Introduction

SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO, 2005

I met a woman named Nic in 2005. She was living all alone on a separatist commune outside of Santa Fe. I was there with friends to stage a photograph for an art project, and in return, I was to have my very pregnant belly painted with henna by Nic, who was interested in building her own portfolio. She had been trying to make a living selling handmade beaded jewelry to tourists at the flea market, a formidable task when faced with crowds looking for cheap turquoise (this is where the henna comes in). My friends and I brought in groceries and gallon jugs of water for her, but there wasn’t electricity, so we all ended up feasting on our new provisions. Nic picked sage for us outside the back of her living structure and added it to browning butter cooked over her propane heater: sauce for some packaged ravioli. She had half a desiccated lemon stored above her sink that she offered us with the tea she served. She told us how much she was looking forward to a drive into the city later that weekend to take a hot bath at a friend’s place. She showed us how to use the toilet pit out back, how to cover our waste with a handful of ash.

I was deeply affected by the strangeness of this setting: Nic the steward of a land lying dormant and scattered with the debris of an earlier era. There were still at least a dozen woman-built structures used for domiciles; they were all small and in various stages of disrepair. There were Styrofoam cooler parts and plastic containers littering the landscape and collecting at the base of trees. There was the continual sound of tarps flapping in the wind. For hours, Nic sat beside me on her bed in the corner of her one-room dwelling drawing elaborate designs on my belly as I struggled to imagine what it might be like to live as she lived: marooned, susceptible, completely disenfranchised. I strained to understand Nic – who for her part seemed affable, undeterred, talkative. And it was Greenham Common that she wanted to discuss with me. Nic had come to this place after leaving Greenham Common.
GREENHAM COMMON, BERKSHIRE, ENGLAND, 1981–2000

During the Cold War, the Greenham Common Airbase in Berkshire, England, about an hour west of London, was the largest storage facility of nuclear “cruise” missiles in Europe. For centuries, Greenham Common’s 1,200 acres of land had been primarily reserved for the citizenry’s common use. However, during World War II, it was converted into a military base, first for the British, and in 1979, into an American military airbase, destined for conversion into: military buildings, the longest runway in Europe, two dozen fueling stations, and storage facilities for nuclear warheads — each with the capability to destroy a city a dozen times the size of Hiroshima (1). The idea of Euroshima, or a “limited” nuclear war that would be played out in a strictly European theater, led to the deferment of hundreds of American nuclear missiles to Europe: to Greenham Common, to another English site in Molesworth, as well as sites in Scotland, Sicily, West Germany, Holland, and Belgium. By design, these American military installations made it likely that it would be allies who would face the wrath of potential American aggression and not the Americans themselves. This was an era of an explicit understanding in Mutual Assured Destruction, or M.A.D. If the U.S. struck, the Russians would retaliate, and they were likely to retaliate by bombing Greenham Common.

The separatist Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp (1981–2000), where Nic lived in the early 1980s, formed around the barbed wire fencing that soon enveloped the new base. It began in September 1981 when a small group of Welsh mothers calling themselves “Women for Peace of Earth” walked for seven days to the site from Cardiff, Wales, to deliver a letter to the then-Secretary of State for Defense, Francis Pym. In the letter, they called nuclear weaponry “the greatest threat ever faced by the human race and the living planet” and challenged him to a debate. Pym was dismissive and invited the group to stay as long as they’d like. That is how a peace camp of nearly twenty years found its beginnings.

