

## Druidry: an Alternative Religion



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## A Druidic Experience

I started this project thinking I would look at alternative religions. I started with a broad search, which led to Pagans or Neo-Pagans and then I tried to locate practitioners in the greater Columbus area. I found Rev. Dangler, a Druid of the Three Cranes Grove, on the web page for Pagan Pride Day in Columbus.<sup>1</sup> I contacted him through his homepage<sup>2</sup> and he agreed to an interview.

The Three Cranes Grove (3CG) is part of a national organization of Druids called: Ár nDraíocht Féin: A Druid Fellowship (ADF).<sup>3</sup> The calendar<sup>4</sup> for the 3CG listed Rituals open to the public and this is where I learned about the Imbolc Ritual on January 27 at Blacklick Woods Metropark. The term “Grove” in Druidry is equivalent to a church, but without a physical building (rituals are usually out of doors) and a grove member is a church member. There are additional Druid Groves in Ohio located in Dayton, Cleveland, Amelia and Elyria.

A closer look at Rev. Dangler’s website reveals that he teaches workshops in Druidry, Divination, Amulets and Talismans, and Chaos Magic to mention just a few.<sup>5</sup> This presents an image that mixes magic and religion. ADF offers formal magical training classes, which are required to become a Priest. The ADF Dedicant Path clerical training says, “When you have mastered [part 3 of the training program] you will have a firm basic grasp of the techniques of Druidic Paganism and magic.”<sup>6</sup> Belief in, and the practice of, magic is what sets apart Druids and Neo-Pagans in general from the normative religions (Christianity, Judaism, etc.) and it is the primary component of their faith that labels them deviant.

I grew up with a Christian religious background and I admit that I grew out of believing in magic in my youth. Now, I was about to meet a man and a group of people who take magic seriously. Druidry is for them a revival of old Pagan worship from folklore and myth.

I mentioned to my family that I was doing research on Pagans and they were shocked. Their very first thought was Satanists. I was surprised at the reaction. I explained that the research was on Neo-Pagans in general, Druids and their Earth Religion in particular. This somewhat calmed their fears, but not completely. This reaction highlighted the stigma attached to the label/identity of Paganism in the present. There is also the historic lesson of witch-hunts and witch-burnings, and thus many followers of Paganism see the need for secrecy<sup>7</sup>.

Having gathered some background about Neo-Pagan Druids, I meet with Rev. Dangler on Jan. 16. (I did not have a recorder, thus I may not give exact quotes). I asked him how and when he discovered Druids. He replied that he learned about Druids in a high school Latin class, when reading about Julius Caesar, which led him to more books about Druids. I found interesting that he explained his start this way. I went back after the interview to his website he clearly claims that he started identifying himself as a Druid when role-playing as a Druid in a Dungeons and Dragons game (D & D).<sup>8</sup> I wondered was it priestly professionalism that caused him to edit the story he told me or was it fear of the negative label that D & D has picked up?

At first, he was a solitary (self-taught and self-identified as a Druid, but without a group membership). While attending OSU, he learned about and then joined the “6th Night Grove” a part of the ADF in Dayton, OH. He commuted to their rituals for over a year before he started the Three Cranes Grove here about five years ago. All told, he has been a Druid for 12 years.

Having faced a surprising reaction to mentioning, I had to ask if his family and work associates knew about his conversion to Druidry. He said, “Yes, they knew.” His family belonged to the United Church of Christ, so he was raised a Christian. He tells me that his family had no objections to his change in religion and in fact, they came to his consecration as a Dedicant Priest in the ADF in 2003. He work associates also know and he has not had any

trouble at work. When I asked if there was incident when his religion caused him any problems, he said no, however, he then told me of an incident while he was doing a Summer Solstice Ritual at Goodale Park. They had a group of drunken hecklers at a point during the ritual, but he brushed this off. He seemed very comfortable with being a Druid and professed to no real negative reactions to his faith.

