton Press:Carleton College Archives. A private compilation of ancient classical references to Celtic religion in the original and translation. Highly in violation of many copyrights and swiped from other books.
- Wiseman, Anne & Peter. *The Battle for Gaul*. DC 62 .c2813 1980 at Carleton. David R. Gadine: Boston 1980.

Modern Paganism, Fraternalism and (American and British) Religious Pluralism

- Adler, Margot. *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers & Other Pagans in America Today*. Beacon Press:Boston 1986. ISBN 0-8070-3253-0 at Carleton. This book is considered by nearly everyone to be **the best overview** of modern Neo-Paganism and Wicca, with a special chapter on the Carleton Druids.
- Buckland, Raymond. *Anatomy of the Occult*. Samuel Weiser Inc:NY 1977 B133.4 B924a. ISBN 0-87728-304-4 Interlibrary Loan. General descriptions of Satanism, Witchcraft, Alchemy, Ceremonial Magick & Voodoo.
- Bryant, M. Dorrol (editor). *Pluralism, Tolerance and Dialogue*. Univ. of Waterloo Press:Ontario 1989. BL410.P58 1989 at Carleton. More good essays on how religions can get along.
- Carnes, Mark C. *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*.

- Yale Univ. Press:New Haven & London 1989. HS204.C37 1985 at Carleton. An **EXCELLENT** book that really explains, in an un-hostile way, what fraternal organizations really about (Male-Bonding) and an excellent historical overview. Valuable starting book before heading into British Druidism.
- Cherry, Conrad. *Nature & Religious Imagination*. Fortress Press:Philadelphia 1980. BT695.5 C47 at Carleton. I recommend this for future studies of Neo-Pagan, transcendentalism & ecology origins in the US. Dry.
- Cross, Tom. *Fire in the Head: Shamanism and the Celtic Spirit*. Harper Collins:San Francisco 1993. ISBN#0-06-250174-7. A good example of what the popular public is learning about celtic religions.
- Curtes, Lewis Perry. *Anglican Moods of the 18th Century*. Archon Books 1966. BR756.C8 at Carleton. Provides a better understanding of how common people thought back then when studying British Druidism.
- Fairchild, Hoxie Neale. *The Noble Savage*. Columbia Univ. Press:NY 1928. PR146 .F3 at Carleton. A well-known study on the Romance period and Naturalism. Useful for understanding shifting public views of Nature and people practicing Indigenous religions.
- Gardner, Gerald B. *The Meaning of Witchcraft*. Samuel Weiser:NY 1959. BF1566.63 at Carleton. A description of what witchcraft IS and IS NOT by the man who is a founder of Modern Witchcraft.
- Godwin, John. *Occult America*. DoubleDay & Company Inc:Garden City NY 1972. BF 1434. U6 G6 at Carleton. About Astrology, Witchcraft, L.Ron Hubbards' Scientology and Dianetics, Edgar Cayce and TM.
- Grell, Israel, Tynacken (Editors) *From Persecution to Toleration*. Clarendon Press: Oxford 1991. BR757.F76 1991 at Carleton. All about the 17th and 18th century difficulties of religious toleration in England. Good background reading (very hard on the head, though) for studying 18th century British Druidism.
- Hammann, Louis J. & Buck, Harry. (Editors) *Religious Traditions & the Limits of Tolerance*. Anima Books: Chambersburg PA 1988. BL85.R39 1988 at Carleton. A good collection of light essays in many religions.
- Hansen, Daniel. *American Druidism: A Guide to American Druid Groups*. Peanutbutter Press, Seattle 1995. ISBN 0-89716-600-0 at Carleton. **Excellent**
- Heineman, Kenneth. *Campus Wars: the Peace Movement of American State Universities in the Vietnam Era*. NY Univ. Press: NY 1993. DS 559.62. u6 H45 1993 at Carleton.
- Heinlein, Robert A. *A Stranger in a Strange Land*. Ace Books:NY 1961 & 1987. ISBN 0-441-79034-8. The "sacred" sci-fi book that inspired the oldest & largest Neo-pagan group in America (Church of All Worlds).
- Holzer, Hans. *The New Pagans*. Doubleday & co Inc:Garden City NY 1972
- Miller, David L. *The New Polytheism*. Harper & Row:NY 1974. at Carleton. Mostly a dull treatise on how we should focus on Greek Paganism not Celtic paganism. Considered excellent by other researchers.
- Morgan, Edmund S. *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop*. Harper Collins Pub:San Francisco 1958. Personal Copy. Before talking about stodgy Protestantism in America when studying Neo-Paganism and modern liberal theology, read this and reconsider the origins of religious toleration in America.
- Needleman, Jacob. *The New Religions*. Doubleday:Garden City NY 1970 245pgs. at Carleton. Mostly on Eastern cults in the U.S. and Mormonism. Recommended by a lot of other researchers, I found it dull.
- Roberts, Maire. *British Poets & Secret Societies*. Barnes & Nobles Books: Totowa NJ 1986. PR508.S43 R63 1986 at Carleton or Olaf. Interesting reading about how the elite in Britain belonged to many groups.
- Roberts, Marie. *Gothic Immortals: The Fiction of the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross*. Routledge:London & NY 1990. PR868.R75 R67 1990 at Carleton. Rosicrucian literature analysis, out of my league.
- Robbins, Thomans & Anthony, Dick.(Editors) *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America*. Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick & London 1990. BL2525.I5 1990. A **good** collection of essays, especially one's on the weakness & secularist biases of anti-cult experts and good chapters upon women's spirituality.
- Robson, John. *College Fraternity and its Modern Role*. 1966. First Search MN:MNU & MUO. Okay.
- Rowley, Peter. *New Gods in America*. David McKay-Cambell Inc.:NY 1971 207pgs.
- Scott, Gini Graham. *Cult and Countercult: A study of a Spiritual Growth Group and a Witchcraft Order*. Greenwood Press: WestPort Conn. 1980. BP 605 . I42 S38. at Carleton. A very **Good** book giving a detailed examination of self-help "religions" and an insider's view of what witchcraft was like in the early 70's
- Swidler, Leonard & Mojzes, Paul.(Editors). *Attitudes of Religions & Ideologies Toward the Outsider*. Edwin Mellen Press:Lewiston/Queenstown/Lampella 1990. BL410.A8 1990 at Carleton. Rather heavy reading.
- Valiente, Doreen. *The Rebirth of Witchcraft*. Phoenix Publishing: Washinton State 1989. at Carleton. AN **Excellent** book (along with Adler) on the various strains of Wicca; by the woman who founded it.
- Whalen, William J. *Handbook of Secret Organizations*. Bruce Pub. Co.:Milwaukee 1966. HS204.W45 at Carleton. Very useful and simple historical and organizational histories of secret and public organizations up to the sixties. *Useful in pursuing Reformed Druidism as a fraternal group Thesis Idea*.
- Wuthow, Robert. *Experimentation in American Religion: Thier New Mysticisms and Their Implications for the Churches*. Univ Calif Berkely:Los Angeles, 1978. BL2530. U6 W87. at Carleton Library. A statistical analysis of a survey in the San Francisco Bay Area. This is the hotbed of alternative religion, and it gives a lot of **very good information** on what type of people choose to be mystics and pagans.

Modern Druidism by Druid Authors Since 1697

- Blake, William. *Jerusalem*. at Carleton. supposedly an OBOD leader, and the work is "mysterious."
- Bonewits, P.E.Isaac. *Druid Chronicles (Evolved)*. Drynemeton Press: Berkeley 1977. at IDA. History, customs, rituals and lore garnered from different branches of the Reformed Druids of North America.
- Bonewits, P.E.Isaac. *Real Magic*. Creative Arts Book:Berkeley 1971. 1979 reprint. ISBN 0-916870-19-7 from Berkeley. A leader of modern Druidism (incl RDNA). This was his widely read Bachelor's thesis that won him a Bachelor's of MAGIC at Berkeley 1970. Excellent view of his thinking and a modern reinterpretation of magic. Valuable for the liturgical analysis of the Order of Worship of the RDNA.
- Bouchet, Paul. *Hu Gadarn, Le Premier Gaulois. La Princesse de Vix. La Divination par les Nombres*. These may possibly be interesting to Druidism as they are written by the Chief Druid of French OBOD. **Unavailable as yet**.
- Bouchet, Rene. *Les Druides:Science et Philosophie*. Robert Laffont:Paris 1976. BL910. B67. at Carleton. A French version of OBOD beliefs.
- Bouchet, Rene. *Les Druides? Toujours Vivants!* Interesting.
- Carpenter, William. *A Critical Study of Ezekiel's Temple. and Israelites Found in the Anglo-saxons*. 1872 supposedly an OBOD chief Druid. Questionable source to investigate.

- Carr-Gomm, Phillip. *The Druid Way*. Element:Rockport Mass 1993. ISBN 1-85230-365-4. at First Search. Present Chief Druid of OBOD giving teachings of his group.
- Carr-Gomm, Phillip. *Elements of the Druid Tradition*. Element: Rockport Mass 1991. ISBN 185230202x at First Search. See previous article. Excellent book, but of dubious scholastic quality, but a reasonably good philosophical treatise.
- Connellan, Owen. *Proceedings of the Great Bardic Institution*. First Search **Unavailable**.
- Davies, Rev. Edward. *Celtic Researches*. JBooth: London 1803. at Univ Minn & IDA. **Extremely Widely Read** book that influenced a lot of people. Unfortunately he received poor translations to base his book on. Very difficult to read unless you know the Bible, Hebrew, Latin, Linguistics and Celtic Mythology. Full of Bunk.
- Davies, Rev. Edward. *The Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*. J.Booth:London 1806. at Univ Minn. & IDA See previous note. very difficult to understand. Helio-Arkte Theory that Druids were the heirs of Noah's patriarchal religion.
- Evans, Edward. *Poems, Lyrics and Pastoral*. **Unavailable**. Questionable.
- Griffith. *The Welsh Question and Druidism*. R. Bank & Son:London 1887. at Saint Olaf.
- Hansen, Daniel. *American Druidism: A Guide to American Druid Groups*. Peanutbutter Press, Seattle 1995. ISBN 0-89716-600-0 at Carleton.
- Herbert, Algernon. *The Neo-Druidic Heresy*. 1838. **Unavailable due to age**. Soon to be at IDA. Believed that the Culdee church was infiltrated by pagan druids.
- Higgins, Godfrey. *The Celtic Druids*. 1829. Supposedly a leader of OBOD, this book is suspect.
- Howe, Graham. *The Mind of the Druid*. Skoob: 1989. ISBN 18171438756. at First Search.
- James, D. *Patriarchal Religion of Britain*. **Unavailable**.
- Kendrick, Thomas D. *The Druids: A Study in Keltic Prehistory*. Frank Cass & Co Ltd 1966 (1927) Carleton. One of the FIRST and BEST analysis of Druidism, paring away Modern Druidism from the ancient. It also has most of the classical sources in the original and literally translated. **EXCELLENT SOURCE**.
- Keneally, Edward Vaughan. *An Introduction to the Apocalypse. The Third Messenger of God*.
- Massey, Gerald. *Book of Beginnings*. 1881. *Seven Schools of Man*. 1887. *Man in Search of his Soul*. 1887. *The Coming Religion*. 1889. *Ancient Egypt: The Light of the World*. *** Supposedly a Chief Druid of OBOD, and his works contain "hidden" references to OBOD knowledge. **All Sadly Unavailable**
- Matthews, John. *Taliesin: Shamanism & the Bardic Mysteries in Britain and Ireland*. Aquarian Press of Harper Collins Publishers: San Francisco 1991. BL980.G7 M39 1991 at Wesleyan and IDA. More interesting arm-chair philosophy from an OBOD member.
- Matthews, John. *The Celtic Reader: Selections from Celtic Legend, Scholarship and Story*. Harper Collins: San Francisco 1990. ISBN 1-85538-228-8. An **EXCELLENT** collection of antiquarian articles on Druids collected by an OBOD member. Invaluable.
- Morgean, Owen. *The Light of Britania*. D. Owen:Cardiff 1890. at First Search **somewhere**. Writer at the tail end of really weird antiquarian Druid beliefs.
- Nash, David William. *Taliesin: The Bards and Druids of Britain*. John Russel Smith:London 1858. PR8920.N3. at Dennison University. A devastatingly **GOOD** piece of critical study on Rev Davies' and Owen's translations of Welsh poetry. It gives Welsh ORIGINAL and a non-mystical translation. This is a better book to read than Davies' actual book!
- Nichols, Ross. *The Book of Druidry*. Harper Collins:San Francisco 1990. ISBN 1-85538-167-2. An **EXCELLENT** source of history on OBOD, it's Leaders, archeological beliefs and customs.
- Nichols, Ross. *Prophet, Priest and King*. Element Books. 1993 **Unavailable as yet**
- Nichols, Ross. *Prose Chants & Poems*. 1941. **Unavailable**
- Piggott, Stuart. *The Druids*. Frederick A Praeger:NY & Washington 1968. BL910 P5 1968. at St. Olaf. and Thames & Hudson:NY,NY 1985. at First Search. Piggott gives an excellent 60 pg discussion on how modern Druidism started. follows with a detailed description of classical sources. **EXCELLENT**
- Reid, Donna. *Dragons, Leeks and Druids:Welsh Nationalism*. Thesis at FirstSearch CA:CLU
- Scharding, Michael J.A.U. *A General History of Reformed Druidism in America*. Drynemeton Press: Carleton College Archives 1994. at IDA. **Rather good work** for an undergraduate History Thesis. A fresh, invigorating look at correcting the myths of the first 33 years of the American Druid movement from its origin with the Reformed Druids of North America in 1963 at Carleton College to the foundation of "Ar nDriaocht Fein" in 1983 and beyond. Includes photocopies of past research on Reformed Druidism, extensive annotated Bibliography and useful time-charts.
- Spence, Lewis. *The History and Origins of Druidism*. Rider & Co:London 1938 and Aquarian:Northhampshire 1979. First Search. Another member of OBOD, and mythologist.
- Stukeley, William. *Abury:A temple of the British Druids*. Reid:London 1745 at FirstSearch Facsimilim EU-EMW. One of the important books in British neo-druidic revival and archeology in general.
- Stukeley, William. *Stonehenge: A Temple Restored to the British Druids*. Reid:London 1838. at First Search Facsimile EU-EMW, real MI-EYB, NY-ZCU. One of the important books in British neo-druidic revival and archeology in general.
- Toland, John. *Christianity not Mysterious*. 1697. *Pantheisticon*. 1717. *State Anatomy of Great Britain*. 1717. Toland was one of the first to support Druids as builders of stonehenge. Also is "claimed" to be the first chief Druid of OBOD. He has written over 100 books and was quite a rebel.
- Toland, John. *The History of Celtic Religions and Learning*. Norwood Editions:Norwood PA 1978 (1726). at First Search NY:ZTS soon to be at International Druid Archives. One of first modern books on Druidism.
- Wallace, Gillian E. *Druids, Archaeology and Changing Interpretation*. at First Search. Thesis CA:CUY.
- Ward, Rutherford. *Celtic Lore:The History of the Druids & Thier Timeless Traditions*. Aquarian/Thorsons:London 1993. ISBN 1855381346. Light-weight Arm chair reading.
- Ward, Rutherford. *The Druids and their Heritage*. Atheneum: 1979. First Search. Armchair reading.
- Ward, Rutherford. *The Druids: Magicians of the West*. Sterling Pub Co:NY 1990 (1978) ISBN 085030346x First Search. More Arm-chair reading.
- Wiese H. & Fricke H. *Handbuch des Druiden Ordens*. Munich 1931. **Unavailable?** A very **GOOD** source, in German, about the A.O.D. and the Druidic revivals in Europe.
- Williams, John. *Barddas*. Llandoverly 1862 at First Search IL-ATL, MN-MNU. (Copy in International Druid Archives, Both Volumes) One of the biggest fraudulent studies. Facing pages of Welsh and English translation. This is a very unacademic source, **full of lies**, very dull, but with the occasionally interesting bit.