To get at the quality of life at the Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp, the remarkable contrast between the opposite sides of the fence needs to be imagined. For many, the vast military compound – its stripped landscape, its behemoth architectural structures, the mechanics of its orderly operations, its uniformed population of trained soldiers – is probably the easier of the two sides to conceptualize. To call to mind the other, one must do one’s best to envision a series of fully outdoor and facilities-free encampments housing potentially hundreds of women that were in the process of being made up anew every few days. Imagine the wind-tossed debris and piles of sacked trash, the burned-by-police and accumulating residue of past inhabitants. Imagine the perennial dampness and layers of plastic sheeting draped on and underneath everything. Here and there, folding tables were erected and covered with washing basins, or with the food that had been donated or scraped together using the campers’ dole benefits. Clotheslines hanging heavy with sopping fabrics were strung from every intermittent tree that wasn’t already being used to create shelter. The campfire was central and women were gathered around it.
For many women like Nic, there was no other moral choice but to head for one of these camps. Some traveled from afar — even internationally — to attend a large, camp-planned event, some were frequent visitors who would remain for short stints or stay weekends away from work or school, and others were women who made the Peace Camp their home for multiple months and even years. And they were all women (I do not know for certain if they included trans women among their ranks, but contemporaneous camping-based events like the Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival did not). After a debated but early decision in 1982, men were disallowed from the Peace Camp. They were barred for essentialist reasons, as part of the activists’ general belief that women did not have the aggressive social tendencies that brought about wars. A camper named Kat explains this feeling as follows: “[My] thoughts (at the time) were very linked with seeing weapons and nuclear bombs as...[a] form of male violence” (2).

Many early campers had accumulated experiences from prior activist work, and had felt the strong arm of patriarchy present even under the most benevolent of campaigns. Camper Leslie Boulton in *Greenham Women Everywhere* explains: “They find that it’s a very bureaucratic set-up, invariably run by blokes...We all sit down and we are informed and we find ourselves talking to the backs of each other’s heads... I want to express what I’m feeling, but there’s no space for me to do it.” These women did not want a male spokesperson for their cause, one that included direct confrontations against the masculinity of the military-industrial complex. They wanted to band together to support one another in an expression that they considered to be more caring, more nurturing — of one another and towards the future of the planet and the human race.

Women of all ages and walks of life made their way to the Greenham Common camp – including Greenpeace activists, Miners’ Wives union groups, Quakers, Neo-Pagan witches, artists, and a Manchester-based Prostitutes’ Collective – to unite under a common goal of pacifism. By the end of 1983, nine distinct campgrounds or “gates” were established around the nine-mile periphery of the Greenham Common Airbase, distributing the campers to all reaches for observation and actions. These gates were named for the colors of the rainbow and each had distinctive attributes and populations that made them more or less desirable to any new camper. Nic recounted to me the way that women who were new to the premises would undergo a sort of social typecasting to ensure that they “fit in” where they decided to make camp. And she made clear that the mothers with children (at the Orange Gate) had unique needs, and the vegan anarchists preferred to consort with their own (at the Turquoise Gate), as did a population of campers (at the Yellow Gate) that she labeled specifically as “the flag burners.” Although it is clear that the majority of the campers were white women of all social classes and ages, the Peace Camp appears to have been more inclusive of activists of color than, say, the 1980s-era CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament). This distinction is highlighted in photographs on pages 72-73, with Greenham campers holding signage reading: CND NATIONAL COUNCIL IS ALL WHITE AGAIN, and CND REJECTS AUTONOMOUS NON-ALIGNED ANTI-RACIST GREENHAM.
During this era, approximately twenty such camps, many inspired by the Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp model, were erected outside of military bases around the world. Ones in Seneca, NY, and Kent, WA, were more temporary U.S.-based installations, while the dauntless Concepción Picciotto occupied one across from the White House in Washington, D.C., until her recent death in 2016. In England in the early 1980s, 87% of people polled said they were sure that they would not survive if a nuclear warhead was dropped on England, and half of the population thought this was indeed likely to happen (3). One person responding to a 1980 poll in New Society magazine writes: “If there is a nuclear war, I am sure I will die. I will either die from the initial blast, be vaporized or crushed, or I will die in the ensuing weeks from radiation sickness” (4). Camps like the one at Greenham Common, and their nonviolent campaigns of direct action against the smooth functioning of the might of the military-industrial complex, were effective in many ways, keeping the urgent nuclear debate at the very forefront of local and international media coverage.