Does the State of Ohio recognize a Druid Priests as clergy? Yes, through the training offered by the ADF, he is now a registered Dedicant Priest and recognized by the State as clergy. In addition, he is currently studying to achieve the next two clerical levels within the ADF, while taking classes at OSU in comparative religious studies. He completed an undergraduate degree in Military History. I found it strange to go from Military History to religious studies and asked about it. He explained that Military History as taught at OSU is not about battles and tactics as I might have guessed but more about the causes of war - the biggest reason being religion. It is also about how not to use force.

I asked, "What sort of things does the Three Cranes Grove do?" He tells me that the grove is committed to community service. Their projects include canned food collections at rituals for donation to the Mid-Ohio Foodbank. (I made a mental note to bring some canned goods to the ritual.) They have a holiday toy collection for Franklin County Children's Services at the Winter Solstice "Yule" ritual. The grove also takes on nature work - they have adopted and clean up the Lower Scioto Multi-Use Trail, part of the Columbus Parks system. They have adopted three cranes from the Columbus Zoo. The group is ecologically minded and they recycle as much as possible. Most of these projects demonstrate that the care of the Earth is central to the spirituality of Druid faith.

I understood from reading about Druids that they are Polytheistic (Many Gods). I asked him to elaborate on this. He explained that Christianity is Monotheistic (One God) while Neo-Pagans, including Druids, are not limited to one God. All the Neo-Pagans believe in the Earth Mother Goddess and some worship her in conjunction with the male god, Cernunnous, the Horned God. This grove worships the Earth Mother Goddess and they fill in their religion with a number of other Pagan Gods. For example, Brigando is the patron Goddess of the Imbolc Ritual. The 3CG website has a section on deities, which lists Gods from Gaulish, Norse and Roman pantheons (they list fourteen Gods as well as a disclaimer that they are not exclusive to these).<sup>9</sup> He has even studied ancient languages in order to be able to read ancient texts about these Pagan Gods. He has done this to develop appropriate liturgy (specific prayers) for their worship rituals and as required by his clerical training within the ADF.

Moreover, he tells me that the Druid Priest invokes magic during the ritual. I felt a shiver when I heard the word magic. Old Gods, Sacrifice, Divination and Magic are brought out of the past and practiced today. I had to ask, "What kind of magic?" I sensed that he felt my apprehension. His explanation was, "For the Druids, magic is a non-traditional way of effecting change in the cosmos. We use it to put things right with the world. The planet is not ours; we are only stewards of the land." This was my introduction to Neo-Pagan Druidry.

I arrived at Blacklick Metro Park just as the sun was setting for the Imbolc Ritual along with about twenty-five other people. They took time before starting the service to have everyone introduce themselves. The grove members welcomed everyone who had never been to a ritual before (about five of us). Most of the rituals take place out doors except during the dead of winter, so this one took place in a heated shelter house. Because this is one of their open to the public rituals, they took care to explain the ritual throughout the service. The Druid set up the

Scared Grove (altar) which represents the well (a silver punch bowl of water), the fire (a gas fireplace) and the tree (a tree trunk in a stand). The lights are turned off and candles are lit all around the room. The Druid explains the purpose of the ritual is to pray for a quick end to winter and rejoice that the sun is returning and the days are once again growing longer.

The ritual begins with all of us filing into the hallway and kitchen so that we may enter the Sacred Grove from the direction of the kitchen hearth. As we file in, the Grove members sing, "We Approach the Sacred Grove." We form a circle around the room. First, the Nature spirits are recognized – Spirits of the Sky, Spirits of the Land and Spirits of the Waters. Then, as we kneel and touch the Earth, the Druid calls upon the Earth Mother Goddess. The Druid explains more about their patron Goddess Brigando. She is the hearth Goddess, the year's midwife who births the sun, whose magic calls the spring.