The 1960s and Campus Protest Movements and Recorded Interviews

- Abbot, Stefan. *Oral Interview 1994*. at IDA. Berkeley protester and Druid.
- Adams, Sam *Oral Interview 3/28/1994 at IDA*. at IDA.St.Olaf Druid in 80s/90s
- Bonewits, P.E.Isaac. *Oral Interview 2/23/1994*. at IDA. Berkeley

protester and Druid Theologian.
 Bonewits, P.E.Isaac. *Oral Interview 4/1/1994* in 2 tapes at IDA. Berkeley protester and trouble maker (oops!)
 Burke, Edward Moore. *Unrecorded Discussion*. Carleton Graduate '93.
 Cascorbi, Alice *Oral Interview 10/29/93* in 2 tapes at IDA. and Carleton Archives. Carleton RDNA revivalist in 1986 and knowledgeable about modern Neo-Paganism.
 Corrigan, Ian. *Oral Interview 1/7/1994* in 3 tapes at IDA. Bay Area and Midwestern Druid
 Corruth, Joan. *Oral Interview 3/1994* at IDA. Bay Area protester and Druid.
 Frangquist, Deeborah & David. *Oral Interview 10/31/1993* at Carleton Archives and IDA. Founders of Reformed Druidism at Carleton. Interviews cover protest scene and state of women's lib at Carleton.
 Heineman, Kenneth J. *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era*. NY Univ. Press:NY & London 1993. DS559.62.U6 H45 1993 at Carleton. This book focuses upon the protest movement of SUNY Buffalo, Kent State Univ, Penn State Univ. and Michigan State Univ. It is valuable for showing that Berkeley wasn't the originator or role model for protests in the early 60s.
 Hixon, Charles *Oral Interview 4/1994* at IDA. Berkeley protestor and Druid.
 Kitchell, Mark. *Berkeley in the Sixties*. PBS Home Video. 117 minutes 1990
 Larson, Robert. *Oral Interview 4/1994* at IDA. Carleton and Berkeley protester and Druid
 Maitland, David C. *Oral Interview 5/26/1993* in 3 tapes at Carleton Archives. Chaplain at Carleton and Professor of Religion from 1958-1986ce. Valuable interview for history of Reformed Druidism.
 Nason, John. *Oral Interview 8/12/1992* in 3 tapes at Carleton Archives. President of Carleton 1962-70.
 Oldfeather, Felicia. *Oral Interview 4/8/1993* in 2 tapes at Carleton Archives. Protestor at Carleton in the very early 1960s.
 Press, Larry. *Oral Interview 3/3/1994* in IDA. Berkeleyite and Druid
 Rorabaugh, W.J. *Berkeley at War, the 1960s*. Oxford Univ. Press:NY & Oxford 1989. F869.B5 R67 1989 at Carleton. A wonderful

long term perspective of Berkeley with good local and Bay Area maps followed by a close blow-by-blow history of the events in the 60s both on campus and in the town of Berkeley.
 Salee, Cindy *Oral Interview 4/1/1994* at IDA. Bay Area protester and leader of Native American Druidism
 Savitzky, Steve. *Oral Interview 1994* at IDA. Prominent Carleton protester in 60s and Archdruid.
 Shelton, Richard. *Oral Interview 3/31/1994* in 1 tape at Carleton Archives and IDA. Archdruid at Carleton and student protester in late 60s/early 70s.
 Shelton, Richard. *Oral Interview 5/8/1993* in three tapes at Carleton Archives and IDA. More questions.
 Sherbak, Chris. *Oral Interview 4/1994* at IDA. Berkleyite and Druid
 Smith, Bardwell. *Oral Interview 12/28/1993* in 3 tapes at Carleton Archives. Professor of Asian religions and faculty advisor for RDNA at Carleton in 60s
 Taylor, Tony. *Oral Interview 1/1994* in IDA. Bay Area Druid and leader of Henge of Keltria.
 Tezera. *Oral Interview 1994* at IDA. Berkeley protester and Druid

Recommended Reading Books in A Druidic Flavor

Cleary, Thomas. *Zen Antics: 100 Stories of Enlightenment*
 Elder, John. *Family of Earth and Sky*. 0-8070-8528-6 1994
 Hoff, Benjamin. *The Tao of Pooh*.
 Hoff, Benjamin. *The Te of Piglet*
 Nisker, Wes. *Crazy Wisdom: Provocative romp through the philosophies of East and West*.
 Johnston, William. *The Still Point: Reflections on Zen and Christian Mysticism*
 Johnston, William. *The Mirror Mind: Zen Christian Dialogue*.
 Reader, Ian. *Religion in Contemporary Japan*. 1990
 Repts, Paul. *Zen Flesh, Zen Bones*.
 Shah, Idries. any of his books about Sufis
 Suzuki, D.T. any of his books about Zen
 Tworikov, Helen. *Zen in America*
 Shinto: *The Way of the Kami*



Adams being ordained by Scharding into Sixth Order, May 1994

Appendix D:

Copies of Previous Research

Introduction

Because of the difficulty of finding all these sources, I've included primary sources of other third party studies of Reformed Druidism. Most of them are tolerable. This will allow you to better understand my mild dislike of their fragmentary nature or inclination towards seeing the Reform as solely Pagan. These are all the sources that I could find as of 1994. Please feel free to search out new sources or updated information in further editions of these works. The full bibliographic data of these works can be found in Appendix C.

Real Magic by Isaac Bonewits pg. 155-9

Isaac's book, published in 1971 for his Bachelor's Thesis (kind of like my History), was intended to impress the world with a scientific approach to magic. The book was well received. In it, Isaac talks about comparative similarities between ritual structures and uses the RDNA's Order of Worship as an example. This recount is probably from the Berkeley Grove of the late 60s/early 70s, because of the Ceremonial magic that follows afterwards. The older Carleton Druids did practice some magic, but far less than the Californian Druids or the current Carleton Druids. A few notes; Isaac's description here of the purpose of the RDNA is a bit different than mine, but Isaac knew relatively little about the RDNA at Carleton before he wrote to them in 1974. This excerpt is the only major part in the book that is specifically concerned with the RDNA.

In the hills, lit only by the moon, the Reformed Druids of North America (RDNA) are celebrating Samhain (pronounced "so'ahn"). This is the night that others call Halloween and in the old Celtic cultures was the "day between years," or the beginning of the new year. The RDNA is a revival of old Celtic (especially Irish) religious beliefs and practices, "reformed" in that it forbids the practice of blood sacrifice. The group was founded in the early 1960's and is not to be confused with other groups using similar names or claiming to go back in unbroken lines to prehistoric Ireland. The RDNA makes no such grandiose claims.

The service starts with prayers to the Earth-Mother (the personification of the "Life Force"), to Be'al (the personification of the abstract essence of the universe), to Dalon ap Landu, Llyr, Danu, and other deities of ancient Ireland. Reciting hymns translated from old Celtic relics and manuscripts, these latter-day Druids send up their praise to Nature. They admit their human frailties and limitations.

Then passages from the Chronicles of the RDNA are read and meditated upon (the Chronicles are a history of the movement written in pseudo-King James style, plus the translations mentioned above, plus meditations and poetry. All is considered the work of men, though possibly written while inspired).

The members of the congregation are wearing ribbons around their necks; these are red, the color of life. As the ceremony continues, the "Waters-of-Life" (about 80 proof) are exchanged for the "Waters-of-Sleep" (pure H₂O); and the red ribbons are exchanged for white ones, the color of death. This is to symbolize that the Season of Sleep has begun; the red ribbons will not be worn again until May 1, the beginning of the Season of Life.

A short sermon is given by the Arch-Druid upon the subject of man's constant destruction and defilement of

Nature (the RDNA was into ecology long before it became a fad). The Earth Mother is asked to bless her children and fill them with her powers, so that they may do Her will. The participants identify themselves as a part of the Earth Mother and assert their interdependence with each other and with her.

After a few more prayers of praise the service is over. The participants, feeling refreshed and strong, sit on the hilltop to finish the Water-of-Life and gaze at the stars and the city below.

But all is not yet quiet upon that hilltop, for after all it is Halloween and the night is still young. A warning is given but all choose to remain. The thin line between religion and magic is about to be crossed. Still wearing their traditional tabards, the two leaders of the group prepare for a ritual of ceremonial magic.

The altar is a chunk of rock imbedded in the hilltop, once used by the Indians for their rituals. It now becomes the center of a "magic circle." Holes are dug by daggers and staffs are planted at the four points of the compass; a fifth staff (the largest one there) is placed at the base of the altar pointing to the evening's target.

A wandering hippie out for a stroll in the woods happens on the group. When they tell him what they are doing, he decides to leave quickly (in that area one knows better to mess around in the affairs of magicians). A stick is used to trace a circle around the staffs and altar, and they enter. Unlike most magic circles this one is not designed to keep anything out but rather to keep energy in until it is time to release it.

The members of the group are mostly professionals, specialists in Green and Brown Magic. The two leaders of the group, one a Green, the other a Yellow Magician, are neither ignorant nor gullible (in fact, most of the group are college graduates with years of training in magic). The leaders have designed a ceremony with great care to take advantage of every method in the books to insure successful spells. Two items are on the agenda—a curse and an exorcism.

The ritual begins with a circumlocution of the ring of staffs. Readings from the Chronicles follow. The ring is cleared of all hostile entities and though patterns. They now begin to concentrate.

A series of litanies is read to all corners of the globe, conjuring and summoning gods, demigods, nature spirits, and the spirits of great men. They are called on to join the group and lend their powers. The language is flowery and emotional, the expression rhythmic; emotion is built up as the Druids feel presences outside the circle. The moonlight or something is doing strange things outside the ring.

An image of the target is built up until every member has it clearly in mind. The past history of the man is retold, his atrocities enumerated, his danger declared. The wishes of the group are announced to the beings assembled.

The target is not to be destroyed outright, for he is well skilled in repulsing ordinary attacks of Black and White Magic. Instead he will destroy himself by being forced to suffer personally and directly the consequences of his every magical act. An impenetrable shield is imaged around him, with a "psychic mirror" covering the insides. Every time he attempts to use magic for any purpose, his energy will bounce off this mirror and strike himself instead of his intended victim. This is known as the "Boomerang Curse," or as a variation of "the mirror effect," and it can be harmless or deadly, depending solely upon the future

actions of the target. It is pure "poetic justice" in action.

Emotion has been aroused and the target visualized. The desire has been declared in detail. The group focuses its energy with another extemporaneous chant and fires! More than one member sees amorphous shapes winging across the sky toward the target.

The second ceremony is an exorcism of the area. Using similar techniques emotion is once again raised and brought to a peak. Incantations are read declaring the intent. All great violence both physical and psychic is forbidden. Neither right-wingers nor left-wingers will be able to sway crowds into rioting; all White Witches and Black Witches who attempt destruction will find their powers neutralized. Once again it is not destruction that is done, but rather a stripping of power from those who would destroy. Peace and quiet are to reign, at least until the next High Holy Day. With grand and sonorous tones the Druid magicians fire the energy produced.

After both ceremonies a statement of success or "follow through" is made, asserting that all has gone and will continue to go as planned.

The second ritual finished, the assembled entities are thanked and dismissed. The circle is broken and the hilltop cleaned of litter. The Druids head home satisfied, leaving the hilltop to the moon and the rabbits.

They have used principles unknown to establishment occultists. They have mixed Yellow, Green, and Brown Magic as well as the roles of magicians, wizards, and witches. The targets were unprepared for anything but traditional attacks.

Extensive postmortems are later done, with interesting results. Shortly after the rituals were done, the first target lost the best sensitive in his coven; not long afterward his entire group had fallen apart and he was close to bankruptcy. The exorcism seems to have been a rousing success, as well; reports from various covens throughout the area revealed total confusion and consternation. As for the politicians, despite the fact that excuse after excuse popped up, they were unable to stage one riot in the next three months, not in fact until after Candlemas!

It was, of course, sheer coincidence. Naturally.

Note the pattern so far: Supplication-Introduction, Reply from the Deity (or personified group-mind), Identification of Participants with the Deity (same Note), Statement of Requests and Statement of Success.

The opening prayers at the Christian altar, the opening dance steps of the Hopi, the clapping of the Pentecostals and Vodun people, the chanting of the Buddhists, the singing of praises to the Earth Mother, and the Conjunction of Beneficiaries; all these are Supplication-Introduction.

The readings of sacred scriptures, whether the Bible, the Chronicles, or incantations written for the occasion, or the recital of histories; these are all in effect a Reply from the Deity or Power being addressed.

The priest consecrating the Host, the Druids changing their ribbons, the Hopi, Pentecostals, Vodun people, and Buddhists "possessed" by their deities; all have achieved Identification with the Deity concerned.

And every single group asks for specific benefits and ends with a positive assertion that their requests will be granted; thus, we have the Statement of Requests and Statement of Success.

Grab a scrapbook of comparative religions, and I'm sure you will be able to find more examples of this pat-

tern. But what is the basic theory behind it and why is there so much diversity in its realization?

The Druid Chronicles (evolved), DC(E)

pub. in 1976 by Robert Larson and Isaac Bonewits

It is of course impossible to put the entire 250 page collection here, but the pertinent documents that I comment upon in Appendix E are the First & Second Epistles of Isaac, the Book of Changes, and most of the Druid Miscellany section (called part six in DC(e)). There were occasional swipes in the footnotes, but we won't go into those.

Encyclopedia of American Religions, 2nd Ed pg. 139

In Chapter 18, The Magick Family, makes assumptions that all forms of Neo-Paganism, including those "of a particular pre-Christian tradition (Druidic, Norse, Egyptian)" are believed to be "products of the Gardnerian revival, from which they are believed to have originated." Which is simply false in the case of American Druidism.

Encyclopedia of American Religions, by Gordon Melton.

2nd Edition *1079* pg. 656. Informational material was mostly collected between 1971 and 1976 with some updates in the mid 80s. Numerous Errors are in here.

Reformed Druids of North America. The Reformed Druids of North America was formed in 1963 by a group of students at Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, as a protest against a compulsory chapel attendance requirement. It began as a result of a conversation between David Fisher, Howard Cherniack and Norman Nelson. The idea emerged of forming a non-bloody, sacrificial Druidic group. If students were denied credit for attending its services, then they would claim religious persecution; if they received credit, the whole project would be revealed as a hoax, thus ridiculing the requirement. The requirement was dropped during the 1963-1964 school year, but the group decided that, since it enjoyed the rituals so much, it would continue. At that time, the structure was completed and the major system of beliefs outlined.

Rituals had been constructed by the Reformed Druids from materials in anthropological literature, such as *The Golden Bough*, the classical text by Sir James Frazer. A henge (an open-air temple) was constructed on nearby Monument Hill, where the first Protestant service in Minnesota was held. Though frequently destroyed, the henge was constantly replaced. Ritual is directed toward nature and is held outdoors (in an oak grove) where possible. Robes of white are worn. The passing of the waters-of-life is a symbol of oneness with Nature. Festival days are Samhain (Nov. 1), Midwinter, Oimelc (Feb. 1), Beltane (May 1), Midsummer, and Lughnasadh (Aug. 1). The Celtic/Druidic gods and goddesses are retained to help focus attention on nature. They include Donu, the mother of the gods and humanity, and Taranis, one of her children, the god of thunder and lightning.

The Reformed Druids are organized into autonomous groves. Each grove is headed by an arch-druid, a preceptor (for business matters) and a server (to assist the arch-druid). Three orders of the priesthood are recognized. Higher orders are honorary. *The Druid Chronicles*, consisting of the

history, rules and customs of the Reformed Druids of North America, serve as the scriptures. These were composed mainly by Jan Johnson and David Frangquist, who succeeded the first arch-druid.

Over the years, a continuation of organization was effected through a lineage of arch-druids. The original arch-druid entered the priesthood of the Episcopal Church. Others established groves in different parts of the country. In 1978, locally autonomous groves were functioning in Northfield and Minneapolis, Minnesota; Chicago and Evanston, Illinois; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Webster Groves, Missouri; New York City; and Palo Alto and Berkeley California.