THE ART OF GREENHAM COMMON WOMEN’S PEACE CAMP

Nic painted my pregnant belly when I was about to have my first son, and, through this experience, I gained the smallest amount of access into the world that she inhabited both in 2005 and also twenty years earlier. In 2008, when I was about to have my second son, I found myself on an Amtrak train moving steadily across the United States from its east to its west coast. I was leaving my marriage, my job, and my home behind, toddler in tow and eight months pregnant. I felt I was traveling conspicuously far away from expectations. On board, I met another hugely pregnant woman traveling alone. She was on her way to The Farm Community in Summertown, TN, to have her baby at its natural childbirth center — itself grown from forty years of Ina May Gaskin’s midwifery and health access activism. I started thinking about Nic again.

When I reached Seattle, I went through the notebook that I had kept from the time that I had visited the New Mexican commune. In it, I saw “Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp” written down at the top of a page above notes made after our long conversation. One note was about a few Greenham women who had broken into the military base to do a million dollars of spray-painted damage to an elite military jet: women’s symbols, peace signs, and the text reclaim your brain. Nic had said that the story had never been reported for fear that word in the press would inspire other women to come and do similarly destructive acts of conscience. I was inspired, and I immediately began to mail order and collect together as many pieces of ephemera and books that came out of the camp in the 1980s and 1990s as I could locate.

When looking through materials from Greenham Common, my attention immediately turned to their frequent use of extraordinary creative direct action tactics. Many of the first-hand accounts by these women described a recognition that befell them: that the gesture of creativity itself was a gesture of non-violence. This belief led to creative practices at the camp that far exceeded the more typical activist...
use of, say, protest placards or banners. There were giant processions of women cloaked as a snake, full black costuming for keening sessions, elaborate fence decorations, mirror ceremonies, helium balloon sculptures suspended to disrupt air traffic, extensive songwriting practices, and so much more. I am a lifelong knitter. I was taught to knit by my grandmother when I was a child in the 1970s. And in the late 1990s, I even worked at Vogue Knitting magazine in New York City, back when it was still published from inside the historic (and now sadly repurposed) 14-story Butterick Building. To my surprise and delight, it seemed that sweaters with knit-in argumentative language and protest symbolism were also one of the favored creative direct action expressions at Greenham Common. The garments depicted things like: barbed wire and nuclear missiles, women’s symbols, peace signs, rainbows, labrys axes, witches, doves, landscapes, celestial scenes, sunrises, spiderwebs. I had never seen anything like it.

As I began gathering together more and more examples of Greenham Common knitwear, I realized that, through these garments’ designs, one could literally study the Peace Camp women’s adoption and interpretation of second-wave feminist and lesbian identity symbolism upon their protesting bodies, and one could additionally track symbolism that related directly to anti-fascist political struggle, as well as anti-war and anti-nuclear campaigning. Surprisingly, this course of research also opened up a path for me back into figurative painting, something that I had long abandoned as a too-problematic representation of female life. The campers’ ethos that art-making was a type of peace-making deeply affected my thinking, and I began to consider what peace I had to make with my own educational history, my painting degree, and what it might look like to radically reapproach the female subject.

For the past ten years, I have done my very best to collect together every example of protest knitwear from the Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp that I could locate. I have searched far and wide, and this book is the result of these efforts. For a decade, I have traveled throughout England and Wales to comb through and re-photograph public and private papers. I have watched hours and hours of film and video footage, taking stills from the many inspiring, independently produced, woman-made films that sought to document the Greenham women’s lives. I have contacted past campers, and I have been treated to boxes full of old slides, sheets of film negatives, and photo albums. It is my profound hope that we might finally call this reconfigured body of work — the Greenham Common knitwear — art, and the women who created it: unrecognized artists. I never saw Nic again, but it is my hope that this collection might be a way to fight against the cultural erasure of women like her.