The Druid asks those of us who are not grove members to turn our backs while the Grove Warder makes an offering to the Outdwellers. They explain that the warders protect the Sacred Grove from the Outdwellers who may be Giants or Trolls or any whose purpose is against the grove. If the offering is not accepted, the Warder stands ready to defend the grove.

Now the Druid instructs us to close our eyes, reach down with our awareness into the center core of the Earth and draw into ourselves the energy of the molten fire within. Join this with the cold energy, which we pull down from the darkness of space. The pulse of these energies from the earth and sky are the powers that make us strong. This is a meditative step called attuning the grove, which I tried. However, I was not successful in getting these energies to flow into me. It seemed to be equivalent to Luke Skywalker feeling and calling on the Force, that flows through everything. I later learned that Druids take training in meditation and maybe that helps with this part of the ritual. I just did not feel the energies at this point.

The grove members sing the “Portal Song.” Now the Druid directs us to see in our mind the mists that hover between worlds roll in and surround the Sacred Grove cutting us off from the mundane world. The mist parts and Garanus the crane takes his place to guard and guide us as we open the portal between realms so we may travel to meet the Kindred. As offerings are made at the fire, the well and the tree, everyone chants, “Open the Gates.” The Seer prays and makes an offering of a plate of food to the Ancestors (the dead). The Bard prays and makes the offering of flowers at the base of the tree for the Nature Spirits. The senior Druid prays and makes the offering of scented oil to the fire for the Goddesses and Gods.

Now the Druid asks the entire grove to make any offerings they wish. The grove members have come prepared with a variety of offerings. Some speak out to Brigando; some speak out to the Goddess and others to their patron God or Goddess. There are two themes of the prayers offered. Some offer thanks for strength and watching over them. Some request help with specific problems in their lives (health and family issues for the most part).

Now the senior Druid begins the prayers to the patron Goddess of the ritual, Brigando. Everyone has a part of a poem as an offering to Brigando and we each come forward and light a candle as we read our part of the poem. The Druid calls upon Brigando to join us in the Sacred Grove. In addition to calling upon her to bring spring back to the land, another of her aspects is smith craft. Historically, smith craft referred to blacksmithing and part of the worship rituals for Brigando was to ask her to bless the tools made by the smiths, which enabled them to work the land (a plow, a hoe, etc.). The Druids have updated the worship of Brigando. When asking for the blessing of tools, they now consider any tool that enables one to do a job. The grove members bring forth everything from laptops and flash drives, artists’ brushes and paints, notebooks and runestones for blessing by Brigando.

The Seer now consults the rune stones in the ritual. They serve as a means to communicate with the Gods after the sacrifices, to determine if the Gods have accepted their sacrifices or if there is something more that the Gods desire. While the 3CG uses runestones for divination, other groups use Tarot Cards in their rituals. The omen from the runestones is positive, so the Goddess will answer our prayers.

The senior Druid now performs the litany of the waters. He holds a pitcher of water aloft and asks the Gods to bless it. He lights candles around the pitcher and offers prayers. The Druid shares the blessed Waters of Life among all the participants. A final prayer is offered thanking the Kindreds. The Druid speaks the closing prayer as the grove members chant "Close the Gates." This returns us to the mundane world, which ends the Imbolc Ritual.

The grove now has 26 registered members and usually 20 to 35 people show up for rituals. The age range of the group seemed to be from about 20 years old to about 60 years old. I did read up about grove membership before coming to the ritual. The Three Cranes Grove has two levels of membership, a Grove Member and a Friend of the Grove. Member dues are \$60 a year and Friends of the Grove dues are \$30 a year. The Grove Members have the option to use part of their dues to pay for membership in the ADF. In order to join the Three Cranes Grove, their web site instructs you to read their By-Laws, visit the ADF website, and read through their liturgy, rituals, calendar, and service. You must also attend at least one ritual and then contact them. The web site also notes that new memberships are on hiatus until they review their new membership process.<sup>10</sup>

I now had a chance to speak with some of the members of the grove. I asked one of the grove members about joining the grove, since their instruction on the web seemed to lead this subject hanging. She elaborated on what they meant when they said contact us. They will not

accept new members without first getting to know them. It is a group decision. They are a rather close-knit group almost like a family. Therefore, they do not want to let just anyone in. Thus, there is a vetting process to be sure new members will mesh well with the existing group.