In the Mid-1970s, leadership of the Druid movement passed to Isaac Bonewits, who had made national headlines when he graduated from the University of California at Berkeley with a degree in magick. Bonewits headed a Berkeley grove. More importantly, he compiled the Druid writings, adding material he had written on Druidism and in 1977 published the *Druid Chronicles (Evolved)*, which contain the history, rituals, laws, and customs for the Reformed Druids. In 1978 he began *Pentalpha* as a national Druid periodical. After several years of publishing the magazine and trying to promote Druidism, Bonewits withdrew from all leadership roles (though he continues to be active in Pagan affairs otherwise). Emmon Bodfish became preceptor of the Berkeley Grove, which was renamed the Live Oak Grove and moved to Orinda, California.

Membership: In 1984 there were three groves: Orinda, California; Garland, Texas; and Keene, New Hampshire.

Periodicals: *Druid Missal*-any, Box 142, Orinda, CA 94563.

Sources:

P.E.Isaac Bonewits
Real Magic
Authentic Thaumaturgy
Druid Chronicles (Evolved)

Drawing Down the Moon by Margot Alder

1978 & 1986 pg. 319-328

(WHICH YOU SHOULD BUY!)

1978 Notes

"Large Parts of the Neo-Pagan movement started out as jokes, you know," Robert Anton Wilson, author, *Witch (& Reformed Druid)*, and a former editor of *Playboy*, told me one day. "Some of the founders of NROOGD will tell you their order started as a joke; other will deny it. There is a group that worships Mithra in Chicago which started out as a joke. The people in many of these groups began to find that they were getting something out of what they were doing and gradually they became more serious."

There have always been spoofs on religion. But religions that combine humor, play, and seriousness are a rare species. A rather special quality of Neo-Pagan groups is that many of them have a humorous history.... ..Since we live in a culture that makes a great distinction between "seriousness" and "play," how does one confront the idea of "serious" religious groups that are simultaneously playful, humorous, and even (at times) put-ons? How *seriously* can we take them?

The relationship between ritual and play has long been noticed. Harvey Cox, in *Feast of Fools*, develops a theory of play, asserting, like others before him, that our society has lost or mutilated the gift of true festivity, playful fantasy, and celebration. In 1970, when an interviewer asked Cox about the "rise of the occult," he replied that astrology, Zen, and the use of drugs were "Forms of play, of testing new perceptions of reality without being committed to their validity in advance or ever..."

... Huizinga writes that play and ritual are really the same thing and that all sacred rites, mysteries, sacrifices, and so forth are performed in the spirit of play, that poetry is a play function, and that all these things may well be serious since "the contrast between play and seriousness proves to be neither conclusive nor fixed... for some play can be very serious indeed."

"The Reformed Druids of North America (RDNA) began in 1963 at Carleton College as a humorous protest movement directed against the school's requirement that all students attend a certain number of religious services. Since "attending the services of one's own religion" was one way to fulfill this requirement, a group of students formed the RDNA to test it. The group was never intended to be a true alternative religion, for the students were Christians, Jews, agnostics, and so forth and seemed content with those religions.

In 1964 the regulation was abolished but, much to the surprise—and it is said, horror—of the original founders, the RDNA continued to hold services and spread its organization far beyond the college campus. One of the founders, David Fisher, who wrote many of the original rituals, is now an Episcopal priest and teacher of theology at a Christian college in the South, having apparently washed his hands of the RDNA. Many of the original founders considered Reformed Druidism not so much a religion as a philosophy compatible with any religious view, a method of inquiry. They certainly never considered it "Neo-Pagan."

The original basic tenets of Reformed Druidism were:

1. The object of the search for religious truth, which is a universal and a never-ending search, may be found through the Earth-Mother; which is Nature; but this is one way, one way among many.
2. And great is the importance, which is of a spiritual importance of Nature, which is the Earth-Mother; for it is one of the objects of Creation, and with it do people live, yea, even as they do struggle through life are they come face-to-face with it.

These Tenets were often shortened to read

1. Nature is good!
2. Nature is good!

The original founders seemed to hold the fundamental idea that one should scrutinize religion from "a state of rebellion," neither embracing traditional faiths nor rejecting them. They intended RDNA to avoid all dogma and orthodoxy, while affirming that life was both spiritual (Be'al) and material (the Earth-Mother) and that human beings needed to come to a state of "awareness" through unity with both spirit and nature. The founders also seemed to distrust ritual and magic, sharing the prejudices and assumption of most of the population.

RDNA has always had a sense of humor. The Early *Chronicles of the Druids*, as well as many later writings,

are written in a mock biblical style. Here, for example, is a description of how the regulations at Carleton were abolished:

1. Now it came to pass that in those last days a decree went out from the authorities;
2. and they did declare to be abolished the regulations which had been placed upon the worship of those at Carleton.
3. And behold, a great rejoicing did go up from all the land for the wonders which had come to pass.
4. And all the earth did burst forth into song in the hour of salvation.
5. And in the time of exaltation, the fulfillment of their hopes, the Druids did sing the praises of the Earth-Mother.

Similarly, the original "Order of Worship" has many similarities to a Protestant religious service, complete with invocations and benedictions. Reformed Druids are not required to use these rituals and—as is true of so many Neo-Pagan groups—participants have created new rituals to take their place. I did attend an RDNA ritual in Stanford, California, that sounded not much different from a number of liberal Christian services I have attended, despite its being held in a lovely grove of oaks. But when I described this ritual to another leader of a Reformed Druid grove, he merely laughed and remarked, "It all depends on who's doing the ritual. A service by Robert Larson (Arch-Druid of an Irish clan in San Francisco and a former Christian Scientist) often sounds like Christian Science. My services are influenced by my own training in Roman Catholicism. Besides, most religious ceremonies follow the same kinds of patterns. It is natural to find similarities." The Reformed Druid movement is extremely eclectic, to say the least.

The festivals of the Reformed Druids are the eight Pagan sabbats we have come across before: Samhain, the Winter Solstice, Oimeic (February 1st), the Spring Equinox, Beltane, Midsummer, Lughnasadh (August 1st), and the Fall Equinox. The rituals are held (if possible) outdoors, in a grove of oaks or on a beach or hill. The officiating Druids often wear robes - white is traditional, but other colors are acceptable. During the ritual, which can include readings, chants, and festival celebrations, the waters-of-life are passed around and shared to symbolize the link between all things and nature. (During the ritual I attended in Stanford, California, the waters-of-life was good Irish Whiskey. Whiskey in Gaelic means 'waters-of-life'.) All worship is directed toward Nature and various aspects of nature retain the names of the Celtic and Gaulish gods and goddesses:

- Dalon Ap Landu, Lord of the Groves
- Grannos, God of Healing Springs
- Braciaca, God of Malt and Brewing
- Belenos, God of the Sun
- Sirona, Goddess of Rivers
- Taranis, God of Thunder and Lightning
- Llyr, God of the Sea
- Danu, Goddess of Fertility

The "paganizing" of the Reform Druids came as a great surprise to many, and some of the originators regard it as a regression. But from its inception there has been much in RDNA that is Neo-Pagan in nature. The "Order of Worship" includes hymns to the Earth-Mother, to Be'al, and to Dalon Ap Landu, lord of the groves, as well as ancient Welsh and Irish poems. This is fertile ground for

anyone with a love of nature, an interest in Celtic lore and myth, and a love of poetry, music, and beauty.

Once the initial protest was over, the most important aspect of Reformed Druidism had to be that it put people in touch with a storehouse of history, myth, and lore. Isaac Bonewits, Arch-Druid of the Mother Grove of the NRDNA in Berkeley (see below) and certainly an avowed Neo-Pagan, told me "Over the years it grew and mutated, much to the horror of the original founders, into a genuine Neo-Pagan religion. There were actually people who were worshipping the Earth-Mother and the old gods and goddesses, who were getting off on it and finding it a complete replacement for their traditional religion." Bonewits, Larson, and one or two others played a large role in this change of direction.

At present [in 1978] there are branches of Reformed Druidism in at least seven states. The grove at Carleton has existed on and off to this day as a philosophic path open to the members of many different religions. There are also non-Pagan RDNA groves in Chicago, Ann Arbor, and San Jose. In addition there are a number of Neo-Pagan branches. Calling themselves the New Reformed Druids of North America (NRDNA), these groups include Norse Druids in San Diego, Zen Druids in Olympia, Wiccan Druids in Minneapolis, Irish Druids (with services in Gaelic) in San Francisco, Hassidic Druids in St. Louis, and various Eclectic Druids in Oakland, Berkeley, and Los Angeles. All these groups are autonomous. Bonewits has publicly stated that Reformed Druidism can survive only if it recognizes its own nature, which is that of a Neo-Pagan religion.

The NRDNA, unlike the RDNA, is Neo-Pagan. And Isaac's Eclectic Druid grove in Berkeley requires the members of the priesthood to declare themselves Neo-Pagans and make a commitment to the religion. His grove, writes Bonewits, "is avowedly Neo-Pagan" and defines itself as :
...an Eclectic Reconstructionist Neo-Pagan Priestcraft, based primarily upon Gaulish and Celtic sources, but open to ideas, deities and rituals from many other Neo-Pagan belief systems. We worship the Earth-Mother as the feminine personification of Manifestation. Be'al as the masculine personification of Essence, and numerous Gods and Goddesses as personifications of various aspects of our experience. We offer no dogma or final answers but only continual questions. Our goal is increased harmony with ourselves and all of Nature.

Bonewits publishes a newsletter, *The Druid Chronicler*, available from Box 9398, Berkeley, California 94709 [now moribund]. He has also published a book, *The Druid Chronicles (Evolved)*, which gives the history of Reformed Druidism, the liturgy, and much more.

The Hassidic Druids were formed in 1976 and the group is made up primarily of former Jews who wish to keep certain aspects of Hebrew and Yiddish culture but want to avoid the oppressive nature of what is in many respects a patriarchal theology. They add Yiddish and Hebrew sources to the Gaulish and Celtic ones. They have a set of additional scriptures called the *Mishmash* and the *Te-Mara*, which, in Reformed Druid Tradition, satirize in a good natured way the scriptures -this time the Talmud. Most of it is both humorous and profound.

The Reformed Druids have never been a large movement. Even now, with two different branches and twelve different groves, the active members probably number no

more than a hundred. Yet they seem to illustrate an important point: When one combines a process of inquiry with content of beauty and antiquity, when, even as a lark, one opens the flow of archetypal images contained in the history and legends of people long negated by this culture, many who confront these images are going to take to them and begin a journey unimagined by those who started the process.

Recent Notes in 1986

By 1985, most of the Reformed Druid groups were moribund. A few groups are still flourishing. There's a Druid group in Seattle and a lively group in Berkeley, California—the Live Oak Grove. This group publishes *A Druid Missal*—any, has planted a sacred grove, and is doing research into Gaelic rituals.

Meanwhile, after a long absence from the Pagan scene, Isaac Bonewits has started his most ambitious Druid project yet; *Ar nDraiocht Fein* (Our own Druidism). He has started a new journal, *The Druid's Progress*, and, by the time the second issue was out, scores of people were joining the process of slowly, carefully creating a new form of Neo-Pagan Druidism.

Bonewits told me, "It started out as a simple network for a few dozen people who wanted to coordinate research on the old religions of Europe. Then more and more people wanted rituals and clergy training. Now it's a collective act of creation. With the help of 200 people we're creating a new religion."

Bonewits said that he came to realize that the Reformed Druids was not an appropriate vehicle, at least for him. "Most people in the RDNA were Zen anarchists," Bonewits said. "They had a philosophical approach, applicable to any religion. Most of the RDNA were not Pagans. They resented me and felt I was infiltrating their group."

In *The Druid's Progress*, Bonewits lays out his vision of *Ar nDraiocht Fein*. It would be an attempt to reconstruct using the best scholarship available, what the Paleopagan Druids actually did, and then try to apply such knowledge to creating a Neo-Pagan religion appropriate for the modern world. It would use the scholarship of authors like George Dumézil, Stuart Piggot, Anne Ross, and Mircea Eliade. It would create rituals and liturgy and would set up a complex training program to achieve excellence. It would "keep nonsense, silliness and romanticism down to a dull roar," he told me. "after all, the Druids had some unpleasant customs which I have no intention of perpetuating. They were headhunters, for example. But it is important to know where you are coming from if you are going to claim you are connected to certain ancestors or traditions. If you say you are a "Druid" you ought to know what kinds of thoughts they had. Then you can pick and choose what parts make sense in modern America."

Bonewits' vision of Druidism is not entirely Celtic or even Pan-Celtic, but Pan-European. It would include all the branches of the Indo-European culture and language tree—Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, Baltic, even pre-classical, archaic Greek, and Roman. While most people are aware that fragments of Druidism seem to have survived in parts of Wales and Ireland, some of them surviving in disguise through the institutions of the Celtic Church and among bards and poets, research done by Russian and Eastern European folklorists, anthropologists, and musicologists, writes Bonewits, "indicates that Paleopagan traditions may have survived in small villages, hidden in the woods and

swamps, even into the current century! Some of these villages still had people dressing up in long white robes and going out to sacred groves to do ceremonies, as recently as World War One!" Much of this research has been published in Soviet academic literature and has never been translated. Bonewits believes that this material, combined with Vedic and Old Irish sources will provide most of the missing links in reconstructing Paleopagan European Druidism. Translating these sources will be one of ADF's tasks.

One of the most important aspects of *Ar nDraiocht Fein* is its training system, which is based on a series of levels or circles, somewhat like the organization of the old Church of All Worlds. You can move forward and (if you lose knowledge or skills) backward! Since the Indo-European clergy were supposed to be the intelligentsia of their culture—the poets, the musicians, the historians, and the astronomers, the training for each level includes drama, music, psychic arts, physical and biological and social sciences, counseling, communications, and health skills. Languages are also emphasized. Bonewits is partial to Irish but is seeking scholars in all European languages. Along with many others, he has come to believe that when you invoke a deity in the language their original worshippers used, you get a more powerful magical response.

Bonewits has always been extremely opinionated and often difficult, even egotistical, but he remains one of the most interesting Pagans around. In talking about Druidism, he says flatly that there is no indication that the Druids used stone altars. They did not build Stone Henge, the megalithic circles and lines of northwestern Europe, the Pyramids, or have anything to do with the mythical continents of Atlantis or Mu. What's more, he will not accept what he considers to be the questionable scholarship of Louis Spence, Margaret Murray, Robert Graves, H.P. Blavatsky, and others.

While the local druid groves will have lots of autonomy, Bonewits makes no apologies for the fact that this group will have a structured hierarchy and that Bonewits will be the Arch-Druids. He told me, "I'm being extremely out front about running it as a benevolent dictatorship. I get a lot of feedback, but I make the final decision. These are the rules of the game. If you don't want to play by them, you should probably start your own Druid groups, and I hope you succeed. Some people will think that makes me autocratic," he laughed, "and they're probably right."

Reaction to this approach in Pagan periodicals has ranged from attacks: "Bonewits has come out with his plea in the wilderness. 'Support me and I'll be your Guru.' Give me a break Isaac" (*Pegasus Express*) to great praise: "This is actually a good approach for a young organization whose founder wishes it to be proliferate and generally be successful" (*Panegyria*). Appearing at major Pagan festivals, Isaac has had a rousing response. Clustering around him on an evening, you might find an intense discussion, or three Celtic harpists playing for each other and exchanging information. His training program has gotten many people talking. Several priest and priestesses in other traditions, feeling that their own training was haphazard, have talked about incorporating elements of his system into their own groups. Several local Druid groves have already formed. There is clearly a thirst for structured study and scholarship within the Pagan movement and *Ar nDraiocht Fein* is one group that is going to try and fill that need. The pendulum always swings.

Encyclopedic Handbook of Cults pg. 216

It's very short so I'll quote it entirely:

"Neo-Pagans generally adopt a single national-ethnic tradition, the Norse, Druidic, and Egyptian being the most popular....Druids are tied together by The Druid Missal-any, a periodical published by the Live Oak Grove of Orinda, California."