I have added a glossary to the back of this book, that readers might better appreciate the unique symbolic communications of the Greenham Common knitters. Some symbols, like the Evil Eye, the Greek Key, or the motif of dancing folk women, are poignant in their correspondence to literally thousands of years of textile prominence. Others, like the spiderweb and snake motifs, had specific relevance to Greenham women, and their use was born out of a homegrown symbolic order. Both the spiderweb and the snake provided subtle but perfectly apt metaphoric language
for the struggles that these women faced. The snake outgrows its skin and needs to
entirely shed that encasement to move forward with its life. Within a web, each
singular strand is a tentative, delicate thing; however, the network of interdependence
achieved, the strength of the whole, far surpasses expectation. The spider, as well, is
willing to spin and repair this network tirelessly.

Others symbols, like the rainbow, the labrys, and the anti-nuclear energy
“Smiling Sun” were emergent political symbols in 1981 and we should not overlook
that their use by the campers constituted a very potent political self-identification. The
rainbow garments are especially powerful to consider. Living as we do now in a world
inundated with merchandise, we may forget the danger of early adoption of the
LGBTQ pride symbol. Please consider that Greenham women were not most
maligned for their protest disruptions as much as for their transgressive affront to a
much broader net of commonplace societal expectations: their lack of “femininity,”
their sexual preferences, the fact that they frequently shaved their heads (a practical
tactic given the circumstances), their public breastfeeding. The media attention
showered upon the women was stereotypical and played on the public’s fears
(“harridans” and “a fairly gruesome bunch” in The Spectator, “burly lesbians” in The
Sun) (5). In the nearby town of Newbury, posters advertising vigilante groups forming
against the women were posted. These groups destroyed and threw feces and blood
onto the women’s campsites; they threatened to disable the local standpipes the
women relied upon for water.

Another unflinching aspect of the Greenham Common sweaters is that they
were made during an era when the very progressiveness and feminism of many
female domestic crafters were called into question. In Fray: Art and Textile Politics (2017),
Julia Bryan-Wilson’s book on the intersection of art, textiles, and politics, she writes:
“Textile making was viewed as affirming of women’s labor and skill but potentially
complicit with anti-feminist regimes of domesticity” (6). Nevertheless, at Greenham
there was a willingness by the women to utilize any means they had available to them
to register their protest, and this prompted urgent improvisations with the tools and
the materials most easily at their disposal. They unwound old sweaters in order to
reuse the yarn in new, message-bearing garments (7); their sheets had double uses
as both bedding and banner; string was woven into dense handmade webbing that
complicated police access to protest sites. Bryan-Wilson refers to this sort of
handicraft as being driven by “class-based expediency.” Indeed, they used what
they had (and managed to stay warm in the meantime).

PORTLAND, OREGON 2020

I am frequently asked if I think the actions of Greenham Common could take place
today, and of course, living as I do in a post-Patriot Act United States, I do not. The
Greenham women did arguably rely upon the sexism of the mostly male police and
military responding to all-women groups of mostly white protesting bodies. I harbor
no doubts that today these women would be sprayed with tear gas, hosed down, shot
at, and imprisoned for decades. That is not to say that our shared public spaces do not continue to be ideological battlegrounds worthy of our frequent interventions. Belgian political theorist Chantal Mouffe argues that “[what] is needed is widening the field of artistic intervention, by intervening directly in a multiplicity of social spaces in order to oppose the program of total social mobilization of capitalism” (8). As an artist, it is hard to confront this theoretical model and not be moved to better consider the activist-oriented spaces where creative direct action has thrived at accomplishing the kind of agonistic affront that Mouffe champions. These are not art actions in art spaces but better conjure up picket lines, human blockades, banner drops, student occupations, and street theater performances. These are the improvisational activist/artists urgently at work at Greenham Common. Amidst a call for deep cultural reckoning regarding women’s rights and intersectional feminist voices, I believe the symbols and patterns that we find in these historic Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp textiles are deeply relevant. Indeed they might epitomize the agency of a creative act, and in learning of these examples, we allow these messages to resonate.