I went on to inquire if there had been any members leave the group and was there any special process to leave? She told me that some members have left. There is no special process to leave. Some have moved away and some just stop showing up for rituals. When this happens, they do try to find out why. One of the reasons, she explained, is that while Druidry was the right spiritual path for them while they were members, they have moved on to a different spiritual path. They respect the individuals right to determine the best spiritual path for themselves.

I also spoke with a group of women all in their twenties. I asked them if they were openly Druids to their friends and family. They told me that no they had not come out to their parents. One had "... kind of hinted to her mother, when her mother asked about the necklace she always wore". She explained that it is a pendant of her patron Goddess Isis from the Egyptian pantheon. She explained all about Isis to her mother but never came out and said that she worshipped her. Her parents are Baptists. For the most part, only those who were very close friends or roommates really knew that they were Druids. They professed to be close to their family, but feared the reaction of their parents to their religion.

Their secrecy allows them to continue normal social interactions with their families. They feared the reaction to the label "Pagan or Druid." From the Societal Reaction/Labeling Perspective, their parents' reaction would label them deviant. Seeing themselves through their parents' eyes with this negative labeling would redefine their relationship with their family. The family might ostracize them or might put pressure on them to give up this religion. Thus, they maintain the secret. Lemert's theory of Primary and Secondary Deviation would place this form

of deviancy in the primary category because it is legal. Our laws guarantee freedom of religion. However, Druidry or Neo-Paganism is not an accepted religious norm.

I spoke with another woman who told me she had been a member of the grove for five years. I asked her how she came to be a Druid. She told me that she never felt comfortable within Christianity. She attended a Druid Ritual, which she described as a very powerful experience. She said it felt like coming home. She is not the only one who describes her initial experience with Druidry this way. I found this comment on the ADF website: "I left that night with a feeling that I had never experienced before, the feeling of coming home."<sup>11</sup> A Druid with the Order of Bards Ovates and Druids (OBOD) in the UK comments, "... peope [sic] describe the feeling of 'coming home' and that was very true. I felt like I was safe."<sup>12</sup>

So what is there about Druidry that attracts participants to a deviant religion? This quote by Ronald Hutton (1995) sums it up rather succinctly: "People are drawn to modern Druidism because it does not ask much of them, unlike mainstream religions with their scriptures of thou shalt and thou shalt nots. It also fits in nicely with the vague, greenish spirituality of "new age" religions."<sup>13</sup> The North American Reformed Druids have only two basic tenets: 1) Religious truth can be found through Nature, the Earth Mother; 2) Nature is important to man's spiritual quests, or they sum it up as "Nature is Good."<sup>14</sup> With all the warnings in the news about the global warming crisis, the growth of Druidry seems a bit more understandable.

It is very difficult to estimate the number of Druids and Neo-Pagans at present. Adherents.com suggests that there are about one million Neo-Pagans.<sup>15</sup> The American Religious Identification Study by Kosmin, Mayer and Keysar (2001) identified a decline in the numbers of people who claim to be Christian, from 86% in 1990 to 77% in 2001. The greatest increase was the group who do not subscribe to any religion, from 14.3 million to 29.4 million making up 14%

of the total. This study has also documented the growth of Paganism. While the survey counted 8000 Wiccans in 1990 and no other Neo-pagan groups, Wiccans numbered 134,000 in 2001 along with 140,000 Pagans, and 33,000 Druids.<sup>16</sup> The ADF claims more than 4500 people have joined the ADF and there are currently over 1100 active members (defined as keeping their dues current.) The UK group, the OBOD, claims 8000 people from 22 countries have joined since 1988, but does not report active membership. In the UK up to 40,000 people attend the big events.<sup>17</sup> The Reformed Druids of North America claims about 4000 members - mostly independents and about 150 in active groves.<sup>18</sup> The Ancient Order of Druids in America claims to be the oldest Druid group, founded in 1912: however, its web site does not state how many members they have but their links page does list fourteen other Druid organizations and sites.<sup>19</sup>