The RDNA's mention in the section on Neo-Pagan Organizations is an indication of the recognition that the RDNA usually gets in lists sharing prominence often with "biggies" like Asatru, Church of All Worlds and Church of the Eternal Source.

Harper's Encyclopedia of Mystical and Paranormal Experience

BF1407.G85 1991 article by Rosemary Guiley on Druids. Pg. 167-169.

In the United States, modern Druidism has had a small following, beginning in 1963 with the founding of the Reformed Druids of North America. The order was conceived by a group of students at Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, as a facetious protest against a school requirement that students attend religious services. Though the requirement was dropped in 1963, the Reformed Druids caught on. The order expanded in a collection of autonomous "groves." Rituals were written from anthropological literature, such as Fraser's *The Golden Bough*. P.E.I. (Isaac) Bonewits emerged as a Druidic leader in the mid-1970s and added much to the modern writings. Some groves eventually split off to form the New Reformed Druids of North America, and Bonewits left to form his own organization, Ar nDraiocht Fein ("Our Own Druidism") in 1983. By the late 1980s, Ar nDraiocht Fein was the only active, National Druid organization, with its headquarters in Nyack, New York. Isaac Bonewit's goal was to pursue scholarly study of the Druids and their Indo-European contemporaries, and to reconstruct a liturgy and rituals adapted for modern times. Like the British Druidic organizations, the American groups claim no connection with the ancient Druids.

Modern Druids celebrate eight holidays...."

Magic, Witchcraft and Paganism in America, 1992, pg. 18-19

While Gardnerian Witchcraft was growing, so was a vision of Neopaganism that posited a Mother Goddess faith from anthropological, historical, and science-fictional elements. The vision was based in part on some of the same material that Gardner had found. Three groups illustrate this impulse."

{a description of *Fere Faeria* by Fred Adams}
{a description of the *Church of All Worlds*}

"In the early 1960s a group at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, sought a means to protest the compulsory chapel attendance rules. From anthropology books such as James Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, they constructed the Reformed Druids of North America, whose worship services they attended instead of chapel. After a year of controversy the rules were lifted, but the Druids had discovered a new faith which they preferred. Today Druid groves are found in every section of America and at last report were still active at Carleton."

Magic, Witchcraft and Paganism in America,

1992, pg. 30

Bonewits' *Real Magic* offers a perspective on the contemporary practice of magic by someone with both a sense of humor and formal training in both anthropology and occult history. A leader in the Druidic movement, Bonewits had his moment of fame when he graduated from the University of California in Berkeley with a degree in magic. He has continued to produce theoretical material on modern Paganism that keeps him near the top of the list of Pagan intellectuals.

Magic, Witchcraft and Paganism in America, 1992, pg. 225

To speak of Druids in England calls up images of ancient priests and modern counterparts who annually gather at Stonehenge to salute the rising sun on June 21. In America, Druids are a completely different reality. American Neo-Pagan Druidism was created in 1964[] as a new religion by a group of students protesting compulsory chapel services at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota. Beginning with the reading of several anthropology textbooks, they founded the Reformed Druids of North America. Once they won their crusade, they also discovered that they preferred their new Paganism over whatever they had previously been given as a spiritual format. The Reformed Druids survived at Carleton into the 1980s and as each class graduated, the Druid members took the movement around the world. The most prominent Pagan attracted to Druidism was Isaac Bonewits, who with the zeal of a convert, edited and published the Druid "scriptures" generated at Carleton and became their leading intellectual voice. The Druids have been one of the few non-Wiccan groups within the larger Neopagan community which has an identifiable existence.

Magic, Witches and Witchcraft in the US, 1992, pg. 13 on ADF

Ar nDraiocht Fein: Irish Gaelic for "Our Own Druidism," Ar nDraiocht Fein (ADF) is an American based neo-Pagan Druid religious fellowship. It has no direct links to the ancient Druids but is a reconstruction of Druidic and Indo-European pagan rituals and religions (see Neo-Paganism). It was founded in 1983 by P.E.I. (Isaac) Bonewits, former Archdruid of several groves within the Reformed Druids of North America. Bonewits serves as the organization's only Archdruid, and Shenain Bell as Vice-Archdruid.

ADF integrates religion with alternate healing arts, ecology-consciousness, psychic development and artistic expression. It is organized in groves, many of them named after trees. The oak tree is sacred, as it was to the ancient Druids. The groves observe eight seasonal High Days (the sabbats in Witchcraft) and conduct regular study and discussion groups and a wide range of artistic activities. Through study and training, members advance through a series of five circles, the fourth of which is the equivalent of a master's degree, and the fifth the equivalent of a doctorate. The idea of the circle structure was borrowed from the Church of All Worlds.

Worship and rituals usually are conducted outdoors. ADF is polytheistic, and recognition of various deities depends on the individual grove and the purpose of individual rites. The one deity who is worshipped at every ritual is the Earth-Mother (Mother Nature). Deities, ancestors and nature spirits of the Three Worlds—Land, Sea

and Sky—are invoked. The Waters of Life, passed or aspersed (sprinkled) in rites, represent the spark of immanent deity.

Liturgy and rituals are based on scholarly research into old Indo-European religions, folk magic, art and social customs. While little is known about the Druids themselves, scholars say it is likely that Druidism had much in common with other Indo-European religions of the time. The research is ongoing and involves translation of numerous foreign and archaic language texts.

Bonewits has identified five phases of liturgical design common in the religions of related Indo-European cultures:

1. The consecration of time and space; the psychic centering, grounding and unifying of the participants into a "groupmind."
2. The opening of the Gates between the Worlds and the starting of a flow of energy back and forth between participants and deities.
3. The raising and sending of the major part of the congregation's energy to the deities being worshipped.
4. The returning of power from the deities to the congregation.
5. The reversing of the rite's beginnings, and closing down of the psychic, magical and spiritual energy fields that were created.

Sacrifices made to the deities include tree branches, fruits, flowers and vegetables. Although animal, and even human, sacrifices were performed in most paleo-pagan religions, they are strictly forbidden in ADF rituals, as well as in neo-Paganism in general (see sacrifice).

Clergy wear long white robes; members of the congregation are encouraged to dress in paleo-pagan garb. Bonewits has introduced the white beret as a signature of ADF; the berets and any other headcoverings are removed upon entrance to a ritual site, except during very hot weather. The ADF's sigil (see sigils), a circle pierced by two vertical parallel lines, was first associated with neo-Pagan Druidism by David Fisher, the founder of the Reformed Druids of North America (inactive). The sigil may have been taken from the shape of a foundation of an old Roman-Catholic temple. The logo, a branch sprouting from an oak tree stump, is a Celtic rendition inspired by the badge of the Scottish MacEwen clan.

The journal of ADF is *The Druid's Progress*, edited by Bonewits and published twice yearly. *News from the Mother-Grove* is a newsletter published bi-monthly.

Magic, Witches and Witchcraft in the US, **1992, pg. 33-35** on Isaac

Bonewits, P.E.I. (Isaac) (1949-) One of the brightest and most colorful figures of the neo-Pagan movement, Phillip Emmons Isaac Bonewits is best known for his leadership in modern Druidism (see Neo-Paganism). He is a priest, magician, scholar, author, bard and activist, and has dedicated himself to reviving Druidism as a "Third Wave" religion aimed at protecting "Mother Nature and all Her children."

Bonewits was born on October 1, 1949, in Royal Oak, Michigan—the perfect place, he likes to joke, for a future Archdruid. The fourth of five children (three girls, two boys), he spent most of his childhood in Ferndale, a suburb of Detroit. When he was nearly 12, the family moved to San Clement, California.

From his mother, a devout Roman Catholic, Bonewits developed an appreciation for the importance of religion; from his father, a convert to Catholicism from Presbyterianism, he acquired skepticism. He bounced back and forth between parochial and public schools, largely due to the lack of programs for very bright students—his I.Q. was tested at 200.

His first exposure to magic came at age 13, when he met a young Creole woman from New Orleans who practiced Vodoun. She showed him some of her magic and so accurately divined the future that he was greatly impressed. During his teen years, he read extensively about magic and parapsychology. He also read science fiction, which often has strong magical and psychic themes.

In ninth grade, Bonewits entered a Catholic high school seminary. He soon realized, however, that he did not want to be a priest in the Catholic faith. He returned to public school and graduated a year early. After spending a year in junior college to get foreign language credits, he enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley in 1966. At about the same time, he began practicing magic, devising his own rituals by studying the structure of rituals in books, and by observing them in various churches.

His roommate at Berkeley, Robert Larson, was a Druid, an alumnus of Carleton College, where the Reformed Druids of North America (RDNA) had been founded in 1963. Larson interested Bonewits in Druidism and initiated him into the RDNA. The two established a grove in Berkeley. Bonewits was ordained as a Druid priest in October 1969. The Berkeley grove was shaped as a neo-Pagan *religion* unlike the other RDNA groves, which considered the order a *philosophy*. The neo-Pagan groves became part of a branch called the New Reformed Druids of North America (NRDNA).

During college, Bonewits spent about eight months as a member of the Church of Satan, an adventure that began as a lark. The college campus featured a spot where evangelists of various persuasions would lecture to anyone who would listen. As a joke, Bonewits showed up one day to perform a satirical lecture as a Devil's evangelist. He was so successful that he was approached by a woman who said she represented Anton Szandor LaVey, founder of the Church of Satan. Bonewits attended the church's meetings and improved upon some of their rituals but dropped out after personality conflicts with LaVey. The membership, he found, consisted largely of middle-class conservatives who were more "right-wing and racist" than Satanist (see Satanism).

Bonewits had intended to major in psychology but through Berkeley's individual group-study program he fashioned his own course of study. In 1970 he graduated with a bachelor of arts degree in magic, the first person ever to do so at a Western educational institution. He also was the last to do so in the United States. College administrators were so embarrassed over the publicity about the degree that magic, witchcraft and sorcery were banned from the individual group-study program.

The fame of his degree led to a book contract. In 1971 *Real Magic* was published, offering Bonewits' views on magic, ritual and psychic abilities. A revised and updated edition was published in 1979 and reissued in 1988.

In 1973 Bonewits met a woman named Rusty, a folksinger in the Berkeley cafes. They moved to Minneapolis, where they were married, and where Bonewits took over the editorship of *Gnostica*, a neo-Pagan journal published by Carl Weschcke of Llewellyn Publications. He

gave *Gnostica* a scholarly touch and turned it into the leading journal in the field. But the job lasted only 1 1/2 years, for the editorial changes resulted in the loss of many non-Pagan readers, who found the magazine too high brow.

Bonewits remained in Minneapolis for about another year. While there he established a Druid grove called the Schismatic Druids of North America, a splinter group of the RDNA. He also joined with several Jewish pagan friends and created the Hassidic Druids of North America, the only grove of which existed briefly in St. Louis, where its membership overlapped with that of the Church of All Worlds. In 1974-5, Bonewits wrote, edited and self-published *The Druid Chronicles (Evolved)*, a compendium of the history, theology, rituals and customs of all Reformed Druid movements, including the ones he invented himself.

He also founded the Aquarian, Anti-Defamation, League (AADL), a civil liberties and public relations organization for members of minority belief systems, such as Rosicrucians, Theosophists, neo-Pagans, witches, occultists, astrologers and others. Bonewits sought to convince such persons that they had more in common with each other than they realized. By banding together, they could effectively fight, through the press and the courts, the discrimination and harassment of the Judeo-Christian conservatives.

Bonewits served as president of the AADL and devoted most of his income—from unemployment insurance—to running it. The organization scored several small victories in court, such as restoring an Astrologer to her apartment, after she had been evicted because a neighbor told her landlord that her astrology classes were “black magic seances.” In 1976 Bonewits and Rusty divorced, and he decided to return to Berkeley. The AADL disintegrated shortly after his departure.

In Berkeley, Bonewits rejoined the NRDNA grove and was elected Archdruid. He established *The Druid Chronicler* (which later became *PentaAlpha Journal*) as a national Druid publication in 1978. He attempted to make the Berkeley grove as Neo-Pagan as the groves in Minneapolis and St. Louis, which caused a great deal of friction among longtime members. After a few clashes, Bonewits left the organization. *PentaAlpha journal* folded.

In 1979 he married for a second time, to a woman named Selene. That relationship ended in 1982. In 1983 he was initiated into the New Reformed Order of the Golden Dawn. The same year, he married again, to Sally Eaton, the actress who created the role of the hippie Witch in the Broadway musical, *Hair*. They moved to New York City in 1983 where Bonewits met Shenain Bell, a fellow Neo-Pagan, and discussed the idea of starting a Druidic organization. The fellowship, Ar nDraiocht Fein (“Our Own Druidism” in Irish Gaelic), was born as a fresh neo-Pagan religious organization with no ties to the ancient Druids or to the RDNA, which by this time was apparently defunct. Bonewits became Archdruid, and Bell became Vice-Archdruid.

In 1986 Bonewits and Eaton separated, and he moved to Kansas City for several months, where he worked as a computer consultant. He then returned to Berkeley, but could not find work in Silicon Valley, which was in a slump. He moved back to the East Coast, to Nyack, New York, near Manhattan, in November 1987, with his intended fourth wife, Deborah, a Wiccan high priestess. He continued work as a computer consultant and worked on the building of Ar nDraiocht Fein. He also began work

on a book on the creation, preparation and performance of effective religious ritual.

The “Ten Year Gap.” Bonewits has discovered, he says, a “10-year gap” between many of his views and their acceptance among neo-Pagans. In 1973 he was the first neo-Pagan to state publicly that the alleged antiquity of neo-Pagan Witchcraft (Wicca) was “hogwash.” The Craft, he said, did not go back beyond Gerald B. Gardner and Doreen Valiente. Bonewits was held in contempt by many for that yet by 1983, neo-Pagans generally acknowledged that neo-Pagan Witchcraft was a new religion, not the continuation of an old one. The Aquarian Anti-Defamation League was also ahead of its time. In 1974-5, neo-Pagans were not ready to admit that they needed public relations and legal help. By a decade later, a number of such organizations were in existence.

Around 1985 Bonewits began regularly discussing the need to provide social services for domestic and personal problems and drug dependencies. Neo-Pagans, he points out, represent a cross-section of the population, and such problems cut across religious lines. Bonewits estimates that as many as 80 percent of neo-Pagans come from “nonfunctional family” backgrounds. Neo-Pagans, he observes, are brighter and more artistic than average, but also, therefore, “more neurotic.” The community has been quick to address these social issues with programs.

Bonewits also began lobbying for financial support for full-time neo-Pagan clergy (the priesthood is essentially a volunteer job), but the idea fell on uninterested ears. In 1988 Bonewits was pursuing a goal of buying land and establishing an academically accredited Pagan seminary.

Magic, Witches and Witchcraft in the US, 1992, pg. 107-109

In the United States, another modern Druidic movement with no connection to the ancient Druids or to the modern Druids in England, was formed in 1963. The Reformed Druids of North America (RDNA) initially was conceived as a hoax by a group of students at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, who were protesting a school requirement that students attend religious services. The requirement was dropped in 1963-4, but the Reformed Druids decided to take themselves seriously and continue as an organization of autonomous “groves.” Rituals were reconstructed from anthropological material and included non-bloody sacrifices. The founders of the RDNA did not intend for it to become a religion but rather viewed it as a philosophy. Some groves split off to form a separate branch, the New Reformed Druids of North America (NRDNA), which emphasized neo-Pagan religion. Among these groves was the Berkeley grove, which was led by Archdruid P.E.I. (Isaac) Bonewits in the mid-1970s. Bonewits left the organization around 1978-9. In 1983 he formed his own Druidic organization, Ar nDraiocht Fein (“Our Own Druidism”).

By 1985 modern Druidic activity in the United States had declined. The Reformed Druids of North America was no longer active as an organization, though individual groves remained scattered around the country. Ar nDraiocht Fein had approximately 400 members as of 1988.