Ellen Lesperance

ENDNOTES


4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., 95.


GLOSSARY OF SYMBOLS

Anarchist: In knitting terms, an anarchist sweater, as described in Anna Zilboorg’s book *Knitting For Anarchists* (2002), is an unpatterned sweater that comprises strips or squares of knitting. The thesis of Zilboorg’s book is that this type of rule-free knitting allows for greater creative control, and may appeal to a wider swath of the public unschooled in knitting technique and pattern language.

Barbed Wire: A type of steel fencing that features sharpened barbs or straight razors at regular intervals along its yardage. At Greenham Common, barbed wire atop fencing was ubiquitous but not a deterrent: when scaling fences, women typically draped carpets over the top to escape injury.

Bolt Cutters: Closely affiliated with Greenham Common activists, bolt cutters were used by many women to create small breaches in the base’s peripheral fence (these were called “cat flaps” in Ginette Leach’s *Greenham Common Journal*). Despite warnings from Defense Secretary (under Margaret Thatcher) Michael Heseltine that trespassers could be shot, protest actions frequently took place within the military facilities in order to demonstrate how simply a person could bypass security and gain access. The phrase “bring your black cardigan” was a secret code used in communication by Greenham women as a reminder to bring bolt cutters to an action.

Breasts: Women’s breasts have been so sexually objectified by patriarchal, heteronormative culture and pornography that it may be difficult to imagine what a more subjective, woman-centered symbolic use looks like.

Black Triangle: The black triangle — a Nazi-era badge less well known than the pink triangle — designated, among others, women who were deemed “asocial” because they didn’t conform to the Nazi ideal of a woman: passive, domestic, child-rearing. (see Pink Triangle)

Celestial Sky: In many religious/mythological cosmologies, including astrology, the moon represents the lunar phase, a female principle, while the sun represents the male principle. In this way, depictions of night skies can be seen as symbolically feminist.

Crescent Moon: The crescent moon, depicting the moon in its waxing phase, is a symbol of creative power.
**Cruise Missile:** These missiles can be launched from land, air, or sea, and they can carry a conventional warhead or a nuclear warhead with precision over long distances and at low altitudes. Ninety-six American Tomahawk, ground-launched, nuclear “cruise” missiles were housed at Greenham Common.

**CND Symbol:** These initials stand for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, a U.K.-based organization, founded in 1958, that advocates for nuclear disarmament. (see Peace Symbol)

**Dove:** Recognized symbolically since its biblical use, the dove is seen as a messenger of both peace and love. In 1949, the symbol had its significance renewed at the First International Peace Conference in Paris when Picasso, having painted *Guernica* (one of the most moving, anti-war paintings known to that date), was commissioned by the conference to design an image to represent peace; he selected a dove.

**Evil Eye:** These eye-shaped symbols (also called nazars) have been used for thousands of years in cultures around the world to protect their wearers against evil, evil glances, bad luck, and other misfortunes.

**Fence:** When Greenham Common was turned into a military airbase, a nine-mile perimeter fence was erected to restrict access to its grounds. Later, concentric rows of fencing were added for increased security, and fencing became a primary component of the new landscape.

**Flame:** This symbol is one of illumination, or enlightenment, in relation to the concept of truth.

**Flower:** Given the context of the Greenham Common site — the periphery of a military compound with the largest payload of nuclear missiles in Europe — floral motifs could be read ironically, and perhaps also hopefully. In contrast to the police’s repugnant displays of violence against the protesters, and the inhumane apparatchik bureaucrats within the base, beauty provides both a stark contrast, and an affirmation of a different system of values.

**Folk Women:** A repeating line of women in various types of folk costuming is a centuries-old Fair Isle knitting motif. Kirsten Hofstätter’s popular 1973 Danish pattern book *Hønsestrik* exposed European knitters to an exciting new assortment of boldly colored variations on more traditional Fair Isle motifs, including many of the motif variations found at Greenham Common such as folk women, women’s symbols, hearts, and witches.