As the numbers indicate, the growing Neo-Pagan community and the growing numbers of people who profess no religion, this may be interpreted as dissatisfaction with mainstream religion. Bloch's (1998) in depth interviews with Neo-Pagans indicates a few common threads expressed by those he interviewed in their opening remarks. Some felt they were born different from other people. They reported this difference as having a deeper spiritual consciousness within themselves than mainstream society. They felt out of place. A second group depicted themselves as ordinary people but sensed a social contradiction within mainline religion. They were seeking basic human decency or understanding from their religion, but felt they were not getting it. Both groups indicate importance of self-autonomy and alternate spirituality allowed one to discover their true selves. They felt like outsiders until they found a sense of community within a group that encourages the growth of the spiritual self, which resolved the conflict they felt with mainstream religions.<sup>20</sup> Bloch's argument is that the conflict with mainstream religion

leads them to an identity as an outsider. This in turn leads them to seek out alternative spirituality (a deviant subculture) for support and personal recognition where they feel welcomed.

This follows the labeling/societal reaction perspective of John Braithwaite (1989 in Humphrey 2006). However finding a home, a sense of belonging to the deviant subculture of Neo-Paganism or Druidry carries a price. The group is both shamed and stigmatized, which in turn further alienates them from the larger society. Conflicts between Pagans and Christians are in the news. In November 2006, Glastonbury, England, members of a Catholic parish cast blessed salt at Pagans declaring that they wanted to cleanse their town of paganism. A shop owner was threatened with having her business burned to the ground.<sup>21</sup> Bivins (2005) reports that religious/political conflicts have turned to legal disputes between Christians and Pagans, where each side attempts to use the power of the law to delegitimise the activities of the other. Blain and Wallis (2004) examine the engagements of pagans with sacred sites and the issues with heritage management and archaeologists, dealing with clean up, destruction and defacement of historical sites following pagan rituals. In response to these issues the UK enacted legal restrictions which prohibited the Druids from performing a solstice celebration at Stonehenge.<sup>22</sup>

Sociologists from the conflict perspective would argue that the conflicts arising between the Christians and Pagans can be seen in terms of unequal power and a cry for change within society. The evidence of disillusionment with Christianity is striking (per ARIS report previously discussed). Max Weber predicted, “Modernization necessarily leads to a decline of religion, both in society and in the minds of individuals.” Weber refers to this as “the disenchantment of the world.”<sup>23</sup> The revival of Paganism can be seen as a coping mechanism to alienation and disillusionment resulting from modernization. Popular culture has enabled a reenchantment. Ringel (1995) links medieval fairs and fantasy authors like Bradley, Kurtz, Lackey, Paxton and

Tolkien, as promoting an increased interest in magic, which has led to participation in Paganism. I have to add to this the films that bring Harry Potter and Frodo to life, plus television shows like Charmed - all popularize magic as well. Now you have a whole generation exposed to enchanting magical ideas.

Are the participants of Neo-Paganism really different or deviant? Berger's *Voices from the Pagan Census* (2003) is a compilation of the over 2000 respondents to a survey, which was conducted between 1993 and 1995. It provides insight into the membership of Pagan Religions.