Modern Druids observe the eight seasonal Pagan holidays (see Sabbats), holding their rites outdoors. American Druids gather at a Stonehenge replica in Washington.”

Now for a few short excerpts from the monumentally important tome of:

American Druidism: A Guide to American Druidism

By Daniel Hansen 1995 ISBN 0-89716-600-0 (An important Book!!)

pg. 19-21

The Neo-Druid movement in America had begun independently of any direct British or French influence at all. Because America was spared the meso-Druid phase of development, it was not bound by any of their traditions. In fact, American Druidism didn't start out as a religious movement or even as a Celtic appreciation society at all, but rather it was a humorous protest.

In 1963 a group of students at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota rebelled against the college's mandatory chapel attendance requirement. For their protest they formed what they called the Reformed Druids of North America (RDNA) and they held pseudo-religious services once a week. Keep in mind that initially none of these students were Pagans or heathens; most were Christians and their services or sermons took on the forms of religious services they were familiar with. Because Carleton College had a large Asian Studies department, there was a considerable amount of Eastern philosophy mixed in with their free-thinking style. Their protest had the desired result and in 1964 the mandatory chapel requirement was repealed, however the RDNA continued to hold services and meet once a week, much to the surprise of the college officials. With time, the early RDNA took on most of the external aspects now common among neo-Pagan organizations; the eight festivals, a simple hierarchy and almost no dogma. Yet the original group eclectically chose inspiration from primarily Asian and Middle Eastern living traditions. Of the original members was Robert Larson, who was the first to observe a seriously Celtic emphasis and would years later set the foundations for what would be known as the neo-Druid outlook. As these first Druids graduated from Carleton and moved, they planted a new grove of the RDNA wherever they settled down. At one point there were about a dozen RDNA groves across seven states, most fading away by the end of the 70's. It is most noteworthy that among these offshoot groves was the Berkeley grove headed by Robert Larson, established in 1968. It is from this Celtic-oriented grove that the neo-Pagan Druid movement would find its avatar, Isaac Bonewits.

In 1974, the RDNA promoted a man to the post of ArchDruid [of Twin Cities] who has the distinction of having the only accredited degree in Magic from the University of California at Berkeley; his name is Philip Emmons Isaac Bonewits. Bonewits saw great potential in the neo-Druid movement, but he decided that the RDNA (or the NRDNA which he established in 1975) was not the proper vehicle to promote Druidism. Primarily amongst the RDNA's faults was the refusal to call itself exclusively neo-Pagan. The RDNA, as was found in most neo-Pagan organizations of the time, a phenomenal lack of effective organization beyond the local grove level. In 1983, Isaac Bonewits carried some elements of the RDNA with him and founded a new neo-Druid group that would become known as Ar nDraoicht Fein: A Druid Fellowship (ADF). ADF as a slow start, but it worked its way up to being the largest branch of neo-Druidism in America today. ADF even had a "missionary" branch in Ireland. ADF's strength lies in its insistence on academic excellence on all scholarly research into Celtic and Druidic subjects. One of their

mottoes is "Why not excellence?" Their other motto is "Fast as a speeding oak." which is to point out to them that these things take time.

Pg. 26.

(Referring to the 60's counterculture) During this time, the concepts of the ancient Druids were revived. It began at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota in 1963. What started out as a protest against mandatory chapel attendance turned into a religious revitalization movement, much to the surprise of the college officials and to many of the original founders as well.

Originally their concept of Druidism was little more than the revival of a name and the use of a few Celtic deity names. A few of the Reformed Druid groves located in California's Bay Area, a hotspot of 60's radicalism, narrowed Carleton's global eclecticism into primarily Celtic and neo-Pagan areas of inspiration. These Berkeley-ites paid greater attention to the ecology/anti-nuke movements, borrowed from esoteric philosophies and dabbled into some of the occult arts. The modern version of Druidism was growing in leaps and bounds, but it lacked direction and a leader with a vision for the future of Druidism. Eventually Phillip Emmons Isaac Bonewits got involved with Druidism. It was he who took the leadership position. He had a vision of a pan-Indo-European Druidism in America based upon sound scholarly research of the ancient Indo-Europeans, the Celts in particular.....

pg. 145.

For every movement there has to be a beginning and for the neo-Druid movement, that beginning was at Carleton College, with the humorous protest which led to the creation of the Reformed Druids of North America (RDNA). It is interesting to note that the founders of the RDNA never intended it to be a true alternative religion. They were simply protesting against the school's regulation requiring mandatory chapel attendance. The RDNA was founded in 1963 at Carleton College to test the chapel requirement by "attending the services of one's own religion." The next year the school dropped the chapel requirement, but the RDNA continued to meet. The RDNA combined a bit of seriousness with play; in fact they always had a sense of humor. As an example of this humor, the "Early Chronicles of the Druids," was written in a mock biblical style. The original founders of the RDNA distrusted both rituals and magick as being the primary causes of ossification in religion. Although their name implied a Celtic viewpoint, they remained extremely eclectic in their choice of inspirational material, primarily drawing upon Eastern philosophies and liberal Christianity. The RDNA intended to avoid all dogma and orthodoxy, while affirming that life was both spiritual (Be'al) and material (the Mother Earth) human beings needed to come to a state of "awareness" through the unity of spirit and nature. The original "Order of Worship" has many similarities to a Protestant religious service with both innovations and benedictions. Typically their rituals are held outdoors in a grove of oaks, on a beach or on a hill.

The Early RDNA were "Reformed Druids" in the sense that they ostensibly followed the festivals of the paleo-Druids such as Samhain, Winter Solstice, Oimelc, Spring Equinox, Beltane, Midsummer, Lughnasadh, and the Fall Equinox and worshipping the following Celtic deities; Dalon Ap Landu, Lord of the Groves; Grannos, God of Healing; Braciaca, God of Malt and brewing; Belenos, God

of the Sun; Sirona, Goddess of Rivers; Taranis, God of Thunder and lightning; Llyr, God of the Sea, and Danu, Goddess of Fertility. However it was up to the Druids to interpret them as gods of Jungian archetypes or philosophical ideals. For their Grove meetings the RDNA used the four point of the "magic circle" not to keep anything out, but to keep energy in until the time to release it. After the Ring was cleared of all hostile entities and negative thought patterns they began to concentrate in conjuring and summoning the gods, demigods, nature spirits, and spirits of great men to lend their powers. At this point they pass around the "waters of life" (good ol' Irish Whiskey) and the "waters of sleep" (pure water). The language used is flowery and emotional, the expression is rhythmic, and emotions are built up as the Druids feel the presence outside the circle, once their emotions have been aroused and the target is visualized. Their desire has been declared in tail, the group then focuses its energy with another extemporaneous chant and fires it built up magic. The ritual is then finished by thanking the assembled entities who are then dismissed. The circle is broken and the site is cleared of litter. The RDNA emphasized the importance of the ecology long before it became a popular movement. The RDNA makes no claim to prehistoric Ireland.

The original basic tenets of Reformed Druidism were:

1. The object of the search for religious truth, which is a universal and a never-ending search, may be found through the Earth-Mother; which is Nature; but this is one way, one way among many.
2. And great is the importance, which is of a spiritual importance of Nature, which is the Earth-Mother; for it is one of the objects of Creation, and with it do people live, yea, even as they do struggle through life are they come face-to-face with it.

These previous two tenets were often simplified as:

1. Nature is good!
2. Nature is good!

The RDNA's fundamental idea was that one should scrutinize religions from a "state of rebellion," neither embracing traditional faiths nor rejecting them. They were the first neo-Druid group to admit their human frailties and limitations. This has been a distinguishing characteristic of most of the neo-Druid branches which followed it.

The RDNA has never been a large organization, at its largest it had three branches and twelve Groves across the United States, its membership has rarely exceeded two hundred members participating in grove-activities at any given time. Shortly after it was formed, the RDNA underwent a schism of sorts in that it developed a number of branches. During the 70's, the missionary grove of Berkeley (California) took their Reformed Druidism onto a new pathway; in effect they chose to primarily borrow ritual elements and customs from modern neo-Pagan and ancient Celtic sources. There were New Reformed Druids of North America (NRDNA), Norse Druids in San Diego, Zen Druids in Olympia, Wiccan Druids in Minneapolis, Hassidic (Jewish Mishmash) Druids in St. Louis, and Eclectic Druids in Oakland, Berkeley, and Los Angeles. By 1985, however, most of these branches of RDNA had disappeared leaving at least four active groves; Carleton, Berkeley/Bay Area, Seattle, and New Hampshire.

One of the reasons that many of the groves of the RDNA have faded away was the short term nature of most groves. The RDNA has never espoused itself as the true

path for its members, merely a place for open-minded seekers of all religions to gather and exchange stories and thoughts. When some members sought religious systems with greater, more organized collections of "dogmas" or "truth," their activity in the RDNA dwindled. Another cause was the exit of Isaac Bonewits from the NRDNA, due to differences of opinion over organizational methods and aiding the establishment of new groves to fight the RDNA's natural entropy.

Perhaps one of the RDNA's greatest legacies has been the encouragement it has given its members to follow their dreams. In that, Isaac was the founder of perhaps the most enthusiastic off-shoot of Reformed Druidism, Ar nDraocht Fein; a nationwide neo-Pagan Druid movements. Most 2nd and 3rd generation offshoot Druid organizations bear little resemblance to their simplicity of the original RDNA, but one way to identify them if the Druid Sigil (the circle with two parallel lines cutting through them).

Hansen's Sources:

Druid Chronicles (evolved), by P.E.I. Bonewits

Drawing Down the Moon, by Margot Adler

Real Magic, by P.E.I. Bonewits

A General History of Reformed Druidism in America, by Michael Scharding

To order a copy of Hansen's book (as of 1995) send 14.95 plus \$3 shipping and handling (Washington residents please include 8.2% sales tax) make check or money order payable to Peanut Butter Publishing 226 2nd Ave W, Seattle WA 98119 (206) 281 5965. Include your address.



Appendix E:

My Review of Other Essays

Having read this Epistle, you should better be able to appreciate this review of previous research and information published on Reformed Druidism.

Inadequacy of Previously Published Studies on the RDNA:

Unless you come to the International Druid Archives at Carleton College, your investigation of Reformed Druidism would be lucky to have found the resources in Appendix D. While I should be grateful for the relative abundance and accessibility of small printed reference materials on Reformed Druidism, I fear that this material is likely to lead to hasty prejudices or simplifications that have not been substantiated by my research. Appendix D contains a copy of all the studies²⁶⁷ that I could find. You may wish to read through the previous field of research, before reading my evaluations.²⁶⁸

In summary, these reference materials falsely imply Isaac Bonewits to be the sole influence or the most important Reformed Druid,²⁶⁹ that the RDNA is obviously defined as or destined to be “Neo-Pagan,” that philosophy & religion are easy labels of difference between the RDNA & the NRDNA, that Reformed Druidism became a religion that replaced the previous religions of all members, that ritual attendance in a Grove defined an “active Druid,” that the unfavorable reactions to Isaac’s initiatives only came from fuddy-duddy Carletonian members, and finally that the RDNA has died away since 1979.

Real Magic by Isaac Bonewits 1971, revised 1978, 1988

Authentic Thaumaturgy by Isaac Bonewits 1977

Although these reasonably widely published books are not specifically about Reformed Druidism, they were written while Isaac was an active Reformed Druid, and they can provide instructive insights into how Isaac Bonewits understood magick, ritual and group dynamics. They also show the complexity of religious theology that Isaac possessed and is a strong contrast to the frequent simplicity of the Reform. Especially interesting is a liturgical analysis of RDNA ritual. Even to the cursory reader, it is obvious that Isaac has an incredible talent & joy for tying-up slippery subjects into intricate, working definitional structures. Isaac can make a definition for just about everything, definitions which mesh with each other like cogs in a clock. Unfortunately if you disagree violently with one or two cogs, the whole system (like most theologies/theologies) can grate on you.

This is important later in this study, because it was Isaac’s impulse of applying very detailed definitions (in a perhaps overly authoritative tone) that drove many RDNA members into a frenzy. Perhaps it is the common assumption of the layperson that every group’s theology needs to be detailed and fixed (and then published) that led to the assumption that Isaac must have been the most inspired Reformed Druid leader. Most other Reformed Druids did not really care too much about liturgy, and were probably therefore never considered leaders. I highly doubt that many Reformed Druids have ever intellectualized the Order of Worship to the same extent as Isaac. While certainly the most published Druid, Isaac’s works must be understood to be elaborations of his own personal beliefs rather than those of Reformed Druidism, which can never be more than simple.

Druid Chronicles (Evolved)²⁷⁰ “DC(E)” published 1976

Edited by Isaac Bonewits & Robert Larson with dozens of contributing authors.

This tome was the most recent predecessor of this paper in providing a history of Reformed Druid. DC(E) is also very likely to bias

future scholars who decide to begin their study of the RDNA with this tempting resource. Because of DC(E)’s between-the-lines view of Reformed Druidism as mainly oriented (and fated) to become a part of the Neo-Pagan community (with a Celtic focus), this book is a biased source (but thus very valuable for presenting the later-NRDNA & SDNA sides of the debates). DC(E) has never been widely printed, (perhaps 300 copies) but it appears often as the source used by researchers for obtaining RDNA documents. DC(E) has long served as the collection of primary resources for those RDNA and NRDNA groves that were without access to the Carleton archives. DC(E)’s resulting authority in the bibliography of researchers has probably led many scholars to the conclusion that Isaac was the main (if not tacitly, the only) inspirational leader of Druidism. The truth is that there were many leaders, in different ways, at different times and in different senses.

While DC(E) does not overtly claim to be the only resource for studying Reformed Druidism, it is very attractive because it brings together in one tome what used to be very difficult-to-obtain written materials from the many branches of Reformed Druidism. Although DC(E) possesses a long introductory chapter and another quick disclaimer in the beginning:

Indeed, many of the members of the original RDNA accept only these Books [the first five] as relevant to Reformed Druidism and consider other written material of a Druidic nature to be either irrelevant, optional or perniciously heretical.²⁷¹

many reviewers have assumed or implied that the whole book is pertinent to all of Reformed Druidism. Because of the local Celtic ethnic emphasis amongst the Berkeley grove,²⁷² many of DC(E)’s sections are very heavily Celtic in focus, the exception being the section on Hassidic (Jewish) Druids in the back. The DC(E) leaves a false impression that Celtic sources of inspiration prevailed in the whole of Reformed Druidism. Because many researchers probably only skimmed through it at best or perhaps hastily concluded that if Berkeley was like this; so must everyone else. DC(E) is definitely written for the insider-Druid, not for the casual reader or quick researcher. Perhaps the encyclopaedists wished to pigeon-hole the RDNA and used Isaac as a willing or convenient “figure-head” for the group.

An important omission from this compendium was the Green Book of Meditations, a result of copyright problems, which illustrated the core of the Carleton policy of drawing upon diverse **existing** Asian & World religions in addition to religions of the past.²⁷³ A hind-sight problem with Isaac’s Apocrypha, is that all the letters that argued against Isaac’s definitional referendum in 1974 were not found in Isaac’s Apocrypha.²⁷⁴ This is primarily justified in that Isaac expected additional letters to be added to the Apocrypha by the individual owners of copies of DC(E). The unfortunate result is a general bias amongst the printed matter in his favor. Isaac printed a remarkably careful and honest account of the voting results in “The Book of Changes” about the pivotal issues of self-definition of the debates on Neo-Paganism vs. Multi-religioned, Religion vs. Philosophy and about organizational change. Isaac also showed that the following events led to everyone re-affirming the traditional right of individuals choosing their own definitions.

While still a handy compendium of primary documents and arcane past customs, the DC(E)’s place as THE SOLE REFERENCE tool for serious and balanced scholarship should be soon replaced by the International Druid Archives and A Reformed Druid Anthology²⁷⁵. In the IDA collection, the DC(E) will still serve as a historical document for understanding how the NRDNA & SDNA saw themselves as different from the RDNA. Since several of the documents and customs in DC(E) are still found written down nowhere else, this will ensure the continued importance of DC(E) for study in future years, just like the original Blue Book of Archives at Carleton. But its greatest importance remains for understanding one or two

sides in a very many-sided debate.