**God’s Eye:** This motif (*Ojo de Dios* in Spanish) depicts a woven spiritual object used by the Mexican Huichol Indians. For the Huichol, the God’s Eye is a talisman-like protective object, and it represents the power to see and understand the unknown.

**Grannies for Peace:** Founded in 1982, Grandmothers for Peace is an international, all-volunteer peace organization aimed at “making the world a safer place in grandma’s arms.”

**Greek Key:** Also called the Greek Fret or the meander, this important, ancient symbol was used frequently as a decorative border in architectural friezes, pavement mosaics, and ancient Greek vases. It comprises one long, continuous line that folds back upon itself in...
an angular, repeated pattern, and in this way, it is thought to visually demonstrate the complex, eternal flow of life.

**Heart:** The heart, a benevolent symbol, has been associated with love as far back in history as 1200 BCE.

**Labrys:** The labrys, or double-sided axe, one of the oldest symbols of Greek civilization, is thought to have been the weapon of choice by Amazon warrior women. The weapon was used in the ancient, matriarchal Minoan culture of Crete, and the symbol is therefore associated with female divinities and the Goddess Movement. The symbol gained additional significance in the late 1970s to further denote lesbian and feminist strength. This popularity coincided with the 1978 publication of the book *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* by Mary Daly, an ecofeminist staple that aimed to carve out a new gynocentric (as opposed to phallocentric) culture and language.

**Labyrinth:** A popular New Age motif, the labyrinth represents the spiritual concept of wholeness. Useful for both individual meditation and group ritual, labyrinths offer a meandering but purposeful journeying into a spiritual center (and then back out into the world). A unicursal labyrinth offers one solution for reaching the center, while multicursal labyrinths offer multiple paths. Complicated labyrinth patterns have been used since Roman antiquity in textiles, pottery, basketry, mosaics, etc. (see Greek Key)

**Landscape:** There are many examples of Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp activists wearing sweaters with knit-in landscape motifs, an especially poignant choice given the stark environment in which they lived, and the omni-present threat of nuclear war.

**Mourning Armband:** Armbands have a centuries-long history in mourning attire, and are also frequently worn in protest. For example, the 1969 Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District ruling by the Supreme Court found that three students had had their rights violated when they were suspended for wearing armbands to school in protest of the Vietnam War.

**Music:** Musical notes gain significance as knitwear motifs when we consider the extensive songbook of original Greenham Common protest songs, chants, and rallying sequences. Greenham songbooks attempted to address the need for verses that reflected the lived experiences of protesting women: women were the songwriters and the poets; they were also the re-writers of men’s songs (including songs by the Beatles and the Police).

**Nude Figure:** Life drawing and sculpting from the nude model has been an endeavor historically undertaken as part of the training of serious artists so that the figure might then be incorporated into works of art with gained mastery. Knitting the subject of a nude figure into a garment could be seen as a “high art” gesture, conflating the tired distinction of low art and high art praxis.
Padlock: A common item used in direct action protests, padlocks can be used to attach protesters to fencing and chains, to disagreeable objects, even to each other. Padlocks can also be clipped open by large bolt or cable cutters to gain access into locked areas.

Peace Symbol: First designed in 1958 by Gerald Holtom as a British nuclear disarmament symbol aligned with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, or the CND, the peace sign soon became internationally recognized. The peace symbol design is based on the letters D and N in semaphore, a method of visually signaling letters typically using flags or lights. (see CND Symbol)

Phoenix: This folkloric bird is thought to cyclically regenerate, bursting into flame and then rising from its own ashes to live again. In this way, it is a popular symbol for physical, spiritual, and emotional renewal.