#### **Demographics of Neo-Pagans:**

**Gender:** 64.8% Women, 33.9% Men, 1.3% no response

**Age:** 20-29 years 39.1%, 30-39 years 34.3%, 40-49 years 24.5%

**Race:** 90.8% White                      0.9% Native American  
0.2% Black                                  0.2% Asian                      2.5% Other

**Education:** 7.8% high school diploma or less      25.4% some college  
25.6% college diploma                                  38.9% more than college diploma

**Sexuality:** 67.8% heterosexual                      19% bisexual  
4.5% gay men                                              4.8% lesbians

**Median Income:** between \$30,001 and \$40,000

#### **Differences found among the Druid respondents:**

**Gender:** 49.7% Men, 48.2% Women, 2% no response

**Sexuality:** 73.6% heterosexual                      16.2% bisexual  
3% gay men                                              1.5% lesbians

**Median Income:** between \$20,000 and \$30,000

The demographics of the Neo-Pagans indicate that while they participate in a marginal religion, they are as a group very mainstream demographically. They are highly educated, primarily white, about half live in urban settings and the other half rural. Additional data from the census indicated that that most are in stable relationships and over 40% are parents.<sup>24</sup>

Druidry seems to appeal equally to men and women versus Neo-Pagans in general where women have a clear majority. The participation disparity between men and women in general is also reflected in mainstream religion. It is slightly higher among Neo-Pagans and can be attributed to

more women being drawn to the worship of the Goddess. Some feminists have turned to Wicca and their groups are exclusively female.<sup>25</sup> Berger used the term marginal religion rather than new religion “to deemphasize the age of the religion and instead focus on the religion’s status as outside the mainstream.”<sup>26</sup>

McIntosh (2004) discusses the future prospects of Paganism examining the forces which promote it and hinder it. He lists six points for its future growth: 1) It fills a spiritual vacuum for those who reject traditional religious paradigms. Combining easily with personal growth approaches of the New Age movement. 2) Paganism is more nature friendly in a time when overwhelming environmental problems face the world. 3) The women’s movement sees it as offering an appealing spiritual path. 4) The post-modernist movement with the rejection of grand narratives that characterized modernity provides an opening for Neo-paganism. 5) It is a reaction against globalization and cultural homogenization. 6) The growth of the internet enables scattered communities of Neo-Pagans to connect in ways they could not have done before. He came up with only three arguments against its growth: 1) Paganism tends to be local, an affirmation of ones roots, which will be difficult to sustain in a world of increasing migration. 2) It has no consistent doctrine or strong leadership to organize masses of people. 3) Paganism has gained membership and public exposure and thus lost some of its secrecy and mystery, which was part of its appeal. He concludes that “Paganism will certainly be a religion of the future, and possibly a major one.”<sup>27</sup> McIntosh may be right.

My first impression of the Three Cranes Grove members was that this is where the “Hippies” of the ‘60s and the “New Agers” of the ‘70s ended up. However, a younger group arrived a short while later which broke that image in my mind and I realized they were a more diverse group.

I cannot say that I felt the magical energies of the earth and sky that the Druids tap into for their magical power to open the gates. However, the candle light ritual did provide an enchanting feeling. I felt welcomed and included. I even participated by reading a piece of the poem for Brigando while lighting a candle. I consider myself rather ecologically minded so I connected with the central theme of being caretakers of the earth. I can also see how worshipping an Earth-Mother Goddess would appeal to women who are disenchanted with traditional patriarchies in mainstream religion.

The big difference that I appreciated was that so many of the grove members had a role to fulfill during the ritual. This was so different from what I remember about church services, where the minister controlled the entire service essentially lecturing to everyone from his position above everyone else. I contrasted this memory with the Druid circle we formed which places everyone on an equal level and we all feel included as part of the group. I also feel that outdoor space around a fire in the woods would be pleasant change from getting up on Sunday mornings and sitting on a hard bench in church.