Encyclopedia of American Religions, 2nd Ed pg. 656

Mostly a description of the basic founding history, rituals, sites and terminology of Early RDNA. The first error in the article was that the Druids used “Henges,” when the proper term was “altars.” “Donu” should be spelled “Danu.” The editor mistakenly claims that the Druid Chronicles were written: “by Jan Johnson, and David Frangquist, who succeeded the first Arch-Druid.” This error is based on a 1973 letter by David Fisher to Gordon Melton (the editor). Jan Johnson had nothing directly to do with RDNA after the summer of 1963, especially with writing the Chronicles. It is more likely that Fisher meant to say Norman Nelson, not Jan Johnson, because Norman both helped in the Chronicles and succeeded Fisher as ArchDruid (followed by Frangquist).

We return to a pro-Isaac view of organizational leader. First, the term “leadership of the Druid movement” would enrage and confuse most of the Druids, especially if “Druid movement” was implied as only the early RDNA. Isaac definitely was the most public leaders, but he was not the only one. The phrase “headed a Berkeley grove” hides the fact the Berkeley grove was riddled by schisms during the mid 70s. The compiling of Druid materials, published in 1976 (not 1977), was also an exercise of propaganda on Isaac’s part, although very entertaining and excellently arranged.

An error about membership requirements is expressed:

Membership: In 1984 there were three groves: Orinda California; Garland, Texas; and Keene, New Hampshire.

Greenwood Grove and Carleton were functioning, but not very well, at this time, and it is understandable that he could have overlooked them. Note the academic’s erroneous emphasis on Groves being linked with membership. There were many solitary members all over the nation who considered themselves just as “active” as those in a grove.

This article, as so often, limits the discussion to the purpose of the RDNA as fighting the Chapel Requirement and then as mildly continuing because:

the group decided that, since it enjoyed the rituals so much, it would continue.

That’s a rather shallow examination of the debates and an frequent over-concentration on structure versus purpose. It assumes that participation in ritual is the only definition of who is a Druid, a point I have refuted. But, these errors are understandable if one looks at the sources: Real Magic, Authentic Thaumaturgy & Druid Chronicles (Evolved) all by Isaac Bonewits the greatest ritualist ever in the Reform.

Drawing Down the Moon, published 1978 & 1986 by Margot Adler

Margot Adler appears to have a well balanced investigation on how play & paradox were vital elements in the RDNA, NRDNA and SDNA. Adler’s book comes the closest to examining the fundamental debates of Reformed Druidism, as I have elaborated upon. An important side note to remember is her heavy reliance upon Isaac Bonewit’s definitional skills and essays to better explain and differentiate the diversity of Wiccans and Neo-Pagan philosophies.

Her well-balanced coverage is fortunate because “Drawing Down the Moon” is the most comprehensive and well-known authority (if such a position can exist) upon Neo-Paganism and Witchcraft. It’s hard to imagine anyone studying Neo-Paganism, Modern Druidism or Wicca without beginning with Drawing Down the Moon; preferably the 1986 edition (or the most recent edition). So important is it as a textbook and reference guide, that the previous entries from the 1978 publication were kept intact and then merely followed with updates.

1978 edition

The section on “Religions of Paradox and Play” admirably espouses quite a bit of the “Carleton” stance instead of only relying on an “NRDNA” stance. It was published during the 1978 “zen-ith” of Grove formation in Reformed Druidism. Adler starts her evaluation by comparing the RDNA to other prankish groups that also evolved into semi-serious religious groups, while still retaining a great deal of ambiguity about self-definitions. Because of her visits to Savitzky’s Stanford Grove and conversations with Robert Larson, (both Carleton alumni) she has a more balanced & insightful understanding of Druidism.²⁷⁶ A particularly delightful statement is the vague difference of religion and philosophy:

Many of the original founder considered Reformed Druidism not so much a religion as a philosophy compatible with any religious view, a method of inquiry.²⁷⁷

She actually listed the two Basic Tenets, which are at the heart of Reformed Druidism, as we’ll discuss later. She also grasps the basic message of Reformed Druidism:

The original founders seemed to hold a fundamental idea that one should scrutinize religion from “a state of rebellion,” neither embracing traditional faiths nor rejecting them. They intended RDNA to avoid all dogma and orthodoxy, while affirming that life was both spiritual (Be’al) and material (the Earth-Mother) and that human being needed to come to a state of “awareness” through unity with both spirit and Nature.²⁷⁸

Although the spiritual/material conclusion was a little hasty.

She then outlines the basic liturgical structures, missionary growth, the diversity of local styles and the trend of the newer groves to increasingly attract members from a Neo-Pagan background. All this is fine, but she only specifically lists Carleton as a grove open to all faiths. Her list of the extant groves is followed by:

The NRDNA, unlike the RDNA, is Neo-Pagan. And Isaac’s Eclectic Druid grove in Berkeley requires the members of the priesthood to declare themselves Neo-Pagans.

She implies to the unwary reader, by singling out Carleton as being unlike the NRDNA, that because the NRDNA calls itself Neo-Pagan that they will therefore refuse to allow non-Pagan members to participate. There is also the problem that many of the members in the early NRDNA didn’t consider themselves primarily Neo-Pagan and the late-NRDNA was still open to members of all faiths.²⁷⁹ The immediately following blurb about Isaac’s grove furthers such a hasty assumption. This was a poor omission which may have lead to confusion by the readers.

1986 Edition

This version of Drawing Down the Moon, came out after the aftermath of Isaac’s Berkeley administration and formation of “Ar nDriaocht Fein.” She provides a rare printed hindsight view from Isaac:

Bonewits said that he came to realize that the Reformed Druids was not an appropriate vehicle, at least for him. “Most people in the RDNA were Zen anarchists,” Bonewits said. “They had a philosophical approach, applicable to any religion. Most of the RDNA were not Pagans. They resented me and felt I was infiltrating their Group.

In this, Isaac is sadly right, many did feel that he was infiltrating the group; but he also had many supporters who merely objected to his methods and timing rather than his goals. However the phrase “Most of the RDNA were not Pagans” could have been better stated “Most of the RDNA **and some of the NRDNA** were not Pagans” to reflect why his demands for an exclusively Neo-Pagan leadership in a NRDNA grove at Berkeley caused such trouble upto 1981. Of course, the fact that most of the NRDNA were Neo-Pagans, meant they were also rather ornery about being herded. The origin of the Live Oak Grove, mentioned as still existing, is not explained as being a rebel-

lion within the NRDNA against Isaac's 1981 attempt to take over the ArchDruidcy of Berkeley and impose his experiments on it from the SDNA, which were to lay the foundational structures later realized in "Ar nDriaocht Fein." The remaining lines about ADF, gave the group a great deal of valuable free press and new membership.

***Harper's Encyclopedia of Mystical & Paranormal Experience* pg. 168**

What is delightful about this article is there is nothing I object to at all in this article! Therefore I'll praise it. **It is good** because it doesn't claim members gave up their earlier religion. The autonomy of Groves is emphasized. Isaac is mentioned as "a" Druidic leader, not as "the" Druidic leader, which is an unusually correct view. The NRDNA is simply mentioned as breaking off, and no silly business of it having been entirely Neo-Pagan. ADF is mentioned as a split off of the NRDNA with few long-term connections. And finally, after a long article on British Druidism, no assumptions are made that the British, American and Ancient Druids have any real connections.

Magic, Witchcraft and Paganism in America, 1992, pg. 18-19

We find again the common misunderstanding about the chapel requirement:

they constructed the Reformed Druids of North America, whose worship services they attended instead of chapel. After a year of controversy the rules were lifted, but the Druids had discovered a new faith which they preferred.

The members kept going to chapel, in addition to Druid services, to cover their butts just in case their project failed. I doubt most Druids would have chosen the term "preferred." As long as Druidism is understood as a complementary faith that doesn't necessarily replace a member's previous religions, then it's okay.

Magic, Witchcraft and Paganism in America, 1992, pg. 225

We start off this article's discussion on Reformed Druidism with this gem:

American Neo-Pagan Druidism was created in 1964 as a new religion...

The RDNA started 1963 and was only meant to resemble a religion at first. "Neo-Pagan" was a term unknown to the Founders until 1974 or so. A better understanding would be: "American Neo-Pagan Druidism can trace its historical roots back to the RDNA, which began in 1963." The article continues to bias the reader by stating:

They also discovered that they preferred their new *Paganism* over whatever they had previously been given as a spiritual format.

Paganism? Does this imply non-Christianity? You see the problems inherent in leaving that term in there. Do we see the RDNA members at Carleton denying the validity of their own past beliefs to live wholly by Druidism? Occasionally, but far more often they have said it has deepened their appreciation of their previous religious faith. This article lacks a discussion of the essential debates of Druidism beyond mentioning its purpose of hoaxing the College.

We run into another Isaac-centered quote herein:

The most prominent Pagan attracted to Druidism was Isaac Bonewits, who with the zeal of a convert, edited and published the Druid "scriptures" generated at Carleton and became their leading intellectual voice.

The "leading intellectual voice" is a result of a bias of the letters included in Isaac's Apocrypha which show his long (and very well-thought out) definitions as having been relatively unopposed; although a flood of angry responses from Carleton & Non-Carleton RDNA disputed them vigorously. Reformed Druidism respects all Druids' views as being valid, not submissive to another's interpretations. The final point about Druidism being one of the few public groups is well worth noting.

***Magic, Witches and Witchcraft in the US* (distinct from MWP), 1992, pg. 13**

The two articles pertaining to the study of Reformed Druidism in this excellent encyclopedia are mostly dealing with ADF and Isaac Bonewits, but it refers to the Druid Sigil that the RDNA share with ADF and Keltria as:

first associated with Neo-Pagan Druidism by David Fisher, the founder of the Reformed Druids of North America (inactive).²⁸⁰

This falsely implies that David Fisher started the RDNA as a *Neo-Pagan group* headed towards becoming a Celtic religion (which a lot of Neo-Pagan Druid groups do center around). It is also mistakenly implies that the RDNA was inactive during the time of the printing (1992), when they really meant that Fisher was inactive. The RDNA was active *in Groves* at Carleton, St. Olaf, Berkeley, Seattle & New Hampshire in 1992; but Druidism will always be active in the hearts of each past Druid.

***Magic, Witches and Witchcraft in the US, 1992, pg. 33-35* on Isaac**

The first error in Isaac's biography is:

The Berkeley grove was shaped as a Neo-Pagan *religion*, unlike other RDNA groves, which considered the order a *philosophy*. The Neo-Pagan groves became part of a branch called the New Reformed Druids of North America (NRDNA).²⁸¹

It could be argued that the Purdue Grove was reasonably close to being operated as a religion, at least when under scrutiny of the Draft boards. I believe that I have shown that the philosophy/religion definition is deceptive because it presents a clear-cut division of a very foggy difference between religion & philosophy. In fact, I see the split as mostly a result of differences of mindsets from their respective environments rather than in understanding. Some groves in the NRDNA were not Neo-Pagan, and those that were "Neo-Pagan" were not exclusively Neo-Pagan. Here, as in many articles, the hasty reader is provided with an attractive simplification.

After telling of the SDNA and Hassidic Druid's foundation by Isaac the article continues:

In 1974-75, Bonewits wrote, edited and self-published *The Druid Chronicles (Evolved)*, a compendium of the history, theology, rituals and customs of all the Reformed Druid movements, including the ones he invented himself.²⁸²

Isaac was only one member (although the busiest) of a consortium of five to six RDNA members (the others were primarily Nelson, Frangquist, Shelton, Larson) who wrote sections or helped put the book together. It is easy to mistakenly conclude here Isaac was the sole author or that the entire DC(E) was valid for all Reformed Druid movements, probably an oversight.

We are lucky to have this reference to the NRDNA/SDNA conflict in California:

In Berkeley, [1981] Bonewits rejoined the NRDNA grove and was elected ArchDruid. He attempted to make the Berkeley grove as Neo-Pagan as the groves in Minneapolis and St. Louis, which caused a great deal of friction among the longtime members. After a few clashes, Bonewits left the organization.²⁸³

He won by one vote and it wasn't the Neo-Pagan part as much as the exclusion of people refusing to define themselves as Neo-Pagan, taking on political crusades or completely restructuring the leadership of the group.

Besides this few quibbles, it is a good biography of Isaac. However no real mention occurs of the underlying debates is offered. No second opinion is sought for balance from members of the "old" RDNA.

Magic, Witches, and Witchcraft in the US, 1992, pg. 107-109

The RDNA is tacked at the end of a section defining ancient Druidism and modern British druid groups. Thankfully it states that Reformed Druidism has: “no connection to the ancient Druids or to the modern Druids in England.” The requirement was dropped after the 1963-4 year, in June 1994 to be official.

It treads on difficult territory when it mistakenly claims that:

Among these groves was the Berkeley grove, which was led by ArchDruid P.E.I. (ISAAC) Bonewits in the Mid-1970s. Bonewits left the organization around 1978-79.²⁸⁴

No mention here of the important “leadership” exercised at Berkeley by Larson, Abbott or Carruth before, during and after Isaac’s periods of ArchDruidcy in the 70s. Isaac returned briefly in 1981, of course, as a leader of a remnant of the Berkeley grove; the rest of whom left to form Live Oak grove.

The article correctly states that:

By 1985...The Reformed Druids of North America was no longer active as an organization, though individual groves remained scattered around the country.

Which is true. There is no more Council of Dalon ap Landu, or it’s successor the Co-Council of Dalon ap Landu, each Grove went on its own merry way. But still the article expresses the strange concern that Druids must be in active groves to be active Druids.

American Druidism: A Guide to American Druid Groups by Daniel Hansen

I predict that Hansen’s book will come to be viewed as a milestone in the American Druid movements. For those wishing to tie Reformed Druidism into the American Druid movement, Hansen’s book is a good place to continue with after reading my Epistle here. Because I helped him edit his sections on Reformed Druidism, I have few quibbles with his presentations. Most of it is paraphrasing Real Magic, Drawing Down the Moon and my A General History.

Conclusions to be Drawn with Available Sources:

With the exception of Margot Adler, most of the articles don’t deal with the developments of RDNA philosophies after the initial protest against the Chapel Requirement. Most tacitly assumed that the RDNA became the sole religion of its members (both RDNA and NRDNA) and that it was solely composed of Neo-Pagans. Rarely do we see any accompanying definition of Neo-Paganism and many readers (since Neo-Paganism is not in many dictionaries) would have to assume it meant the RDNA or NRDNA couldn’t be Christians, Jews, Taoists, atheists etc.

Many of these articles’ biases are a result of Isaac’s later prominent organization, “ADF:A Druid Fellowship” and his willingness to be interviewed. There is no mention of the Eastern & Personal philosophies for many groves. In fact, although cursory comments about Hassidic Druidry appear, the overwhelming drive of the RDNA/ NRDNA seems to be obsessively reported as reconstructing ancient Druidism into a Neo-Pagan Celtic religion.

The fascinating debated issues found during the political conflict of “Isaac Vs Carleton RDNA Vs NRDNA” are muted or omitted, though our records shows it to be the primary focus of the entire 70s. No confirmation is sought from the researchers by interviewing other RDNA members, except by Margot Adler & Hansen. Gordon Melton, the eventual source of many encyclopedia articles, got his information solely from a letter in the early 70s by a disgruntled David Fisher seeking to put Druidism behind him before entering the Seminary. Fisher was but one member and it was David Frangquist and others who carried forward the group’s new purpose and philosophy.

I see these sources as generally over-concerned with external organizational structure, festival dates, Isaac’s “leadership” role, the name “Druid,” foreshadowings of ADF, implying that NRDNA is extremely different because it is a **religion** and discussing little of the raison

d’être for the RDNA beyond mentioning that initial protest against Chapel Requirement.