Pink Triangle: Now a pride-based LGBTQ symbol, it originated in the Nazi concentration camps of WWII where the downward-pointing pink triangle was placed as an identifying badge on gay prisoners. It is estimated that as many as 15,000 gay men were killed in the Holocaust. (see Black Triangle)

Rainbow: The eight-color rainbow flag was adopted as a pride symbol by the LGBTQ Movement in 1978; it was designed by Gilbert Baker for the Gay Freedom Day Parade in San Francisco. Its colors take on additional symbolic meaning — violet (strength), indigo (serenity), turquoise (art and magic), green (nature), yellow (sun and energy), orange (healing), red (life), hot pink (sex) — and indeed the various campsites that encircled the military base at Greenham Common were identified by colors of the rainbow.

Rising Sun: A symbol used to depict the concept of a new day or new beginning.

Smiling Sun Nuclear Energy Symbol: Designed in 1975 by Danish activist Anne Lund, the Smiling Sun symbol, also known as the Anti-Nuclear Badge, typically included the text: “Nuclear Power? No thanks.” The Smiling Sun symbol was internationally recognized throughout the 1970s and 1980s, with its slogan translated into dozens of languages. After the 2011 Fukushima disaster in Japan, the symbol had a resurgence, with its text changed into a new, pro-renewable energy slogan: “Renewable energy? Yes please.”

Snake: The snake symbol was given much importance by the Greenham Common peace women. Snakes, a symbol of rebirth, shed their skins and live on, transformed and renewed. Protesters slung over their backs sewn-together yards of bedding, banners, and other handmade textiles to form a snake-like, human chain. These processions sometimes entered the military base for protest events via holes cut into peripheral fencing.

Spiderweb: An important symbol at Greenham Common, women activists frequently “spun” yarn webs to block police access to key operational sites around the military base. For these women, the spiderweb was instructional: although a single strand is delicate matter, more and more strength is achieved when multiple strands come together (and a spiderweb’s strength is easy to underestimate).
**Stonehenge:** Arguably the most famous landmark in the U.K., this Neolithic, circular rock formation is located in Wiltshire, England. A site of religious significance for some, including the Neo-Pagan witches of Greenham Common, Stonehenge was fenced off from the general public in 1977, and access to its stones by those making religious pilgrimages was further denied in 1985. This decision was seen as a patriarchal attempt to rein in the site’s magic, and protest actions to “free the stones” were made.

**Tea Kettle:** A standard kitchen appliance in Britain, the tea kettle is central to domestic life in the U.K., and it was central to the Greenham women’s lives as they collected around campfires to prepare communal meals, to socialize, and to keep warm.

**Teardrop:** A symbol that references tears, and, thus, sadness and grief.

**Tent:** A structure that is used to sleep outside. At Greenham Common, permanent shelters were disallowed, so activists — frequently known as campers — built temporary tents out of tarps and plastic sheeting to protect themselves from the elements. Many of these, relying upon the reinforcing structure of bent-over tree saplings instead of tent poles, were called “benders.”

**W.I.T.C.H.:** These letters signal a probable political identification with the Women’s International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell, the name for several related but independent feminist groups affiliated with the Women’s Liberation Movement since 1968.

**Wings:** Worn to reference both angel wings and faerie wings, placing wings on one’s back may signify a playful, mystical, or spiritual will.

**Women’s Peace Symbol:** This is a traditional women’s symbol pictograph transformed so that the circular element contains a peace symbol. (see CND Symbol; see Peace Symbol; see Women’s Symbol)

**Women’s Symbol:** This pictograph, first adopted by Carl Linnaeus in 1751 to denote the sex of plants, today has scientific, social, and political applications. (see Women’s Peace Symbol)

**Witch:** Use of the witch symbol could announce a woman’s affiliation with the Dark Goddess/Wiccan spiritual belief system, or, possibly, her personal identification with the archetypal Crone/Wise Woman character.

**XOXO:** Understood to denote hugs and kisses, the “X” visually displays a connection point, and the “O” is an enveloping circle. The repeating XO is commonplace in written communication, it is also a popular motif in traditional Fair Isle knitting, as well as a design motif used across decorative art histories and jewelry design.