Their symbol is three lines /|\ known as “Awen” meaning inspiration. While I was a bit surprised by the blessing of the laptops, flash drives and painting tools, asking for inspiration from your goddess so that you can have a successful year at work, seems more appealing than asking for forgiveness for breaking a rule laid down by church doctrine. When I compare all of those, thou shalt do this, thou shalt not do that from the traditional religious hierarchy with the simple do no harm, and nature is good, I can see the appeal of Druidry.

Concisely the ADF describes themselves: “Like our sisters and brothers in the other Neo-Pagan movements, we're polytheistic Nature worshipers, attempting to revive the best aspects of

the Paleopagan faiths of our ancestors within a modern scientific, artistic, ecological, and wholistic [sic] context<sup>28</sup>.” They have some good ideas.

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- Unknown. 1995. “Religion without the boring bits.” *The Economist*, June 24, 1995, pp. 54.

All websites noted below were accessed between January 11 and February 18, 2008.

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- <sup>1</sup> Pagan Pride Day, Columbus OH: <http://www.paganpridedaycolumbus.org/>
  - <sup>2</sup> Home page Michael Dangler: <http://www.chronarchy.com/>
  - <sup>3</sup> ADF Home Page: <http://www.adf.org/core/index.html>
  - <sup>4</sup> Columbus Druid Grove: <http://www.threecranes.org/>
  - <sup>5</sup> Workshops: <http://www.chronarchy.com/misc/workshops.html>
  - <sup>6</sup> ADF Magic: <http://www.adf.org/training/preview-dbt.html>
  - <sup>7</sup> Christian & Wiccan Conflict: [http://www.religioustolerance.org/wic\\_conf.htm#menu](http://www.religioustolerance.org/wic_conf.htm#menu)
  - <sup>8</sup> D & D Druid: <http://www.chronarchy.com/essays/whypagan.html>
  - <sup>9</sup> 3CG Gods: <http://www.threecranes.org/deities/>
  - <sup>10</sup> 3CG Membership: <http://www.threecranes.org/joining/>
  - <sup>11</sup> Coming Home ADF: <http://www.adf.org/about/bios/raven-mann/index.html>
  - <sup>12</sup> Coming Home OBOD: <http://www.druidry.org/board/dhp/viewtopic.php?f=47&t=25999&view=previous>
  - <sup>13</sup> The Economist, June 24,1995 pg 54
  - <sup>14</sup> Basic Tenets: <http://www.geocities.com/mikerdna/basictenets.html>
  - <sup>15</sup> Adherents.com Neo-pagan numbers: [http://www.adherents.com/Religions\\_By\\_Adherents.html#Neo-Paganism](http://www.adherents.com/Religions_By_Adherents.html#Neo-Paganism)
  - <sup>16</sup> ARIS Study: [http://www.gc.cuny.edu/faculty/research\\_briefs/aris/images/aris14.jpg](http://www.gc.cuny.edu/faculty/research_briefs/aris/images/aris14.jpg)
  - <sup>17</sup> The Economist, June 24,1995 pg 54
  - <sup>18</sup> RDNA: <http://www.geocities.com/mikerdna/stats.html>
  - <sup>19</sup> AODA: <http://www.aoda.org/index.htm>
  - <sup>20</sup> Bloch, pp. 30-31
  - <sup>21</sup> Christians vs. Pagans UK: [http://amywelborn.typepad.com/openbook/2006/11/pagans\\_v\\_christ.html](http://amywelborn.typepad.com/openbook/2006/11/pagans_v_christ.html)
  - <sup>22</sup> The Economist, June 24,1995 pg 54
  - <sup>23</sup> Max Weber quoted in Partridge, pp. 39
  - <sup>24</sup> Berger, pp 34.
  - <sup>25</sup> Berger, pp. 28
  - <sup>26</sup> Berger, pp. 34
  - <sup>27</sup> McIntosh pp 1040
  - <sup>28</sup> Who are the ADF: <http://www.adf.org/about/what-is-adf.html>