But since these researcher did not have access (or attempt such) to the same resources that I will use, we can forgive them. None of the other RDNA members really seemed that concerned to publicly advertise themselves and provide handy definitions to the unfamiliar outsiders, except Isaac. With all these errors and potential confusions available to the scholar of Reformed Druidism, a new review is necessary to balance and correct misunderstandings. That is what this paper is here to correct, a previously one-sided public knowledge of the Reformed Druid Movement.

I have more than said my piece, I now will proceed with silence.

¹ i.e. New RDNA, Schismatic DNA, Hassidic DNA, etc.DNA

² Reformed Druidism, or “The Reform,” is my general collective term for RDNA, NRDNA, SDNA, HDNA and all other branches; but it does not include ADF or Keltria

³ See Appendix D & E for other well-known studies.

⁴ While we know many student constitutions were handed in up to 1966, they weren’t accepted. See Part Eleven of ARDA: sect XII.

⁵ The 125 year timeline handout in 1991 has the Druids as one of 60+ special attractions. Part Eleven of ARDA IXd

⁶Aver. enrollment at Carleton is around 1500 over the last 30 yrs. See “Celebrating 125 years” timeline Part Eleven of ARDA IXd

⁷ Non-Intramural Correspondence 2/14/87 Greene to Cascorbi

⁸ Primarily the Druid Sigil, “Druid,” pedigree to Carleton and a relationship with Isaac Bonewits

⁹ Part Four of ARDA

¹⁰ Magic, Witchcraft, and Paganism in America pg. 19

¹¹ I recently heard an estimate that there are only 40,000 Quakers and about 180,000 Unitarian Universalist in the US, yet these groups are considered noteworthy.

¹² The last 7 years have seen a lot on encyclopedias and books on Neo-Paganism, feminist spirituality and Wicca. See Bibliography in Part Four of ARDA.

¹³ Appendix F has a few areas that I’d like to see explored further.

¹⁴ Bibliography & Appendix D & E.

¹⁵ I refer you to Appendix 1 in *Drawing Down the Moon*.

¹⁶ Such as Quakers, Universal Life Church & Unitarians

¹⁷ A medieval enthusiast organization founded in 1969 at Berkeley, now with over 50,000 **paid** members world-wide. Nearly every post 1969 grove in the Reform has interacted with an SCA group.

¹⁸See Part Eleven of ARDA

¹⁹ While David Fisher may be considered the biological father of the

RDNA, it was Frangquist who nursed and raised Reformed Druidism from infancy to adulthood.

²⁰ Part Eleven of ARDA: XXXI:A A collection of scripts from early rituals.

²¹ Part Eleven of ARDA: XXXIII. A collection of letters by Carleton Druids explaining Carleton Druidism.

²² Part Eleven of ARDA: XIV

²³ Part Eleven of ARDA: LXXXIII:A

²⁴ Part Eleven of ARDA: IV, V & VI

²⁵ An “active” Druid is defined by some as a member of a functioning grove. Others define “active” as responding to a letter you send them about Druids. Once a Druid, always a Druid, as some say in the RDNA. At present we do not have Isaac’s personal collection which may necessitate a re-write

²⁶ See the last section of the bibliography

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ See Bibliography in Appendix C

²⁹ i.e. Fisherisms.

³⁰ See Roll of Archdruids and Groves in Part Four of ARDA.

³¹ I.e. the college playing Mommy and Daddy for us.

³² Oral interviews, and books on protest (see bibliography) make this very clear. See the Frangquists and Shelton interviews for a closer view on each of these subjects.

³³ Observe in “Celebrating 125 Years” time line publication for effect of these causes on growth at Carleton or read the books on campus protests, especially “Berkeley at War.”

³⁴ See Maitland & Smith interviews and “Berkeley at War” for a closer view.

³⁵ Sources are John Nason’s Oral Interview & 30 pg. transcript, and comments by Maitland, Smith and other Druids in their interviews.

³⁶ Again, oral interviews with Maitland, Nason and Smith; in addition to Druid interviews.

³⁷ Source interviews with Maitland, Nason, Smith, David & Deborah Frangquist and Norman Nelson.

³⁸ March 1964 Carleton College Catalogue pg. 136; thanks NN!

³⁹ Internal Correspondence 10/23/69.

⁴⁰ Oral History interview with Felicia Oldfeather

⁴¹ Feb. 1993 Questionnaire. Howard Cherniack

⁴² It should be noted that the main books used by Druid groups today had not been published yet, that includes the authors Piggot, Ross and Chadwick. They did have Kendrick, which was good. More later.

⁴³ Archival Interview with David & Dee Frangquist 10/31/93

⁴⁴ At that time, women were not considered “deviant” enough to try and buck the system, so the chapel attendance slips were okayed by townswomen who had no idea what RDNA was, and didn’t care. The men’s slips passed under closer scrutiny and were rejected.

⁴⁵ Feb. 1993 Questionnaire with Nelson. Also interviews with the Frangquists and Nelson. I might point out that most researchers believed otherwise. Many Druids continued to go to the Sunday Choir even after the requirement was dropped.

⁴⁶ Feb. 1993 Questionnaire letter from Norman Nelson pg. 3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Pres. Nason became a 1st order RDNA member 2 weeks before the requirement was rescinded. Part Eleven of ARDA: VII: 6/18/64

⁴⁸ See Maitland interview

⁴⁹ I consider them : Fisher, Cherniack, Nelson & the Frangquists (not just the first three)

⁵⁰ Frangquist interview.

⁵¹ Questionnaire and oral interviews recorded & unrecorded.

⁵² As originally happened to me in my first 8 months of research. (growl!)

⁵³ Actually only the office of “Archdruid” has any historical basis.

⁵⁴ Although Kendrick and MacCulloch should have been sufficient

⁵⁵ The story of the continual building of altars and their subsequent vandalism takes up a great deal of space in the Druid Chronicles (Reformed) **XXX**

⁵⁶ i.e. Rome, Greece, Egypt, Israel, Celtic civilization, Sumerian, American Indian, etc.

⁵⁷ I.e. the goats slaughtered during the Islamic Hadj to Mecca, kosher, some Hindu religions, Santeria.

⁵⁸ Except in the case of war, where they will sacrifice thousands of lives for a religious ideal or goal.

⁵⁹ Druid Chronicles (Reformed) Early Chronicles 5:10

⁶⁰ Druid Chronicle (Reformed) Early Chronicles 5:9

⁶¹ Druid Chronicles (Reformed) Early Chronicles Chap. 5.

⁶² Druid Chronicles (Reformed) Book of Meditations 7:10-11

⁶³ See Part Eleven of ARDA: IX & X for samples: Carletonian 11/13/63, Purdue Exponent (on Purdue Grove) 1/5/70 & Drawing Down the Moon article on Druids.

⁶⁴ Reys, Paul. Zen Flesh, Zen Bones. pg. 175

⁶⁵ See Part Eleven of ARDA: XXX, XXXII & XXXIII respectively.

⁶⁶ These included Fisher ‘65, Nelson ‘65, David & Deborah Frangquist ‘66/’67, Gary Zempel ‘66, Dick Smiley, Thomas McCausland, Shelton ‘71, McDavid ‘72. Essentially all the key Dru-

ids in the RDNA's inter-grove history.

⁶⁷ The reader should know by this point, that it was the Frangquists who were integral people in setting of the foundations for the growth and future appeal of Reformed Druidism.

⁶⁸ App B: IV 1964 Fisher to Frangquist.

⁶⁹ I.e. Druids

⁷⁰ I.e. a Third Order "priest" who stays out all night awaiting the dawn initiation.

⁷¹ Druid Chronicles. Meditations Chapter 10.

⁷² Experimentation in American Religion. pg. 15-18. And Encyclopedic Handbook of Cults pg. 8.

⁷³ Non-Intramural Corr. Fisher to Melton 7/13/73

⁷⁴ Part Eleven of ARDA: XXXII: B

⁷⁵ Feb. 1993 Questionnaire Glen McDavid pg. 5

⁷⁶ Int. Corr. 1/28/86 Shelton to Koester

⁷⁷ Especially early Christianity, which I'll discuss later in the Liturgy analysis.

⁷⁸ Quite notably the use of the Waters-of-life in the liturgy, as I will speculate later.

⁷⁹ In many ways, Frangquist may have designed the perfect Zen monastery, a Zen monastery that doesn't know it is a Zen monastery

⁸⁰ Feb. 1993 Questionnaire. Glen McDavid pg. 5

⁸¹ You may be also wondering why it's taking me so long to get to this part. Well, Gibson took over 1400 pages to describe the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, but I'll take less than a hundred.

⁸² Some feared to even require these.

⁸³ Druid Chronicle Book of Law, 5 & 6

⁸⁴ Feb. 1993 Questionnaire letter from Norman Nelson pg. 2.

⁸⁵ Non-Intramural Corr. Fisher to Melton.

⁸⁶ Larry Press interview. Be'al and a couple are given just a smidgen of story, but hardly much.

⁸⁷ Neo-Pagans prefer immanent Divinity. Many hard-core monotheists while claiming both, prefer transcendence.

⁸⁸ Part Eleven of ARDA: VIII:4/64 KARL. The Book was "Histomap of Religion" published by Rand McNally in 1943.

⁸⁹ The Strange Proverbs of Michael Scharding.

⁹⁰ See Part Four of ARDA.

⁹¹ I've looked very hard and reviewed all the interviews. I'm not sure the SDNA differed too much in practice, either.

⁹² Druid Chronicles. Meditations 6:7-8.

⁹³ Non-Intramural Corr. Frangquist to Carletonian 11/12/65 This was before sexist terminology was realized. Note "rational" was a loophole for non-religious Druids.

⁹⁴ Druid Chronicles. Meditations 6:9-11.

⁹⁵ Sort of like the academic "honor system" applied to religious beliefs.

⁹⁶ Frangquists interview

⁹⁷ Carleton Apocrypha. A Book of Faith paragraph 5

⁹⁸ Feb. 1993 Questionnaire Ellen Shelton

⁹⁹ Feb. 1993 Questionnaire Faris Keeling

¹⁰⁰ Student Organizational Report RDNA 4/23/65 Frangquist

¹⁰⁰ Translation of Uisge-Beatha (Whiskey). "Waters-of-life" appear as a joining medium in "Stranger in a Strange Land," a science fiction book then available. They also show up in "Dune," but that wasn't published until 1965.

¹⁰¹ Note that "Preceptor" and "Server" are titles swiped from Episcopalian ritual.

¹⁰² Unrecorded interview with James Hall '64 during Mar 1993.

¹⁰³ Again, Nelson Questionnaire response pg. 6. See Druid Chronicles (reformed) Early Chronicles 1:6. I go into Fisher's origins in greater detail in Chapter Four.

¹⁰⁴ Constitutions of the RDNA. Part Eleven of ARDA: XII

¹⁰⁵ It might be noted that there are three primary orders in freemasonry and that one "rite" has exactly 10 orders, they being primarily honorary after the third order. Part Four of ARDA for rules and Part Three.

¹⁰⁶ Again, Nelson Questionnaire response pg. 2

¹⁰⁷ Which is one of the primary reason Mr. Fisher refuses any more interviews.

¹⁰⁸ Student Organizational Report RDNA 4/24/66 by Zempel

¹⁰⁹ In fact, he's the one that collected and preserved the "Celtic" scraps in Druid Chronicles (Reformed)

¹¹⁰ Part Eleven of ARDA: VII: Non-Intramural Corr. Fisher to Melton 7/13/73

¹¹¹ Druid Chronicles (Reformed) Customs 4:12

¹¹² As a contribution to the "Masonic Theory," Isaac claims in DC(E)'s section on Celtic Deities (Welsh cycle) that another Druid group used Dalon ap Landu also.

¹¹³ I refer you to several books on Masonic initiations. See Bibliography, esp. Carnes.

¹¹⁴ Caused by bad omens, candidate falling asleep, or deep doubts by the initiating Druid.

¹¹⁵ See Part Four of ARDA

¹¹⁶ See Appendix C for times of grove foundings.

¹¹⁷ Women had trouble with all-night vigiling at Carleton until 1970 due to a 10pm curfew on females, thus it was harder for women to become Third-Order priests. Therefore, there was some debate as to how valid their priesthoods were in comparison to men's. This proposal, incidentally was started by Frangquist. This problem is ably discussed in the Frangquist Interview.

¹¹⁸ Records of the Council of Dalon Ap Landu 1/27/65 , Part Four of ARDA.

¹¹⁹ This passing of continuity through "Apostolic Succession" may have been a subtle joke on Christianity since it eventually leads back to David Fisher, whom nobody believes to have actually been validly initiated. Zen-point: Apostolic Succession was without foundation, but still considered important. Currently the RDNA of Carleton sees no reason why any Third Order Druid can't ordain another, but the earlier reason was to restrict expansion to responsible people (like, um, ArchDruids?).

¹²⁰ It isn't written anywhere that a consensus is necessary but the only accepted decisions have been by consensus. It is an unwritten tradition.

¹²¹ Int. Corr. Smiley to Frangquist (Part Eleven of ARDA: IV). Savitzky's taped interview.

¹²² See Chapter Four for further discussion on the Waters-of-Life.

¹²³ See the Epistle of David the Chronicler, Chapter 1 in either form of the Apocrypha.

¹²⁴ Records of the Council of Dalon ap Landu 5/7/1964

¹²⁵ Interviews Shelton, Press, Abbot, Bonewits, Salee, Carruth, Savitzky, Bradley, Sherbak

¹²⁶ Druid Chronicles (Reformed) Early Chronicles 2:7-10.

¹²⁷ Records of the Council of Dalon Ap Landu 1/27/65. See Nelson interview for the "Missionary Dilemma" about how to consecrate waters without a current preceptor.

¹²⁸ See Part Eleven of ARDA XII Constitutions.

¹²⁹ Records of the Council of Dalon Ap Landu 1/27/65 Part Four of ARDA

¹³⁰ Carleton Apocrypha. Book of Faith paragraph 5

¹³¹ I refer you to Internal Corr. 9/68 to 9/69 in Part Eleven of ARDA: IV.

¹³² The "Maybe" response is common. See DC(E)'s apocryphal Book of Changes 2:6.

¹³³ I.e. Ordained at Carleton Grove (CL) by Fisher in 1965.

¹³⁴ Frangquists Interview

¹³⁵ Internal Corr. 2/5/69 Smiley to Draft

¹³⁶ Internal Corr. 3/24/69 Smiley to Draft. This statement was true,

for at Carleton, Smiley felt it was his only religion and the title "priest" is a common title of a minister.

¹³⁷ (CL68:Peck) ArchDruid of Carleton Fall 68-Spring 69 and ArchDruid of Stanford from 1970-78.

¹³⁸ (CL69:Savitzky) AD of Carleton Spring 69-71. AD of Ann Arbor 1974-78.

¹³⁹ How similar to being forced to go to Chapel requirement, whether you were religious or not.

¹⁴⁰ See Shelton interview

¹⁴¹ It wouldn't take 1/2 hour to make the RDNA a ULC church without any loss of individuality. But most Carleton students would be too lazy to send in quarterly reports.

¹⁴² Universal Life Church. Life Is pg. 11.

¹⁴³ Isaac did not, in fact, come to hear about this case until 1993.

¹⁴⁴ IV Shelton to Scharding 4/24/94

¹⁴⁵ IV Shelton to Scharding 4/24/94, see also Shelton to Council 16 October 1969

¹⁴⁶ IV Shelton to Scharding, sometime between 1994 & 1995.

¹⁴⁷ Interviews with Stefan and Carruth. Most Druids are delighted to hear Carleton is STILL going.

¹⁴⁸ IV Shelton to Scharding April 24th, 1994.

¹⁴⁹ For more on this see Frangquists & Carruth interviews. Drawing Down the Moon, too.

¹⁵⁰ A fun tidbit is that the large British Druid group, OBOD, also began in 1963. Coincidence?...You, the reader, decide.

¹⁵¹ Perhaps the Neo-Pagan revival was the opposite effect of men and women becoming disgusted at the prominence of males in controlling the understanding of religion. Further study on such a topic would be very interesting to follow.

¹⁵² For which the Compass and Straight edge are it's symbols.

¹⁵³ Intriguingly, Pythagorans also had a seeming prohibition on writing down their beliefs.

¹⁵⁴ Frangquist interviews and Nelson interview. See Bibliography for books available on Druidism at Carleton during the early 60s.

¹⁵⁵ Frangquist Interview 10/31/93 and Nelson & Cherniack. See Part Eleven of ARDA: XXXI.

¹⁵⁶ Norman Nelson & Fisher were both Episcopalian and Druid Founders. Adler "Drawing Down the Moon" pg. 322 thought so of a descendent service at Stanford. This is seen especially in the naming of the lower two officers as "preceptor" & "server." The term "Arch-Druid" was, of course, a common term in academia from the times of Caesar. See Part Eleven of ARDA: IX:B:2 by James Hall.

¹⁵⁷ Feb. 1993 Questionnaire letter from Norman Nelson pg. 6. Frangquist interview.

¹⁵⁸ Archival Interview with David & Dee Frangquist 10/31/93. Int. Corr. 1964 Fisher to Frangquist & 11/28/69 Fisher resigns Patriarch of Grannos.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Larson. But, Nelson is unsure if it's true.

¹⁶⁰ Larson notes possible Christian carryovers of St.Paddy's Day, Easter and Lady's Day.

¹⁶¹ In order to explain this attitude, I highly recommend that the reader should watch Monty Python's "The Life of Brian"

¹⁶² For Isaac's analysis of the Order of Worship see the Part Two of ARDA , 2nd Epistle of Isaac.

¹⁶³ The precise combination is a matter of controversy. The most prevalent ratio of Whisky to water is 1:3 except on festivals (during the summer half of the year) when it inverts to 3:1.

¹⁶⁴ Latin's similar translation for whiskey is "Aqua Vitae," the waters of life.

¹⁶⁵ However a chronological problem is that distilled beverages were not invented until the 6th century at least, long after evidence for ancient Druids ceases. Larson however suggests that heat distillation may have existed earlier, or perhaps even through freeze-distillation.

¹⁶⁶ We go into far greater detail about the Druid Calendar in the other Volumes of the Druid Compendium, especially the Liturgy.

¹⁶⁷ I.e. Christmas, Sabbaths, Sundays, Fridays (Islam), the birthday of Krishna, etc.

¹⁶⁸ Again, see the Bibliography.

¹⁶⁹ . From the Founders (Fisher, Nelson, Cherniack and Frangquist), three would eventually return to Episcopalianism

¹⁷⁰ I didn't even know of Berkeley's non-collegiate base until a month ago, that's how dangerous any reliance on spotty written records can be without lots of interviews.

¹⁷¹ I.e. animal sacrifice, orgies, kidnapping, brain-washing and other such clap-trap theories by anti-cult "experts." I refer you to Drawing Down the Moon and "In Gods We Trust" in the bibliography.

¹⁷² "Berkeley at War" chapter 2. A delightful chapter.

¹⁷³ I need only refer you to the "Berkeley in the Sixties" video in my bibliography.

¹⁷⁴ I refer statistic-freaks to "Experimentation in American Religion" in the bibliography.

¹⁷⁵ See Shelton, Frangquist, Abbot & and Savitzky interviews.

¹⁷⁶ See Drawing Down the Moon Chapters 3,4,5 & 7 and Bonewits, Hixon, Press, Tezera, Carruth, Abbot, Sherbak, & especially Bradley interviews.

¹⁷⁷ Chapter 3 of Drawing Down the Moon and Interviews with Joan Carruth, Bonewits & Bradley.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Isaac Bonewits 2/23/94 and see most encyclopaedias' almost exclusive focus on the RDNA's fulfillment of this role. See Appendix D..

¹⁷⁹ Observation, conversations and interviews with Taylor, Bonewits & Sherbak

¹⁸⁰ Since that time, the Celtic field has been swamped with other organizations. See list of groups in Appendices of Drawing Down the Moon and Circle Networking Directory.

¹⁸¹ See Part Four of ARDA

¹⁸² Interviews with Shelton, Bonewits, Carruth, Tezera, Sherbak, Hixon, Press, Salee, Savitzky, Bradley and McDavid (unrecorded). See Drawing Down the Moon Chapter 14 and Appendix I for more discussion on the Neo-Pagan's background.

¹⁸³ A medieval society found in Berkeley in 1968 with over 50,000 paid members world-wide. See interviews with Shelton, Bonewits, Press, Carruth, Salee, Bradley, Larson, Savitzky, Scharding and the Frangquists. Part Eleven of ARDA:IV 4/1/72 McDavid.

¹⁸⁴ Pick any interview

¹⁸⁵ See Interviews with Savitzky, Cascorbi, Adams, Shelton, Bonewits, Bradley, Abbot and Larson. see the Index in Part Eleven of ARDA :XI Computer Notes on the "famous" Reformed Druid IBM program.

¹⁸⁶ See interviews of Shelton, Frangquist, Adams, Cascorbi, Bradley. Seidel was a super folkdancer.

¹⁸⁷ Interviews with Larson, Abbot, Carruth, Bonewits.

¹⁸⁸ Without being elitist, many Carleton missionaries complained about the lower intellect of members.

¹⁸⁹ He received the first and last bachelor's degree in "Magic and Thaumaturgy," to tweak the nose of the University. See Larson, Bonewits, Carruth, Press, Abbot and Sherbak for more personal descriptions about Isaac, good & bad. Isaac was always tweaking noses.

¹⁹⁰ Ordination to the Third Order is, sadly, restricted access

¹⁹¹ One of the irony's of this, sometime obsessive, reliance on Celtic sources is that it may take centuries to nurse together the surviving fragments; in which time a new system might be developed.

¹⁹² I apologize for the use of the term "Affair" which sounds much too sexy, however the "Isaac Intercourse" and "Isaac Interaction" sound equally silly.

¹⁹³ Isaac was ordained in 1969 by Larson.

¹⁹⁴ Drawing Down the Moon 1986 pg. 422 and Interviews with Bonewits and Carruth.

¹⁹⁵ Larson, being Isaac's roommate in 1969, would have told him about Shelton's codex. Larson wrote to Shelton in 1969 about it.

¹⁹⁶ Records of CoDAL 27, January 1965 *Council (a)*

¹⁹⁷ Records of CoDAL 27, January 1965 *Council (b)*

¹⁹⁸ Remember that Carleton students have little free time or money to track down the addresses of everybody, compose mimeograph masters, separate and mail out frequent letters. However, even a yearly

letter was neglected.

¹⁹⁹ Part Eleven of ARDA IV 4/25/72

²⁰⁰ The term “wars” could have been chosen because several correspondents in the RDNA and NRDNA often employed unusually aggressive terminology.

²⁰¹ See “Real Magic” and Isaac Letters in the Apocrypha

²⁰² Isaac’s majority vote is a natural result of widespread confusion regarding voting and Book of Law verse 12 from the Druid Chronicles, which only applied to the Carleton Grove, not the RDNA, although they were identical at the time.

²⁰³ Interviews of Larson, Carruth, Press, Bradley and Drawing Down the Moon chapter 3. Any letter from Part Eleven of ARDA: IV:7/18/74 to V:10/21/76 is also good territory to browse through.

²⁰⁴ Drawing Down the moon pg. 13.

²⁰⁵ The First Epistle of Isaac 2:4

²⁰⁶ Internal Corr. 7/18/74 Isaac to everyone 1:5-7

²⁰⁷ Frangquist interview and any letter by a Shelton.

²⁰⁸ Frangquist interview

²⁰⁹ See Part Eleven of ARDA: V: 10/21/76 and 6/21/76 for explicit affirmations of Neo-Paganism.

²¹⁰ Feb. 1993 Questionnaire Glen McDavid pg. 5

²¹¹ Internal Corr. Shelton to Isaac 8/14/74

²¹² In interviews many “NRDNA” members said that Neo-Paganism for them was an openness to all religions, but that it was hard to communicate this to outsiders so that they could understand this.

²¹³ Part Eleven of ARDA: V: Internal Corr. 5/26/76 Larson to everyone

²¹⁴ Drawing Down the Moon chapter 1 “Paganism & Prejudice” for the pros & cons of names. It might be noteworthy that even the relatively open-minded Carleton Druids were initially frightened by the name and took a bit of time to be calmed down.

²¹⁵ Frangquists interview

²¹⁶ Carleton Apocrypha. Book of Faith paragraph 5

²¹⁷ I.e. in a service, “circle” is a term borrowed from Wiccan practices

²¹⁸ Interview with Stefan Abbot. It should be noted that Stefan is by no means on friendly terms with Isaac.

²¹⁹ Stefan absolutely hated the Jesus People, back then.

²²⁰ Interview with Stefan Abbot, NRDNA member since 1970. It should be noted that the mood of the Archdruid often attracts and repels different people, regardless of intent.

²²¹ Feb. 1993 Questionnaire with McDavid pg. 8

²²² Before laughing, remember that Protestants and Catholics went

to war over what happened to the host during the Mass.

²²³ I’ll cross reference these later, but many are referred to in Druid Chronicles (Reformed), Black Book of Liturgy and in the interviews with Carleton Druids.

²²⁴ Only plants are allowed in Reformed Druidism and nearly all Neo-Pagan groups, Wiccan covens, etc.

²²⁵ Carleton Apocrypha. Book of Faith paragraph 8 & 9

²²⁶ Carleton Apocrypha. Epistle of David the Chronicler

²²⁷ Non-Intramural April 1964 KARL radio broadcast.

²²⁸ Internal Corr. 5/29/76 Ellen Shelton to Isaac

²²⁹ Internal Corr. Epistle of Richard 5/24/76

²³⁰ Internal Corr. 5/26/76 Larson to everyone

²³¹ I’ll save those for future scholarly essays.

²³² **XXX**

²³³ DC(E) Book of Changes Chapter 2. See Part Four of ARDA.

²³⁴ Bradley always gave his vote to McDavid, his predecessor. See Part Four of ARDA.

²³⁵ Hassidic (Jewish) Druids of North America in St. Louis, they were a split-off in the SDNA.

²³⁶ They referred to it as the “Provisional *Conspiracy* of Arch-Druids.”

²³⁷ Part Eleven of ARDA: V:7/18/76

²³⁸ DC(E) Book of Changes 4:2 Appendix C

²³⁹ DC(E) Book of Changes Chapt 3 & 4. Part Eleven of ARDA :V:7/2/76

²⁴⁰ DC(E) Book of Changes Chapt 5. Part Four of ARDA

²⁴¹ 1976 Shelton communication with HDNA (unrecorded) and Interviews with many people ordained by Isaac while he was an SDNA ArchDruid. (Salee, Sherbak, Press)

²⁴² Magic, Witches & Witchcraft in the US pg. 61. Appendix D.

²⁴³ Part Eleven of ARDA: XXXXI Druid Chronicler vol. 2:1

²⁴⁴ “Druidh” in Scots-Gaelic is a little bird. I kill me. Ha! However, Larson believes that “the wren (Irish dreoilin) whose old name was “druidh-en” meaning “druids’ bird.” See you’re not making a pun after all!”

²⁴⁵ Interviews with Savitzky, Salee, Bonewits, Bradley, Larson, Carruth & Abbot.

²⁴⁶ Unless they are a cover-up, the listing of events and activities in the Druid Chronicler issues should indicate the activity-orientation of many of the groves.

²⁴⁷ For further study of backstage amendments and corrections see Part Eleven of ARDA :V:many documents between 1976-1977.

²⁴⁸ Some would say restrictive orthodoxy.

²⁴⁹ If you think that was semantic, the Frosts got into a lot of trouble with Wiccans when the published “The Witch’s Bible” instead of “A Witch’s Bible.” Another interesting trivia point was that the Carleton Grove archives were nearly lost by Corey. This might have made them apprehensive that Isaac’s version would become the only version available to future historians. Of course they didn’t tell Isaac, it would just have shown their incompetence even more. See Part Eleven of ARDA :V 4/10/76 & 9/9/76.

²⁵⁰ It has had various additional titles tacked on. Part Eleven of ARDA :XXXXI B (incomplete)

²⁵¹ The close of a grove is rarely documented because of the stressful causes underlying it. Interviews with Savitzky, Bradley, Bonewits, Press, Carruth, Abbot, Bonewits, Shelton & Larson and the Druid Chronicler are my main sources of knowledge on this period, which will hopefully be clarified in my Second Epistle. See Part Four of ARDA and note the “Bermuda Triangle Years” of 1977-1980 as I call them.

²⁵² See interviews with Carruth, Abbot, Salee, Sherbak, Bradley & Savitzky.

²⁵³ See Part Four of ARDA

²⁵⁴ Read the Dead Sea Scrolls and Dead Lake Scrolls of Part Nine of ARDA for more on this time.

²⁵⁵ A humorous account of the Death March incident is in Part Eleven of ARDA :XXXIV:B:1 is balanced by the uncatalogued 12/81 issue of Druid Chronicler and interviews with Bonewits, Carruth, Abbot & Press.

²⁵⁶ A rarely used title, also found at Carleton, I believe in 1/8/86.

²⁵⁷ See uncatalogued Druid Chronicler 12/81.

²⁵⁸ See Part Eleven of ARDA:V: 4/25/82 onwards to present. Interviews with Frangquists and Shelton. Personal conversation Tom Lane & Bob Nieman (unrecorded).

²⁵⁹ Interviews with Alice Cascorbi. Part Eleven of ARDA: IX and XX.

²⁶⁰ Interviews with Sam Adams. Part Eleven of ARDA:VI, VII, IX, XXIII, XXIV, XXXIV:A and personal diary.

²⁶¹ Remember that Reagan was Governor of California in the 60s, Neo-Pagans didn’t like him any better in the 80s! These are known as the “Boring Years” see Part Eleven of ARDA: XXXIV: B.

²⁶² See Part Four of ARDA.

²⁶³ As far as I’m concerned he’s still a member in good standing of the N/RDNA, merely on an individual path that differs wildly from other members at the present.

²⁶⁴ This alone makes many Reformed Druids cringe.

²⁶⁵ Larson notes that the Celtic interlace seems to have stemmed from Saxon/Norse art forms, and it was unknown in Hallstatt or La Tene Celtic art (or pre-Christian). Joke’s on Isaac! A Celtic “tree of life” design would have been more appropriate.

²⁶⁶ I’ve included a copy of “Vision of ADF” in Appendix D to give you an idea of what Isaac was thinking about in the late 70s.

²⁶⁷ Except the 200+ pg. Druid Chronicles (Evolved), for size reasons of course

²⁶⁸ I would, ideally, prefer the reader to be sitting in the IDA, examining the documents.

²⁶⁹ Isaac is definitely an important one, but no one Druid (not even me) can authoritatively speak for the mind of the whole group.

²⁷⁰ See Part Eleven of ARDA:XXX:H for the breakdown of it’s contents

²⁷¹ Druid Chronicles (Evolved) Introduction to Chronicles of Foundation.

²⁷² Most of the contributors and editors were from the Berkeley Grove.

²⁷³ The Green Book was mainly confined to Carleton

²⁷⁴ Part Eleven of ARDA:XXXIII

²⁷⁵ Of which you are reading volume 1.

²⁷⁶ Savitzky and Larson had both studied at Carleton.

²⁷⁷ pg. 300 1978 edition; 321, 1985 edition

²⁷⁸ pg. 301 1978 edition; 323, 1986 edition. The last part of the quote is pushing it a bit far

²⁷⁹ Interviews with Bradley (Humanistic), Savitzky (skeptical), Larson (Paleo-Pagan), Cindy Salee (Taoist/Native American).

²⁸⁰ Magic, Witches & Witchcraft in the US pg. 13

²⁸¹ Ibid. pg. 34

²⁸² Ibid. pg. 35

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ bold face is mine, not theirs





30th anniversary celebration; Paul Schmidt, Nikki Lambert, Mike Scharding, Hannah Davenport, & Richard Shelton (presiding), Monument Hill, April 1993